ORIENTALIA NEERLANDICA

A VOLUME OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE NETHERLANDS' ORIENTAL SOCIETY
(OOSTERSCH GENOOTSCHAP IN NEDERLAND)
ON THE OCCASION OF
THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF ITS FOUNDATION
(MAY 8TH 1945)



LEIDEN (NETHERLANDS) – 1948
A. W. SIJTHOFF'S UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ N.V.

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

PREFACE

On the 8th of May 1945 the Netherlands' Oriental Society (Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland) celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. In spite of the adverse circumstances a meeting had been convoked of those members who had their residence at Leiden itself or in its immediate vicinity. Actually, while the meeting was in progress, liberating Canadian troops were marching into town and thus the modest commemoration of an historical event inaugurated most auspiciously a new era.

The meeting was addressed by Professor Ph. S. van Ronkel, at the time president of the society, and learned with satisfaction that the executive committee was planning to publish a commemorative volume of learned articles, written entirely by members of the society. In one of the subsequent meetings a resolution to this effect was passed, with the intention thus to take stock of the present state of oriental studies in the Netherlands.

Members responded very promptly to this suggestion and within a few months a considerable pile of manuscripts had accumulated. However, the pen was more ready than the press. The material difficulties for producing a volume of this kind, immediately after the war, were such, that several years elapsed before the contents of the manuscripts were at last safely transferred to the printed page.

To the Executive Committee it is a matter of deep satisfaction that its suggestion has now materialised. This volume is a living proof that oriental scholarship in its various aspects is still alive in the Netherlands.

The Oriental Society has, in a modest way, contributed to this growth. True to its original ideals expressed in its statutes, it has stimulated international contacts of oriental scholars. No scholarship, and oriental scholarship least of all, should be parochial.

In thus offering the last fruits of Dutch orientalism no vain boast is intended ; rather is it hoped that this volume, while taking an inventory of the state of our studies, will, at a critical junction in history, stimulate Dutch scholars to even greater effort in the future, in happy and peaceful collaboration with their fellow-scholars in other lands.

The Executive Committee of the Netherlands' Oriental Society :

Leiden, March 1948

J. H. KRAMERS
J. J. L. DUYVENDAK
F. B. J. KUIPER
C. C. KRIEGER
F. M. TH. BÖHL

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ON THE MEANING OF THE NAME Ḥ'PJ

BY A. DE BUCK, LEIDEN

It is a well-known fact that the Hebrew name of the Nile, יְאֹר, is a loan-word; it is a derivation from the Egyptian word *itrw*: river, this word having dropped its *t* at an unknown date, probably much earlier than the first inscriptions [1]) where the loss of this *t* is betrayed by the extremely conservative orthography of the Egyptians, which continues to write sounds many centuries after they were lost. It is clear that this Hebrew usage must be based on Egyptian idiom; if the Hebrews borrowed the word *itrw* as the name of the Nile, the Egyptians themselves must at that time have used *itrw*, the river or *itrw* ˁ3, the great river as the ordinary designation of their river *par excellence*, the Nile. In keeping with this perfectly natural deduction we find ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ as the Coptic word for the Nile. It is clear, then, that in these late periods of the Egyptian language *itrw* or *itrw* ˁ3 was commonly used as name of the Nile.

But what about the earlier periods of the language? And what is the relation of this *itrw* to the word *ḥˁpj*, which we use to translate with: Nile, Nilegod? The thesis which I undertake to defend in these short notes is, that already in our most ancient texts *itrw* is the name of the river Nile proper, whereas *ḥˁpj* exclusively means: the Inundation.

To some egyptologists this statement may seem superfluous. In many a passage *itrw* is so obviously the Nile and *ḥˁpj* the inundation that one cannot fail to translate these words in the right way. Nor is the Berlin Dictionary far from what I hold to be the truth in translating *itrw*: der Fluss I der Fluss d.h. der Nil, and *ḥˁpj*: der Nil I als wirklicher Strom . . . II als Überschwemmung die das Land befruchtet und ernährt [2]). Breasted rightly trans-

[1]) Berlin Dictionary I, 146 says: Seit D. 18 auch ohne *t*.
[2]) *Ibid.* I, 146 *itrw*; III, 42 *ḥˁpj*.

lates our text (73)[1]: ... her grain cast to the Nile[2]) and (9): then came great Niles, with a footnote: Inundations[3]). It would be easy to extend this enumeration of cases in which translators have chosen the right word. And even in passages where they mechanically translate *ḥ'pj* with Nile, they may have had the right idea in their minds. The sense is often too clear to be misunderstood.

Still, the view that *ḥ'pj* never means anything else but inundation seems new enough to justify this article. It may be true that egyptologists have often seen or divined the truth, it is equally clear that they are apt to go astray because they do not make a clear distinction between *itrw* and *ḥ'pj*. To cite a recent example: in an article on: eine Kalksteinscherbe mit dem Text einer Nilüberschwemmung zur Zeit Ramses' II[4]), Brunner translates *s'r p3 ḥ'pj* with: den Nil voraussagen, and *irì p3 ḥ'pj ʿ3* with: Mache die Überschwemmung. Evidently *ḥ'pj* is in his opinion the river Nile and *ḥ'pj ʿ3*: a great Nile = Inundation. *Ḥ'pj ʿ3* is, however, always an abundant, an abnormally great inundation[5]), and an expression like: to announce *ḥ'pj*, cannot refer to the Nile, which is always there, but must have the sense of announcing the inundation, which having been absent for some months makes its reappearance. Brunner's ostracon is sadly damaged so that the context is obscure, but with a view to the rest of the evidence there can be no doubt that his interpretation is wrong.

Insignificant as this error may be in the case of this fragmentary text, it may have important consequences in other cases. Therefore this point is perhaps important enough to justify this article.

Although my opinion is here stated in an apodictic form, my view that *ḥ'pj* always means the inundation, is for many reasons not a rigorously demonstrated fact. It is rather a tentative hypothesis which I venture to submit to the criticism of others.

One difficulty is that the material is so extensive. It is impossible for me to give a complete collection of all the passages where *ḥ'pj* occurs. Which are the references on which the Berlin Dictionary bases its meaning: the Nile as the actual river? I do

[1]) Numbers in brackets of this type (1) refer to the list of quotations.
[2]) J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records I, § 512.
[3]) *Ibid.* § 523.
[4]) ZÄS 76 (1940), 1 *sqq.*
[5]) See also Berlin Dictionary III, 43, 1.

not know and in the present circumstances it is impossible to get the necessary information. The main purpose of these notes is therefore to ask people to put my thesis to the test in the course of their readings. Perhaps they may succeed in unearthing texts, where my interpretation of the word *ḥ'pj* does not work.

One thing those critical readers must bear in mind. The inundation being an activity of the river the relation between the Nile and its inundation is so close that in many cases a translator, judging from one particular passage only, must conclude that both river and inundation are possbile translations of *ḥ'pj*. If, for instance, it is said that *ḥ'pj* rises or overflows, a translation : the Nile rises or overflows, is not, of course, in itself improbable or impossible. Passages where only one meaning is possible must be our starting-point, and there are passages, I think, where only the translation : inundation suits the context. The doubtful cases must be judged in the light of the indubitable ones.

In the second place let me recommend the following proceeding as a proof. It is highly instructive to try to replace *ḥ'pj* by *itrw* and vice-versa in the texts which are collected in the list at the end of this article. Would it be possible to use *itrw* and Nu(n) as synonyms, or to state that *ḥ'pj* is the western or eastern boundary of a parcel of land, or to say that *ḥ'pj* is crossed on foot, or to sail on *ḥ'pj* except in cases which really describe the sailing in unusual places on the waters of the inundation ? Is it possible to call *itrw* a possessor of corn, to say that *itrw* is announced or that *itrw* comes to give life to Egypt ? I think not—a fact which in my opinion clearly shows that the two terms are not more or less synonymous, but must be carefully separated.

It may be pointed out in additional support of this thesis that at all periods of their history the native Egyptians have made this distinction. Coptic uses ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ for the river Nile, but ⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩ or ⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ for the inundation [1]). The modern Egyptians call the river *el-baḥr*, and use *en-Nîl* only for the inundation. In Demotic the Nile is called *i(t)rw*(ʿ3), but the Inundation both *mw* and *ḥ'pj*. It translates *ḥ'pj nḏś* (74) with *w' mw ḫm* [2]), a small water. To *ḥ'pj nḏś* of (75) corresponds demotic : *3jt ḥ'pj*, lack of *ḥ'pj*, but (76) is rendered again by means of *p mw* : *p mw mḥ*,

[1]) W. E. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, II, 197, b.
[2]) H. Brugsch, Thesaurus, p. 1557. See also Rosettana dem., 14 = Urk. II, 182.

the water inundates. Demotic can refer to the Inundation of a year 9 as : the water of year 9 [1]) ; it uses *p mw* to refer to a Nile-level exactly like *ḥ'pj* in earlier times (28) [2]). *H'pj* occurs also in other cases [3]). On the whole I get the impression that *p mw* is the more usual word for the Inundation. Is there a difference in date or place ? I must leave this interesting topic to competent Demotists to investigate. Is it not extremely probable that a distinction, apparently so natural and dear to the Egyptian mind, was already observed at a much earlier date ? The Greeks had no separate word for the inundation of the Nile ; they had to make shift with phrases like *του Νειλου ἀναβασεις* [4]), *Νειλος πλημυρει* [5]), *ἡ του ποταμου ἀναβασις* (76), *etc.*

I stated already that the following list of quotations does not aim at being complete. It is a selection of those examples which I deemed instructive. Therefore passages which are dubious and, especially in the case of *ḥ'pj*, admit of both translations have been omitted. Nevertheless, my interpretation throws new light on many such passages. What is the meaning of "what *ḥ'pj* brings" in the common offering formula : that which heaven gives, the earth creates and *ḥ'pj* brings ? The Berlin Dictionary gives this phrase under the heading, II als Überschwemmung, but then goes on : Bes. in dem Ausdruck *inn·t ḥ'pj* "was der Nil bringt" d.h. seine Erzeugnisse (urspr. die Fische). This explanation is apparently due to the prepossession that *ḥ'pj* is really the river. If we translate *ḥ'pj* as inundation, which is called possessor of barley, *etc.*, and which is said to *bring* barley (6), the formula is much more eloquent.

The same holds true of the famous passage in the Sun-hymn of Amarna which proclaims that the god has made a *ḥ'pj* for Egypt in the Nether-world which he brings to give life to the Egyptians, but that he has made another *ḥ'pj* in heaven which comes down as rain on the mountains for the foreign peoples. Here again it must

[1]) F. Ll. Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library, III, 352. Other examples Sethe-Partsch, Demotische Bürgschaftsurkunden, p. 165. To Dr Stricker I owe the references : Pap. Rhind I, VI, 3 : the water which comes from Elephantine, and VI, 10 : the water (hieratic text : *rḏw*) which comes from Osiris ; cf. Pap. Bremner-Rhind 9, 26 : *ḥ'pj* is the efflux (*rḏw*) of thy body, to nourish (*s'nḫ*) the people.

[2]) Rec. de Trav. 36 (1914), 171.

[3]) E.g. Pap. Insinger XVI, 21 ; Spiegelberg, Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge, no. 1081 in phrases where it certainly means the Inundation.

[4]) Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, § 43.

[5]) *Ibid.*, § 38.

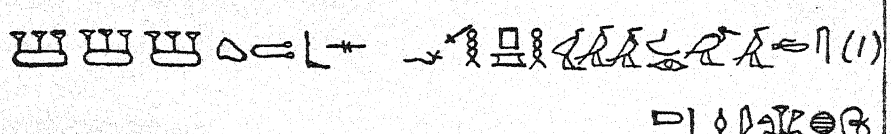
be admitted that the translation : Nile is not intrinsically impossible, but on the other hand it is clear how much the colour and the flavour of the passage improve, if the translation : inundation is adopted.

And with these short introductory remarks I will now submit the following list of quotations to my colleagues for consideration and criticism.

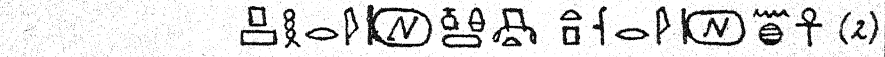
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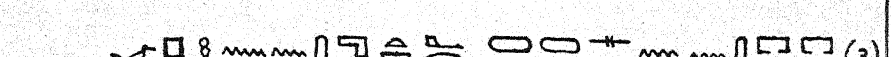
While correcting the proofs of this article I came across an early passage where *mw* seems to have the meaning of "inundation", namely J. J. Tylor, The Tomb of Sebeknekht, pl. VII, 13 : I am a man who is not despairing when he sees a low inundation (*mw nḏš*).

Texts (1)–(13)

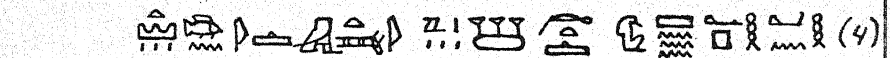
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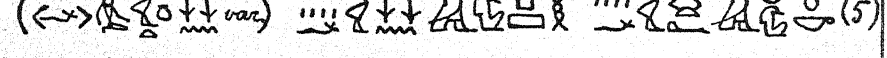
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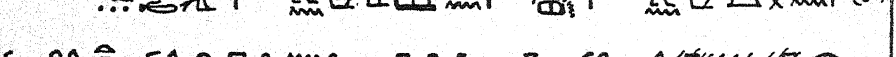
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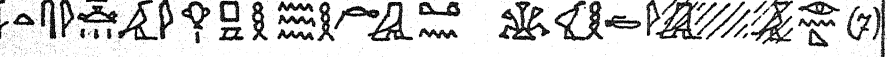
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Texts (14)–(23)

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Texts (64)-(76)

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τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ ποτε ἐλλιπεστέρου ἀναβαντος

(75)

ἐφ' ὧν συνεβη ἀβροχιαις περιπεπτωκεναι τους την χωραν κατοικουντας

(76)

ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβασις

(1) Pyr. 1553, b. 1554, a. : Those who see the Inundation when it rises tremble ; the meadows laugh, the banks are inundated (or : are green).

The revival of the vegetation after the drought of the summer is an effect of the Inundation and not of the river. The phrase *ḥwj ḥ'pj* is extremely common ; see (4), (13), (14), (15), (16), (18), (19), (20), (23), (25), (26), (27), (29), (47), (76), and there are several examples outside this list, which is by no means complete. For the meaning : to rise, see especially (23).

(2) Pyr. 564, a : The sustenance of N. is more than (that of) the Year, the food of N. is more than (that of) the Inundation.

Abundance of food depends on the Inundation, see this list *passim*. For us this is tantamount to saying that it depends on the river, but to the Egyptian mind *ḥ'pj* is a phenomenon more or less independent of the river, just as the ancients often seem to ignore the connection of light and sun ; cf. e.g. Gen. 1, where the light is created long before the sun comes into existence.

(3) Pyr. 292, d : Their houses (fall) through a fire, their residences through a high Inundation.

An Inundation which rises too high and overflows the kom's and ancient mounds (7), (23) plays havoc with the houses made of mud or sun-dried bricks.

(4) Coffin Text, B 1 C, 261 : The Inundation has risen ; the meadows are filled with water, the valleys are choked (?) with water.

See (1).

(5) Coffin Text, B 1 L, 178a = B 3 L, 214 : I am Re at his rise, the Inundation in its stagnation.

Just as *ḥ'j*, the rising of the sun is the typical act of the Sun-god, *nnj* is characteristic of the Inundation (*Wörterbuch* II, 275, 7). This word is very common in Graeco-Roman inscriptions which use it as a rule as a pun on Nu(n), one of the many names of the water of the Inundation in these inscriptions. Our text shows that this usage is much earlier than Graeco-Roman times and that in this case as in many others the late inscriptions borrow from ancient tradition. This example is highly instructive ; *nnj* could not possibly be used to describe an ever flowing river.

(6) Coffin Text, B1Bo, 812 : The Inundation brings northern barley to it ; the goddess of fowling brings fowl to it ; (the Sobk's fish fishes for it).

The Inundation brings abundance (2), and especially grain, that most valuable product of Egypt. See (9).

(7) F. L. Griffith, Siût, pl. 15, 7 : I made the high-land a Delta-swamp ; I caused the Inundation to submerge the ancient mounds.

This is a quotation in which the rendering Nile (the river) is not in itself excluded ; see the introductory remarks.

(8) *ibid.*, pl. 11, 5 : I am the Inundation . . .

A nomarch is speaking and praising himself as the source of happiness and prosperity for his people. The Inundation, not the river, is a suitable simile. This seems to be the earliest example of this metaphor, which apparently became very popular in the time of Amenophis III and his son. See (19), (20), (21), (22), cf. also (12).

(9) P. E. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. VIII, 8 : Then came great Inundations, possessors of barley and spelt, possessors of all things.

See (6), (11), (34), (35).

(10) Eloquent Peasant, B 1, 142 : Thou art the Inundation which maketh green the meadows and furnisheth the wasted tracts.

See (1), (12), (35).

(11) Instruction of Ammenemes (Mill. II, 11 and var.) : I was one who made barley, one beloved of the corn-god ; the Inundation showed respect for me on every . . . ; none was hungry in my years.

If the Inundation fails to come or is too low, this means hunger ; a good Inundation brings plenty of food and satiety (37).

(12) Cairo 20538 vs., 12 : He is one who illuminates the two lands more than the sun ; he is one who makes green more than a great Inundation ; he has filled the two lands with strength and life.

See (1), (10), (35), and for the comparison of the king with the Inundation : (8).

(13) A. H. Gardiner, Admonitions, 2, 3 : The Inundation rises, (yet) one does not plough for himself.

After the Inundation the land can be ploughed (cf. 43), but in times of civil war and raids of foreigners people neglect the land and the Inundation rises in vain. See (1).

(14) R. Engelbach, Harageh, pl. LXXVIII, 3 : The Inundation shall rise seven cubits deep over thy fields in thy house (domain) of thirst. (Anastasi I, 3, 7 : Nu(n) shall be abundant in thy domain ; he shall inundate thy path, he shall overflow (the land) seven cubits deep beside thy tomb.)

An Inundation of 7 cubits deep is proverbial, see also Anastasi IV, 1b, 8. Note the parallelism of *ḥ'pj* (in Harageh) and Nu(n) (in Anastasi), see (48).

(15) Cairo 34025 rt., 14 : More is its wine than water when the Inundation rises.

See (1).

(16) Anastasi IV, 4, 10 (Gardiner, Miscellanies, 39, 7) : My business flows (rises) like the Inundation.

See (1). The Inundation symbolizes success.

(17) Cairo 583, 11 : Then shall the Inundation come ; it shall inundate the land ; it shall give vegetables ; it shall double meat and food.

Another characteristic of the Inundation is that it *comes*. See also (23), (29), (30), (31), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (42). This verb could not be used of a continuously flowing river ; the Nile does not disappear and come back ; the Inundation does.

(18) Anastasi I, 8, 1 (supplemented from G. Posener, Ostraca hiératiques littéraires 1001) : (Fill my hand with papyrus and I will tell thee many things and will pour out for thee choice words) like the Inundation overflows and the flood is rich (?) at the season of the inundation, when it takes possession of the meadows.

See (1). That the Inundation takes possession of the land occurs again (41).

(19) N. de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, VI, XXV, 9 : The king is called : Inundation which overflows every day, which gives life to Egypt.

See (8). The Inundation gives life to or nourishes Egypt (21), (24), (34), (36).

(20) *ibid.* VI, XXV, 14 (similarly V, 11, 13) : The king is addressed : My North-wind, my myriad of inundations, overflowing daily.

See (8).

(21) Annales du Service, IV (1903), 206 : it is said in praise of Amenophis III : Great Inundation which gives life to Egypt, the breath of his mouth is the North-wind.

See (8), (19).

(22) *ibid.* IV (1903), 200 : Amenophis III is called : Khnum who builds the bodies on a par with a great Inundation of (i.e. which comes) every year.

See (8).

(23) Stela of Tirhaqa (F. Ll. Griffith in Mélanges Maspero, 425 sqq), 5 sqq : His Majesty prayed for an Inundation from his father Amon-re . . . Then came the season of the rise of the Inundation ; it rose greatly each day and continued many days rising at the rate of one cubit each day. It penetrated the mountains of Upper Egypt, it encircled (?) the mounds of Lower Egypt. The land was (merely) Nu(n) (the primaeval waters), (merely) the inundating waters so that islands were not distinguishable from the river (Nile). It rose twenty-one cubits a palm and two and a half fingers at the city of Thebes. His Majesty caused to be brought to him the records of the ancestors to examine the Inundations that had taken place in their time . . . The Inundation came as an abundant inundation [1] ; it submerged this whole land . . . It gave to me the field, goodly throughout ; it slew the rats and worms which were in it.

An important passage, showing the exact meaning of *ḥwj* (e.g. rising at the rate of one cubit each day). V. Vikentiyev, La haute crue du Nil et l'averse de l'an 6 du roi Taharqa, which may contain more material on my subject, was not accessible to me. Note that the inscription uses *itrw* where the river Nile itself is meant (islands were not distinguishable from the Nile), cf. (60). One of the benefits of a high inundation is that it destroys rats and the like, cf. (27).

(24) W. Flinders Petrie, Tanis II, pl. XLII, 15 : Thy mother Neit of Sais [came to thee] that she might bring to thee the Inundation in order to give life to thy army.

See (19).

(25) J. Couyat et P. Montet, Les inscriptions . . . du Ouâdi Hammâmât, nr 114, 8 : The Inundation rises under his fingers with all good things.

See (1).

(26) Pap. Leyden I 350, III, 1 (= ZÄS 42 (1905), 25) : The Inundation rises from its cavern for thy primordial gods.

See (1).

(27) Pap. Chester-Beatty V rt., 6, 10 : The sun arises not in his presence, the Inundation does not rise for him. He is like a mouse of a high Inundation (i.e. when a high Inundation takes place), it cannot find a place of retreat.

[1] Berlin Dictionary I, 150, 3.

See (1). A high inundation kills rats, mice and other vermin, see (23).

(28) ZÄS 34 (1896), 111 sqq passim ; only one example of these records of inundation-levels engraved on the quai at Karnak is here given : The Inundation ; year 5 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Wśr-mȝʿt-rʿ*, *śtp·n Imn*, the son of Re, Osorkon, beloved of Amun.

It is significant that these prosaic records of Nile-levels use *ḥʿpj* as the ordinary word for the inundation, whereas the same kind of unadorned official documents use *itrw*, when they mention the Nile as boundary of an estate (68), (69).

(29) H. Brugsch, Thesaurus 1222 (= Mariette, Abydos II, 10): May your time be happy like my time ; may the Inundation come to you at its season while overflowing.

See (1) and (17).

(30) Papyrus Petersbourg 1116A, 87 (Merikare) : The Inundation is not in a bad condition for thee so that it does not come.

See (17).

(31) G. Lefebvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris, text nr 61, 35 : Ships fare northward and southward on it at the season when the Inundation comes.

See (17). The Inundation makes navigation possible in places which are normally not navigable ; also (32).

(32) *ibid.* nr 58, 24 : The Inundation comes to thee according to thy wish, Achet gives thee her boons ... Thy ships are bound for their city, when the Inundation comes. They hasten northward and southward according to thy desire.

See (17) and (31).

(33) Stela of the famine (H. Brugsch, Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnot), l. 2 : My heart was very dejected because the Inundation did not come in my time for a period of seven years.

See (17). The lack of *ḥʿpj* brings on a famine. Even in those seven years the Nile, of course, continued to flow, however shallow the river may have been.

(34) Nile-stela (Lepsius, Denkmäler III, 175, a, 2 sqq) : Riches are on its (the Inundation's) path, food is on its fingers ; people rejoice at its coming ... As to the day that thou comest forth from thy cavern, everybody rejoices, (for) thou art the possessor of fishes, rich in grain ... They make jubilation at thy appearance.

Then said His Majesty: The Inundation gives life to the two lands; meat and food come into being when he rises.

The inscriptions of the Nile-stelae in praise of *ḥ'pj*, the father of the gods, who creates himself, clearly address the Inundation. All the expressions which are typical of the Inundation crop up one after the other, cf. (2), (17), (9), (19). *ḫ'j*: to appear, like the verb "to come", suits the inundation, but not the river. *bśj* is often used of Nu(n). On the contrary there is no allusion to the importance of the Nile as a water-road. If *ḥ'pj* were the river we would expect to find at least one sentence alluding to this vital function: ships fare upstream and downstream upon thee, or the like. As regards the epithet: possessor of fishes (also (37), (38)), one may compare the description in S. Passarge, Die Urlandschaft Ägyptens, etc. p. 114: Mit dem Steigen der Flut breiteten sich die Fische... über die vom Wasser bedeckten Gebiete aus... p. 117: Wenn das Hochwasser sank, wurden die Fische aus den trocknenden Pfützen mit Netzen, Schalen, Händen ausgeschöpft.

(35) Coffin Text, SIP, 16 sqq (Lacau, Textes religieux XIX): I have become the Inundation; I go at my hours, I come (back) at my season... I am the Inundation, possessor of food, who comes in rejoicing, sweetly-beloved... I am the Inundation, lord of water, who brings the green... I have come that I may make green the two lands, that I may rise over the mounds and surmount the back of the slopes.

The Spell for becoming *ḥ'pj* gives less information on *ḥ'pj* than one might expect. Still, the usual predicates of the Inundation make their appearance, see (1), (2), (17), (7), (18). The dead does not wish to be the river, but he wishes to become the Inundation, which goes and comes, i.e. dies and returns to life as he himself hopes to do.

(36) Hymne au Nil (Pap. Chester-Beatty V rt. 1, 12 sqq and var.): Hail to thee, Inundation which cometh forth from the earth, which cometh to give life to Egypt... which inundateth the meadows... which maketh barley and which createth spelt... which bringeth meat, rich in food... which createth pasturage for the cattle... which filleth the barns and enlargeth the granaries.

The hymne au Nil is really a hymn to the Inundation. What is intelligible of this very corrupt text deals with the Inundation. See the note on (34). Cf. (17), (19), (1), (2), (6), etc.

(37) Anastasi IV, 10, 6 (Gardiner, Miscellanies, 45, 15) : Amun-re, thou great Inundation, which surmounteth the mountains, possessor of fishes, rich in fowl ; all poor people are satiated.

See (34), (38).

(38) Cairo 34025, rt., 6 : Its lake is filled with the high Inundation, possessor of fishes and fowl (ibid., 13 : the Nu(n) which is in its lake).

The water of the sacred lake is identical with the primaeval water, Nu(n), and the water of the inundation, cf. (14), (48). See also (34), (37).

(39) Book of the Dead 17 (Grapow, Abschn. 24) : Who announces the Inundation without being seen.

The inundation which comes at its season (29), on the day when it comes forth (34) can be announced (*s'mj*, cf. *śr*, p. 2), but not the river which is never wholly absent.

(40) K. Sethe, Urkunden IV, 1116, 4 : The rising of Sothis, the . . . of the Inundation is announced to him ; the rain (?) is announced to him.

See (39). Can the ship be read *ḥd* (cf. (46)) : "the faring (downstream)" in stead of "the coming" of the Inundation ? The coming of the Inundation and the rising of Sothis are of course closely connected.

(41) F. Rossi, W. Pleyte, Papyrus de Turin, CXXXII, 7 : The poison seized his body like the Inundation seizes around itself.

See (18).

(42) Stela of Montuḥotpe (P.S.B.A.18, 201) : A low Inundation took place in the year 25 ; I prevented that my nome hungered, I prevented that misery occurred in it until great Inundations came.

See (17), (2), (11).

(43) K. Sethe, Urkunden IV, 125, 3 : The Inundation is very high.

See (13).

(44) Pap. Harris I, 23, 4 : Give great and rich Inundations in his time in order to supply his reign with plentiful food.

(45) Stela with blessing of Ptah (Transactions S.B.A. VII, 119 sqq with plate), 10 : I give thee a great Inundation, I endow for thee the two lands with wealth, food, meat, riches, viands.

(46) Mariette, Abydos II, 54, l. 15 : I have not kept the Inundation from (the place) to which it fared.

The sense is rather obscure ; is it "I have not tried to stop the water of the Inundation" ? See (40).

(47) M.I.F.A.O. V, 105 (tomb of Rekhmire) : Then shalt thou sit on the river's brink ; thou shalt enjoy the new water, the Inundation shall overflow in thy belly.

In this text *ḥ'pj* is clearly identical with the new water, i.e. the water of the Inundation. Note the phrase : the river's brink, not *ḥ'pj*'s brink, see (23) : the high bank of the Nile, which is not inundated, is meant.

(48) P. Bucher, Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III, etc. p. 16 (Am-Duat, 3rd hour) : to create Nu(n), to make the strides of the Inundation.

A quotation exemplifying the parallelism of Nu(n) and *ḥ'pj*, see (14), (38), (49), (50).

(49) P. Tresson, La stèle de Koubân, 17, sqq : If thou sayest to the water : Come upon the mountain, Nu(n) comes forth quickly after thy word . . . If thou thyself say to thy father the Inundation, the father of the gods : Let water rise upon the mountain, he will do according to all that thou hast said.

See (48).

(50) Pap. Berlin 3048, VIII, 3 : Who bringeth the Inundation from its cavern, who maketh green the corn and maketh the provisions of what comes from him in his name of the great Nu(n).

See (48).

(51) K. Sethe, Urkunden I, 183, 4 : Thou . . . a heavy storm on the River. The context is lost ; probably somebody is sailing on the Nile.

(52) Hammâmât (see (25), nr 113, 12 : I made the desert the River and the high valleys a road of water.

(53) *ibid.* nr 114, 13 : I made the road the River.

See (62).

(54) Beni Hasan I (see (9) XXV, 22 (= 33) : He divided the great River along its back (middle).

The middle of the Nile is the boundary of two nomes. This classic text calls the Nile *itrw*.

(55) P. E. Newberry, El Bersheh I, pl. XIV, 11 : (officials) who had been appointed for the toll-houses (?) on the River.

(56) A. H. Gardiner, Admonitions, 2, 6 : The dead are numerous ; men bury in the River.

The same text used *ḥ'pj* for the Inundation (13).

(57) *ibid.*, 2, 10 : The River is blood, and (yet) men drink of it.

(58) Pap. Petersbourg 1116 B (Neferrohu), 26 : The River of Egypt is dry ; men cross over the water on foot.

Cf. the Coptic ⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣ ; Crum, Dictionary I, 82b : Nile so low that men can ⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ.

(59) *ibid.*, 35 : The beasts of the desert shall drink from the River of Egypt.

(60) Hirtengeschichte (Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin V, pl. 16), 15 : . . . the year of a high Inundation . . . the pool was not distinguishable from the River.

In a year of a high Inundation the whole country is covered with water ; it is impossible to dinstinguish the Nile from the waterpools in its neighbourhood ; cf. (23).

(61) Amarna (see (19), VI, XXVII, 6 (cf. III, XXIX, 9) : The fish in the River jump for thy face. The same hymn uses *ḥ'pj* where the Inundation is meant, see p. 4.

(62) *ibid.* VI, XXVII, 11 : Thou makest myriads of phenomena out of thyself alone (leg. *w' · tj*) : cities, villages, fields, road and River.

Note the parallelism of road (i.e. land-road) and River, the water-road *par excellence.* As such it is here mentioned. It would be impossible to replace it by *ḥ'pj*, which is the source of fertility, riches, etc., but not the great Egyptian water-road. See also (52), (53).

(63) A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories, 35, 5 (= Blinding of Truth 9, 4) : The great River is its resting-place.

The Nile is the resting-place of the great Bull, whose horns rest on the eastern and western mountains.

(64) Pap. Leyden I 350, I , 12 (= ZÄS 42, 15) : The River flows northward and the North-wind, it blows southward.

(65) Pap. Harris I, 57, 6 : their ships upon the River.

(66) *ibid.* 77, 13 : (The products of Punt arrived at Coptos) ; they were loaded into ships upon the River.

(67) *ibid.* 77, 1 : Having taken the cities of the western bank . . . they reached the great River on its every side.

(68) Lepsius, Denkmäler III, 229c *passim* (see Breasted, Ancient Records §§ 474 sqq) : The West is the River.

The Nile demarks the western boundary of a parcel of land ; similarly (69).

(69) H. Bruysch, Thesaurus III, 530, pl. I, 21 and *passim*: The East is the great River.

See (68).

(70) Stela of Piankhi, 88: The River flows around the East (the east side of Memphis); there is no way of attacking there.

(71) Cairo 34025, rt., 16: The great boat on the River (the sacred barge of Amun).

(72) Pap. Westcar 4,10: Then he set fire to her [her ashes] being thrown into the River.

It is perhaps doubtful whether the Nile or a simple canal is here meant, but (73) certainly refers to the Nile.

(73) P.S.B.A. XXIII (1901), pp. 230 sqq. (pl. I, II): Its northern barley [was pulled out] being thrown into the River.

See (72).

(74) K. Sethe, Urkunden II, 130, 6 (Canopus-decree): A year of a low Inundation took place in their time.

(75) *ibid.*, 130, 12: In whose time a low Inundation took place for the people of Egypt.

(76) *ibid.*, 138, 11: The rising of the Inundation.

ḥ3j is apparently a late orthography of *ḥwj* (1). The same orthography Pap. Leyden T 32, VI 10/11: the day of the rising of *ḥ'pj*. I owe this reference to Dr Stricker.

AT WHAT TIME HAS THE REIGN OF MENES TO BE PLACED?

BY P. VAN DER MEER, AMSTERDAM

To fix the date of the reign of Menes has been one of the most difficult tasks of the historian. This becomes clear from the different dates which have been proposed. According to a list given by Duncan Macnaughton [1]) we get the following dates: Champollion-Figeac (1839) 5867 B.C.; Macnaughton (1932) 5776 B.C.; Böckh (1845) 5702 B.C.; Manetho (± 300 B.C.) 5700 B.C.; Unger (1867) 5613 B.C.; Macnaughton (1929) 5598 B.C.; Petrie (1906) 5510 B.C.; Mariette (1876) 5004 B.C.; Petrie (1894) 4777 B.C.; Petrie (1929) 4553 B.C.; Brugsch (1877) 4400 B.C.; Lepsius (1858) 3892 B.C.; Breasted (1906) 3400 B.C.; Sethe (1905) 3360 B.C.; Meyer (1904—1908) 3315 B.C.; Meyer (1887) 3180 B.C.; Wilkenson (1836) 2320 B.C. To this list can be added: Borchardt (1917) between 4170 and 4510 B.C. [2]); Meyer (1925) 3197 B.C. [3]); Scharff (1941) ± 3000 B.C. [4]); Albright (1942) ± 2900 B.C. [5]). None of these estimates ever gained universal acceptance. I am very far from expecting that the date which I shall propose, will achieve the same, although the facts on which this date is based have been known and accepted for a very long time. They have been put forward many times [6]) but I shall adduce them again

[1]) Duncan Macnaughton, A Scheme of Egyptian Chronology, 1932, p. 6.
[2]) Borchardt, Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des alten Reichs der aegypt. Geschichte, 1917.
[3]) Ed. Meyer, Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Egyptens, 1925, p. 68.
[4]) A. Scharff, Frühkulturen Ägyptens und Mesopotamiens, A.O. 41, p. 36.
[5]) W. F. Albright, BASOR No. 88, 1942, p. 32.
[6]) H. Frankfort, Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East I 1924; A. Scharff, Grundzüge der aegyptischen Vorgeschichte, Morgenland, 12, 1927; H. Junker, Die Entwicklung der vorgeschichtlichen Kultur in Ägypten, Festschrift W. Schmidt, Wien, 1928, p. 865—896; G. Conteneau, Manuel d'archéologie orientale III, p. 1581—1599, 1615; A. Scharff, Neues zur Frage der ältesten ägyptisch-babylonischen Kulturbeziehungen, ZÄS 71, 1935, p. 83—106; J. Janssen, De oudste betrekkingen tusschen Egypte en Mesopotamië, Ex oriente Lux, Jaarbericht 7, p. 319—326; A. Scharff, Die Frühkulturen Ägyptens und Mesopotamiens, A.O. Bd. 41, 1941.

because, put in the frame of comparative archaeology, they form a certain base to fix the date of the reign of Menes.

About SD 40 in the Naqada II period small jars have been found in Egypt with a much broader flat bottom than the Egyptian jars generally had and a still broader belly with wavy handles. Handles were usually not found on Egyptian jars. It seems that the Egyptians for one or other reason disliked handles on pottery. They were shortlived. Instead of being an instrument for lifting up the jar for which they were intended they became an ornament and were placed on the shoulder of the jar while the wavy handles became smaller and finally finished in a row of knobs round the shoulder. The jar itself became more slender and ended in a cylindrical form. Those jars have now also been found in Maadi [1]), which is contemporaneous with the beginning of the Naqada II period, and especially in Palestine and Syria, where they seem to be at home, being found there regularly and in much greater numbers. Here they have also a much longer existence while the wavy handle had a regular development [2]). Wavy handles were found in Palestine not only on jars but also on cups and bowls [3]). The unproportionate flat bottom and the wavy handles are characteristics of the Palestinian pottery. These jars were either imported into Egypt or they were imitated Palestinian models.

Small globular shaped vases were found with flat bottom and little narrow neck splaying out at the end and with small knobs as handles through which cords could pass for suspension. The painting consists of long thin vertical lines round the vase. These lines are put in groups of four or five together with a certain space between the two groups. The neck is wholly painted in the same colour as the lines. They are completely un-Egyptian both as to shape as well as painting. They have however many parallels in Palestine [4]). They are so numerous here that they seem to

[1]) O. Menghin, Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, Bd. V p. 213 ; pl. XX, c5.c1.

[2]) Flinders Petrie, Tell el Hesy, 1891, pl. V 42—43 ; Sellin, Ta'annek, pl. 1 c.k. ; Bliss—Macalister, Gezer II p. 133 fig. 303 ; III pl. 32, I ; 143, 21 ; 145, 9 ; Sellin—Watzinger, Jericho, p. 20 A 3a ; A 3b, p. 21C I ; Abusir el Meleq, pl. 9, 5 has a parallel in Jericho Sellin—Watzinger, Jericho, pl. 20 A 3a ; Abusir el Meleq, pl. 19, 6 has a parallel in Jericho Abusir el Meleq pl. 9, 6 ; Shipton SAOC 17 Strata XIX—XX, No. 8.

[3]) Engberg—Shipton SAOC X Table, group I and 13.

[4]) Engberg—Shipton, SAOC X Table, group 24 and 26 ; Shipton, SAOC 17 Stratum XIX, 4 ; Ceramique de caverne d'Ophel, A. G. Barrois, Manuel d'archéologie biblique, fig. 156.

be at home. They are generally a little smaller in Palestine, about 7,5—8,5 c.M. by 13 c.M. in Egypt. Although those found in Egypt were made there, they were certainly imitations of Palestinian models, so that we can speak here of Palestinian influence.

Another vase appearing at the end of the Naqada II period is a small jug with spout. Its height varies from 4,7 c.M. to 16,1 c.M. The jugs are 5,5 c.M. to 16,7 c.M. wide, so that their width is greater than their height. The diameter of the neck is 2,5 c.M. to 3,3 c.M.; the diameter of the bottom varies from 2,6 c.M. to 8 c.M. The neck is splaying wide out at the end. The spout goes straight up from the shoulder to the rim of the neck. Vases with spouts are very rare in Egypt, while they are very frequent in Palestine [1]) and especially in Mesopotamia during the Jemdet Nasr- and Lagaš period [2]). As they are rare in Egypt but quite common in Mesopotamia and Palestine, the conclusion that they are at home there and imported or modelled in Egypt under Mesopotamian influence, seems wholly justified.

At the end of the Naqada II period a series of shapes of vases in pottery as well as in stone appears which is quite remarkable for Egypt, but common in Mesopotamia, especially during the Jemdet Nasr- and Lagaš period. These vases are shaped in animal form. There is, however, a great difference between the vases in animal shape of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The animals, perhaps with the exception of the camel and the elephant, are all Egyptian and occur all on the slate pallets. The technique of inlaid eyes is the same in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The little perforated knobs for cords are the same as on the common stone vases in Egypt. The stone vases are very numerous in Egypt as is quite natural in a country rich in stone. For these reasons we have to accept that the vases in animal shape, with some exceptions, are Egyptian made. Notwithstanding this fact, it remains true that this kind of vases were very rare, while they were frequent in Mesopotamia on the limited number of stone vases. Vases in animal shape occur already in Mesopotamia during the Ubaid period. Comparing the animal-shaped vases from Mesopotamia with those from

[1]) Engberg—Shipton, SAOC X Table, group 23; Shipton SAOC 17, Stratum XIX, I, which is a parallel with Petrie corpus pl. XVIII, 58a, 2, pl. 15, No. 10—11, 15, 17.

[2]) Christian, Altertumskunde des Zweistromenlandes, Pl. 49, 2; pl. 50, 4; pl. 56, 25; pl. 57 and 58; pl. 79, pl. 81, pl. 83.

Egypt a great difference comes to light. When the Egyptian artist intended to make a vase in animal shape, the idea of the vase was in the foreground while the idea of the animal was only secondary. It is as if the vase is enlarged by pieces to give it the shape of an animal [1]). In Mesopotamia and adjoining countries, however, the animal shape is in the foreground. They shape an animal and scoop it out to serve as a vase. They fix on an aperture more or less skilfully [2]). Among the vases in animal shape in Egypt two, one in the shape of a bird, the other of a camel, have been found fashioned according to the Mesopotamian technique, so that they must have been imported. Although the animal-shaped vases are generally made in Egypt, they are not of Egyptian origin but have been influenced from Mesopotamia and adjoining countries where they are at home.

These animal-shaped vases are generally joined on potstands perforated with triangels. Potstands occur sporadically in Egypt and vanished after a short time. They are frequent in Mesopotamia and of a very great variety [3]). The only difference between those of Egypt and those of Mesopotamia consists in the fact that the stands are joint on the vases in Egypt while they are separated in Mesopotamia, so that the Egyptian potter has not taken them over without any special idea. That the potstands were borrowed from Mesopotamia seems clear from the fact that they were rare in Egypt and vanished after a short existence, while they were very common in Mesopotamia and lasted from the Jemdet Nasr period to the Lagaš period and even longer.

The same can be said of the stone vases with two, three or four compartments, which have only a few parallels in Egypt but are very numerous in Mesopotamia. The Egyptian as well as the Babylonian ones have a cord decoration round the shoulder. They had a short existence during the Naqada II period and the first dynasty. This shows that they are not at home in Egypt and never had a fixed foothold in the frame of Egyptian products.

[1]) JEA, 12, pl. 12, 1—6; pl. 13, 1—4.

[2]) H. Frankfort, Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East I, p. III; Dritter vorläufiger Vorbericht Uruk—Warka, Pl. 18a; Christian, Altertumskunde Mesopotamiens, pl. 103, 3.

[3]) Langdon, Excavations at Kish IV pl. 1, 15; Field Museum of Nat. Hist. Anthr. Mem. Vol. 1 pl. XII 16, 15; XI, 6, XIV, 7; OIP No. 20 pl. 1 and fig. 34 a; No. 17 fig. 58; Ur Excavations, Vol. II pl. 180, 1.

They therefore create the impression of having come into being under Mesopotamian influence where they are in taste during the Jemdet Nasr and Lagaš period.

Imitation must be assumed for some stone vases with reliefwork in Egypt for their unaesthetical appearance. The great number of stone vases in Egypt, however, against a relatively small number in Mesopotamia did not undergo any influence at all. In contrast with Babylonian stone-cutters the Egyptians tried to please by the beauty of the stone-material itself, as the colour, the vein of the marmor and the granite in combination with the shape. The Babylonian stone-cutter on the other hand was bent on producing a real piece of art. He tried to embellish the material which generally was inferior to that of Egypt with inlay-work of lapis lazuli, sandstone, pearlshell, reliefwork and even plastic decorations. This kind of vases was found in Mesopotamia during the Jemdet Nasr and Lagaš period but was foreign to Egypt and must have been imported from Mesopotamia [1]). The same applies to the pearshaped maceheads with knobs [2]) and with a frieze of reliefwork consisting of lions and dogs [3]) from the end of the Naqada II period. Although these pieces were probably made in Egypt, the work was un-Egyptical and only made according to a Babylonian example [4]).

The reliefwork in general did not find favour in Egypt except on slate pallets and bone hafts of knives. They are Egyptian products but show a very great Mesopotamian influence, especially on the knifehaft of Gebel el Arak [5]), where the lionkiller is entirely un-Egyptical and Babylonian in appearance. He wears a long beard, a thick wig on which a turban and a long skirt splitted on the foreside. These are all typically Mesopotamian characteristics and foreign to Egypt. They are met in the lion-hunting scene on the basaltstele in the Jemdet Nasr period [6]) and on several cylinderseals especially during the Lagaš period. The motive

[1]) Hierakonpolis I pl. 19, 1.

[2]) Scharff, Altertumskunde der Vor- und Frühgeschichte I, pl. 8 No. 152; Scharff, Frühkulturen, A.O. Bd. 41, 1941, p. 22.

[3]) Hierakonpolis II pl. 23.

[4]) Scharff, Frühkulturen, p. 23; Scharff, Neues zur Frage der ältesten ägyptisch-babylonischen Kulturbeziehungen, ÄZ 71, pl. I b, c.

[5]) Scharff, Frühkulturen, pl. VI a, b; Louvre, pl. I b—c; Schäfer—Andrae, Propylaeen Kunst, II 2 p. 185 Frankfort, Studies in early pottery of the near east I pl. XIII, 1.

[6]) Fünfter Vorläufiger Bericht Uruk—Warka, pl. 12—13; pl. 22a, 23a, b, 29a.

where a man is attacked by two lions is also typically Mesopotamian. It is a very popular representation in Mesopotamia, while it appears scarcely in Egypt. Still another motive on the knifehaft shows Mesopotamian influence, namely the lion attacking a bull from the back. The special manner in which the attack is represented is unknown in Egyptian art. The bull proceeds calmly as if nothing happened. He pays no attention to what happens behind him as the four victims attacked in the same way on the gold handle of Gebel Tariff [1]). This representation is common place on Babylonian seals and monuments [2]). It is, however, not found on any Egyptian work of art [3]). Even the dogs of the knifehaft of Gebel el Arak have no resemblance to the Egyptian dogs with hanging ears. Notwithstanding these Mesopotamian influences the knifehaft is an Egyptian product as is clear from the fighters with the phallus pouch.

A very popular motive in Mesopotamia is the antithetical group, where a man fights with two lions or where two animals turned away from each other are held together in one way or another. A divine animal can take the place of a man here as in the Imdugud motive [4]). Against the numerous representations in Mesopotamia only one example is known from Egypt, namely an ivory carved work from Hierakonpolis [5]). This lived on in the hieroglyph of the town Cusae. It represents a man on two lion-dragons holding their necks together [6]). This representation is of Egyptian make but shows an unmistakable Mesopotamian influence. With this Imdugud motive, which is a Mesopotamian symbol of the god of fertility Ningirsu-Tammuz-Abu, another motive joins up, which is the Mesopotamian god of fertility Ningizzida and consists in the intertangled necks of two lion-dragons which are connected with the intertangled serpents [7]). This motive of intertwined serpents occurs several times on Egyptian slate pallets [8]). At the end of these pallets stands the pallet of Narmer. After this the motive

[1]) Capart, Primitive Art in Egypt, fig. 23.
[2]) Wêber, Altorientalische Siegelbilder, No. 20.
[3]) H. Frankfort, Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East I, p. 122—123.
[4]) Moortgat, Frühe Bildkunst, pl. 3, 4.
[5]) Quibell, Hierakonpolis I pl. 16, 2; Capart, Primitive Art in Egypt, p. 126 fig. 108.
[6]) Blackman Meir II pl. 17, II 6, IV pl. 9.
[7]) Frankfort, Cylinderseals, pl. IV h; V h.
[8]) Hierakonpolis II pl. 28; Schäfer—Andrae, Propylaeen Kunst II 2 p. 189.

does not occur any more in Egypt. From the short-lived period we can conclude that it did not enter the Egyptian set of motives and was dropped so that it was regarded to be of foreign origin and was not accepted in native art.

Another motive representing an antithetical group shows two animals at both sides of a tree. This group is very often represented on the backside of the pallets where two giraffes are placed right and left of a palmtree [1]). The giraffe-palmtree motive with the typical African animal is undoubtedly an Egyptian product In Egypt it is represented only in this way, while it appears differently in Mesopotamia where the animals are always goats and sheep [2]).

Among the stone-implements were found gray-coloured saws. The same gray-coloured saws occur very often in Palestine, as in Tell Taannek [3]). Gray flint scrapers were met, flat, oval, fan-shaped, very thin and fine. It is one of the characteristical pieces of Maadi, which has to be placed at the end of the Naqada I and during the Naqada II period. These scrapers were very numerous at Teleilat Ghassul, Jericho and other places in Palestine [4]). They were made of gray flint in flat thin disks with carefully worked edges sharply chipped off.

We found in Egypt during the Naqada II period, especially at the end, pottery with several different shapes, stone vases with inlay, stone vases and pottery in animal shape, potstands, stone vases with several compartments, several motives in reliefwork and some types of stone implements which, according to everybody, are not of Egyptian origin but point to Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, although the rest of the Egyptian material is entirely at home in Egypt and completely indigenous. So many different elements, not necessarily connected with each other, prove that we have to do here not with a casual similarity but with a strong influence borrowed from these countries. Now the pieces

[1]) JEA II pl. 15 ; Scharff, Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit I p. 74, pl. 22 No. 107 ; p. 26 fig. 38 ; p. 78 fig. 54.

[2]) Scharff, Frühkulturen pl. VII 38.

[3]) Abusir el Meleq, pl. 30 ; Sellin, Tell Ta'annek pl. VII.

[4]) R. Neuville, Notes de préhistoire palestinienne, Journ. of Palest. Orient. Soc. X 1930, p. 193 ; O. Menghin, Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, Bd V pl. XXI ; Menghin—Mustafa Amer, The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi II pl. LVI, 6, 8, 10 ; pl. CIX, 2, 4, 8.

borrowed, or coming into being under influence, in Egypt cannot be there earlier than in the countries where they were at home and had their origin. They must necessarily be later in the country which borrowed or imitated them than in the country of their origin, although not a very long time need have passed. However short the time was, they must naturally be later. As all these pieces point to the Jemdet Nasr and Lagaš period, the Naqada II period in Egypt must take its origin during the Jemdet Nasr period, probably at the end, and last on into the Lagaš period for the first phase.

The exactness of this conclusion is proved by pottery and stone vases of the first dynasty, several vases having their parallels in Palestine and Syria. A vase of the first dynasty from Abydos [1]), a bulged pot with flat bottom, narrow neck splaying out at the end and combed surface, has a complete parallel at Megiddo XVIII [2]). In the royal tombs of Abydos bulging jugs were found with narrow flat bottom, narrow neck with turned down rim and a handle slightly bulging out from the shoulder straight to the rim. Under the handle are two horizontal painted lines under which two wavy lines closed by two horizontal lines. Near the neck are also two horizontal lines. Borchard has proved from the Sahure relief that these vases are of Syrian origin. On the Sahure relief they are accompanied by bears [3]). These jugs have their parallels in Megiddo XVIII—XVI and Et-Tell-ʿAi [4]). The first dynasty of Egypt must therefore be contemporary with Megiddo XVIII and Et-Tell-ʿAi.

Vases with imprints of cylinder seals have been found in Megiddo XIX. Especially three of these impressions have to be considered for comparison with cylinder seals of Mesopotamia, having the same style and technique [5]). One of these imprints, A, represents stylized heads of animals. Three parallels can be found in Mesopotamia, one in Fara found in the sterile layer which divided the Jemdet Nasr from the Lagaš period, so that there is no doubt as to the date, namely Lagaš I. This one, however, is not entirely

[1]) Petrie, Abydos I pl. VIII, 6.
[2]) Shipton, SAOC 17 Table Stratum XVIII.
[3]) Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure II, 26.
[4]) Shipton, SAOC 17, Table Stratum XVIII, 5; Stratum XVI—XVII, 3; Syria XVI, pl. VIII, 42.
[5]) Engberg—Shipton, SAOC 10, fig. 10—11, p. 31—39.

in the style of the Megiddo seal although it contains animal heads, which do not appear before the Lagaš period. The two others are of Ešnunna of the Lagaš I period. As. 31—2 [1]) does not only contain heads of animals but also crossed animals, which is a later development. As. 31—218 [2]) contains only heads like the seal of Megiddo. The Megiddo seal resembles the last one most for the manner of engraving as well as for the space between the heads. This seal has been found in the layer of Lagaš II during which this style was in use. Cylinder seal impression B forms a frieze for the intertangling of the motives which continue indefinitely. There is a perfect coordination of the animals. One of them lies turned upon the other so that they form a whole. They are divided harmonically over the space to be filled, which produces a perfect decoration. A seal perfectly identical has been found in the Lagaš I period at Fara [3]). The animals are treated as simple harmonized components of one decoration. Cylinder seal impression C with the row of animals does not claim a certain date because these already appear during the Jemdet Nasr period. As the seal impressions A and B point to a similarity with the Lagaš period, we can place layer XIX of Megiddo during Lagaš I and the beginning of Lagaš II ; so Megiddo XVIII must be placed during the rest of Lagaš II and also the first dynasty of Egypt which is contemporaneous with Megiddo XVIII.

This conclusion is corroborated by comparative archaeology, because the same elements occur in the corresponding layers of all the several places in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. In Megiddo XVIII appears a new element which shows a culture risen to a high level. The poorly built houses were replaced by houses of reed or straw coated with loam or sundried tiles on a stone foundation. The houses were rectangular and divided in square rooms with an oval or absidal annex on one side. This abside is semicircular with corbelled arch. This new element together with the different shapes of vases has been found in the contemporaneous layer of different places. It was found in Et-Tell-ʿAi ; Jericho layer VI—VII ; Beisan layer XVI ; Hama layer K. The pottery of Megiddo XVIII had parallels in all these

[1]) Engberg—Shipton, SAOC 10, fig. 12 A.
[2]) Engberg—Shipton, SAOC 10, fig. 12 B.
[3]) Heinrich—Andrae, Fara 1934, pl. 48 a.

places [1]). These parallels prove that Megiddo XVIII is contemporaneous with Et-Tell-ʿAi, Beisan XVI, Jericho VI—VII, Teleilat Ghassul, Hama layer K, Tell Jedeideh layer XIII. Because layer K at Hama has many parallels in Tepe Gawra VI, which must be placed during the Lagaš period for the many parallels it has with this period [2]), layer K at Hama must be contemporaneous with the Lagaš period. Layer K at Hama being contemporaneous with

[1]) Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, 21-Et-Tell-AY, Syria XVI, pl. LVIII, 16.

Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, 14-Et-Tell-AY, Syria XVI, pl. LVI, 13.

Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, 12-Et-Tell-AY, Syria XVI, pl. LVII, 28-Ophel, Vincent, Jerusalem sous terre, pl. IX, Jericho, AAA, XXII, pl. XXXIII, 19.

Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, 11-Et-Tell-AY, Syria XVI, pl. LVIII, 4.

Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, 7-Et-Tell-AY, Syria XVI, pl. LVIII, 42.

Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, 5—6-Jericho, Tomb A, AAA, XXIX, pl. III, 19—21.

Megiddo, Shipton, SAOC 17, Stratum XVIII, II- has a parallel in Hama layer K, Ingholt, Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie, Layer K. Et-Tell-Ay, Syria XVI, pl. LVIII, 30, 40, 41; Vincent, Jerusalem sous terre, pl. X, 40; Beisan, Museum Journal, 24, 1935, pl. V; Et-Tell-Ay, o.c. 13; Ophel, Vincent, Jerusalem sous terre, pl. IX, M.J. 24 1935, pl. V; Et-Tell-Ay, o.c. 2; Hama, 4 B. 602, Ingholt, o.c. layer K; Et-Tell-Ay, o.c. 3; Hama, 4 B. 610, Ingholt, o.c. layer K.

Jericho VI—VII, AAA XXII, 1935, pl. XXVI, 9—10 and 18; Ophel, o.c. pl. IX—X; Gezer II, fig. 305 p. 135; fig. 316 and 317 p. 153 ff.

Jericho VI—VII, AAA XXII, 1935, pl. XXV, 36; Beisan, M.J. 24, 1935 pl. V, 20; pl. VIII, 20, 25.

Jericho VI—VII, AAA XXII, 1935, pl. XXXIX, 15; Gezer II fig. 305, 6.
,, ,, ,, XXIII, 1936, pl. XXXVI, 21; Gezer II fig. 305, 1.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, , pl. XXXV, 5; XXXIV, 13, bowls of different shapes are similar to those Beisan, layer XV.

Jericho VI—VII, AAA XXIII, 1936, pl. XXXVI, 7—10, 13, 14; Et-Tell-Ay, Syria, XVI, 1935, p. 343; Gezer II fig. 316, 6, II, 16; Beisan, M.J. 1935, pl. III, II.

Jericho VI—VII, AAA XXIII, 1936, pl. XXXVI, 19; Beisan, M.J. 24, 1935, pl. III, II; pl. I, 30.

Jericho VI—VII, AAA XXIII, 1936, pl. XXXVI, 4; Beisan, M.J. 24, 1935, pl. V 20; pl. VIII, 20, 25.

Teleilat Ghassul, pl. 45, i; Megiddo, XVI—XVIII, R.B. 1934, p. 406, pl. XXVIII, 8; Jericho, Tomb A, AAA XIX 1932, pl. IX, 10—20, 23—25: pl. III 15—18; pl. VII 6.

Teleilat Ghassul, pl. 47—48; II pl. 76, 1—26; Gezer II, p. 142; III, pl. CXLIII, 1, 2.

Teleilat Ghassul II pl. 79, 1—3; Megiddo, XVIII, 15—18.

Hama, layer K No. V. 6 has parallels in Beisan, PEFQ. 1934, fig. I; M.J. XXIV, 1935, pl. VII, 6.

Hama, pl. IV, 3 has parallels at Tell Jedeideh XIII, AJA XLI, 1937, p. 10—11 and Niniveh, layer III—IV, Mallowan, AAA, XX, 1933, p. 168; Some implements in layer K at Hama are typical of layer XIII—XI at Tell Jedeideh with several parallels at Jericho, AAA XXIV, pl. VI B 4—10, AAA XXII, pl. LVI, A 1—8 and also at Tepe Gawra layer VI—III, Speiser, Excavations at Tepe Gawra, p. 87.

[2]) Speiser, Excavations at Tepe Gawra I p. 87.

Megiddo XVIII and the first dynasty of Egypt, these are also contemporaneous with the Lagaš period. Speiser has given some points of relationship between Tepe Gawra VI and Teleilat Ghassul IV [1]). Teleilat Ghassul as well as Tepe Gawra VI have furnished violin-shaped figurines [2]). Although the figurines of Teleilat Ghassul are not identical with the mother goddess representations of Tepe Gawra they are sufficiently close to imply an indirect relationship. The arms are truncated and the legs are not separated but taper down to a point and the body is decorated by comb-strokes [3]). The pottery has a carved cord decoration and stylized animals produced by stinging. Both places have serpents moulded on the walls of clay vessels and cultstands. The reserved slip ware of Tepe Gawra has also been found at Teleilat Ghassul [4]). This special manner of decoration occurs in Mesopotamia during the Lagaš I period. There is, however, a difference between the reserved slip ware at Tepe Gawra and that of Teleilat Ghassul in relation to the proportion of the colour of the slip and the natural colour of the clay and the way in which a part of the vase is reserved at Teleilat Ghassul, but the fundamental idea of this decoration is so much of the same nature in both places, that one must accept a related connection between them. At the same time we perceive at Tepe Gawra a chalice as well as in Teleilat Ghassul. We have here several elements which constitute a relation between Tepe Gawra VI, Mesopotamia and Teleilat Ghassul during the Lagaš period. They are so numerous and special that they cannot be accidental. The remarkable fact is that all these special elements appear mainly in the Northern part of Mesopotamia and have been found there where we can prove that Semites have lived. Moreover we know from the Sumerian literature that the Semites were called Amurru, Amorites, who penetrated more and more into the South of Mesopotamia. In Carchemiš, which certainly was influenced by a wave of Semites, tombs of stone-plates were in use which seem to have been derived from dolmen sepulture. In Teleilat Ghassul dolmen were probably used as tombs. In Mari an arched tomb has been found, made of stone blocks covered with stoneblocks. In the South of Mesopotamia we find the tombs

[1]) Speiser, o.c. p. 159, note 20.
[2]) Ghassul fig. 34.
[3]) Ghassul fig. 56, 61.
[4]) Ghassul, p. 113—114.

with corbelled arch built with sundried tiles during the Lagaš III period. The building with sundried tiles was necessary on account of the lack of stone, so that the corbelled arch of sundried tiles was a substitute for the tombs of stone. This manner of building has been found in Tepe Gawra, Syria and Palestine and even in Egypt. The form of the graves followed in Egypt the forms of the houses, the grave being the house of the dead just as the house was the dwelling-place of the living. Life continued after death, although in another way, just the same as here on earth, so that the dwelling-place and surrounding must be the same too. The tomb followed therefore the same evolution as the dwelling-place on earth. As the wealth increased, the dwelling-places of the living became more and more comfortable and consequently the graves. In the very last part of the Naqada II period a great change took place in the building of the tombs of the rich. The first great improvement was the use of sundried tiles for the revetment of the wall up to a certain height, on which a wooden roof, generally consisting of wooden blocks, was laid, finished off by mats with a layer of sundried tiles plastered with clay. Most of the great tombs were built in this way up to the time of Djer [1]). The body was slightly contracted lying on the left side, as was the ordinary way from olden times up to the end of the second dynasty. The face was laid to the West: the direction from which the food by the way of offerings generally came. The dead was surrounded by all the material that was used during his life. The royal tombs differed only from those of private men by their great extent and the thickness of the revetment of the walls. In the large tombs the roof rested on pillars against the West and East wall. Long heavy beams crossed the grave from North to South. On these beams the blocks lay East to West. On these blocks the planks of the roofing were laid covered with reed mats and a layer of clay with the sundried tiles bedded in it and the whole was plastered with loam [2]). Every tomb had a superstructure or mastaba which showed the place where the grave was. From the graves of Tarkhan at the end of the pre-dynastic period we know, that the superstructure consisting of a room was built of sundried tiles. This superstructure was filled with earth. At the East or West side was an open chapel,

[1]) G. A. Reisner, The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops, 1936, p. 9.
[2]) G. R. Reisner, o.c. p. 21.

which was connected by two splits with the filled room. These two splits were probably niches for offerings or ka-doors. The face of the dead person was turned to this chapel whence the offerings came [1]).

A great evolution of the grave-building took place during the reign of king Djer. The grave itself consisted of a great square pit of which the walls were covered with sundried tiles [2]). The real tomb-room was a wooden construction of planks fixed on upstanding beams. The space between this wooden room and the grave's walls was divided into irregular chambers which divided the original room into several apartments. The mastaba of this time was always built after the closing of the grave [3]). The mastaba itself was ornated with niches or pannels around the whole contour. These niches have their parallels in Mesopotamia where they already occur during the Uruk period and especially in the great temples with mosaics of the Jemdet Nasr period [4]). The pattern of this mosaic shows, that it goes back to buildings with reedmats supported by pillars being originally sheefs of reed. This kind of building has been found in Egypt for the first time during the second part of the first dynasty. The resemblance, however, with Mesopotamia is so great, that we cannot deny an influence even when it is only imitation. This is corroborated by the fact, that reedmats between the pillars of the tombs of Djozer have Syrian and not Egyptian patterns [5]).

A second evolution took place when they built stairs to the grave, so that the whole could be finished off before the death of the owner and the coffin with all the gifts could be brought in after his death [6]). Round the royal tomb were the graves of the servants of the royal house. They were buried at the time they died. Under the last two kings of this dynasty these graves were in right angle round the royal tomb. The graves lay against the royal tomb so that they were in contact with it and were buried under the same mastaba. As the whole tomb, including the mastaba,

[1]) Tarkhan, No. 760, 852, 1231, 1674, 1889, 1890 ; Reisner, o.c. p. 239—246.
[2]) Petrie, Abydos, Royal tombs, II pl. LX, p. 8.
[3]) Reisner, o.c. p. 245—246 ; H. Bolez, Die altegyptische Wandgliedrung, Mitt. Deutsch. Institut für ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo, I p. 38—92.
[4]) Vierter Vorläufiger Bericht über die Deutschen Grabungen Uruk-Warka, pl. 5 ff.
[5]) Woolley, Al Ubaid, p. 68.
[6]) Petrie, Abydos, Royal tombs II, pl. LXII, p. 9 ; I pl. XLI, p. 12 ; pl. LX, p. 13 ; pl. LXVI and LXVII, p. 14.

was finished off before the death of the king and also before the death of the servants and the grave was closed, when the coffin of the king was brought in, the servants had to be buried at the same time as the king himself. These graves around the tomb of the king mean a tie of the ka of the servant with the ka of the king. As they had been tied in this life so they were tied in the life hereafter, although they were temporarily separated. Some however, followed him immediately, in order to be able to serve him constantly. At the time of king Djer the number of the killed was raised and under the last kings they were very numerous. They were the ladies of the harem and the servants and probably some officials.

These royal tombs with numerous buried people had their parallels in Mesopotamia at Ur and Kiš at the Lagaš III period. In Kiš and Ur we see the whole royal household-staff with the royal wagon and donkeys buried in the pit. Donkeys with their harnass have been found in Tarkhan [1]). The form of the grave was the same wide pit with a slanted entrance and a corbelled roof over the grave. The same open pit with corbelled roof and slanted entrance was found during the second dynasty in upper Egypt and Gizeh in the Delta. South Babylonia and Egypt are therefore the two extreme poles between which the corbelled roof took its realization. When we take the accompanying elements together, we see the spreading of these elements over a wide territory at the same time. They are so closely connected with each other that one cannot speak of coincidence. They show much more a new current of people to whom these elements belonged. This current was spreading from the North to the South and entered the Delta spreading to upper Egypt. All this happened between the end of the Jemdet Nasr and the end of the Lagaš period. According to the kind of burials the end of the first and the second dynasty belong to the Lagaš III period, while the beginning of the first dynasty was contemporary with the Lagaš II period and the Naqada II period was contemporaneous with the end of the Jemdet Nasr and Lagaš I period. All this is the outcome of comparative archaeology and based on the simple fact that something which was borrowed or came into being by influence or imitation, cannot be earlier in the country which borrowed or imitated it or which

[1]) Tarkhan II, p. 6.

was influenced by it, than in the country where it had taken existence. For all these reasons Menes has to be placed at the beginning of the Lagaš II period. Now we must try to fix the date of the Lagaš II period and consequently of the accession of Menes.

Egypt being so intimately connected with Asia, the dating of the dynasties in Egypt has to rise or fall with the chronology of Asia. Therefore a fixed chronology is to be found in one part or the other. We cannot, however, obtain a fixed chronology, if we cannot start from a definite certain event, accepted by everybody. We have such a sheet-anchor in an Assyrian chronicle of limu, where we find the following notice: "During the limu of Pur-šagale, governor of Guzanna, revolt in Assyria. In Semanu eclipse of the sun" [1]). This eclipse of the sun can be fixed astronomically on June 15th, 763 of the Gregorian calendar. The reasons by which this fact is stated have never been called in question so that the limu year of Pur-šagale in 763 B.C. provides a fixed date and a solid base for the reconstruction of Assyrian chronology.

Pur-šagale was limu in 763, the 8th year of Aššurdān, so that his first year was 771. By the limulists and the different kinglists, especially the Khorsabad list [2]), we are able to fix the date of each predecessor of Aššurdān. Counting back from 771 we can give to each king the exact place in the chronology up to šamši-Adad I, who ruled Assyria from 1729—1697 [3]). According to Albright šamši-Adad I must be put 20 years earlier because it is unlikely that the reign of Aššurrābi and his successor lasted barely a year [4]). Whatever it may be, this only gives a difference of 20 years which is not much in so many centuries. Any way the Khorsabad list provides us with a fixed Assyrian chronology from 771—1729. Now it is our task to see if we can connect up the rest of the Near East in this scheme, and first of all Babylonia.

[1]) K 51 Rev. 7.

[2]) A. Poebel, The Assyrian Kinglist from Khorsabad, Journal of the Near East Studies I 1942, p. 247—306; 460—492; II 1943, p. 56—99. A picture of the obverse of the list has been published in Gordon Loud and Charles Baltman, Khorsabad II, The Citadel and the Town, pl. 57, No. 74 and in J. H. Breasted, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1935 (first edition of the handbook) p. 56, fig. 49. A picture of the reverse has been published in "The Sphere" April 7th 1934 and E. F. Weidner, Die Königliste aus Chorsabad, AFO XIV, 1944, p. 362—369.

[3]) According to Poebel šamši-Adad I ruled 1726—1694. Weidner has put forward the discrepancy in his paper, AFO/XIV, I—44, p. 366—369.

[4]) W. F. Albright BASOE No. 88, p. 30.

It suffices our purpose if we can get a fixed date for Ḫammurābi, who, in accordance with the letters of Mari, was a contemporary of šamši-Adad I. From the letters of Mari which throw a bright light on the political situation of the Near East in these times, we learn that Ḫammurābi of Babylon is a contemporary of Zimrilim. Ḫammurābi of Babylon is mentioned in many letters [1]) and even letters of Ḫammurābi of Babylon himself to Zimrilim have come to us [2]). Zimrilim had an envoy at the court of Ḫammurābi as is clear from a letter of Ibalpel to Zimrilim in which Ibalpel mentions a conversation with Ḫammurābi of Babylon [3]). A letter of Jarim-Adad to Zimrilim mentions a defensive alliance between Ḫammurābi of Babylon and Rin-Sin of Larsa [4]). Letters of Ḫammurābi of Babylon to servants of Zimrilim are also extant; a letter of Ḫammurābi of Babylon to Baḫdilim mentions troops which Ḫammurābi has sent to Zimrilim [5]). In other letters missives of Ḫammurābi to Zimrilim have been mentioned [6]). From this it is clear that Ḫammurābi of Babylon is a contemporary of Zimrilim.

Zimrilim was a son of Jaḫdunlim as is clear from an inscription from Tirqa [7]). Jaḫdunlim was king of Mari, Tuttul and Hana. The father of Jaḫdunlim was Jagitlim according to an inscription from Mari [8]). Zimrilim did not immediately succeed to his father, another having been king between them so that Zimrilim was obliged to recover the throne of Mari as becomes clear from a letter from Mari: "Now the hand of my lord has reconquered the town of Mari My father has triumphed over his enemies while I have not yet mounted the throne of my father." [9]) He, who ruled between Jaḫdunlim and Zimrilim was Jašmaḫ-Adad. In a letter of šamši-Adad to Jašmaḫ-Adad from Mari we read: "The daughters of Jaḫdunlim, which I have given to you, are educated They say they are women" [10]). We read in a letter in the same archive: "Save Jašmaḫ-Adad, the king our lord,

[1]) Archives royales de Mari II, Tc XXIII, No. 21, 22 etc.
[2]) TC XXIII No. 67, 68.
[3]) Ra. 33, 1936 p. 172 f.
[4]) TC XXIII No. 73.
[5]) Syria XIX p. 118—119.
[6]) Syria XIX p. 119.
[7]) RA XI p. 184.
[8]) RA XXXIII, 1936, p. 49—54.
[9]) Syria XIX, 1938, p. 113.
[10]) Syria XIX, 1938, p. 112.

we have no other king" [1]). Moreover, several letters of šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan to Jašmaḫ-Adad have been found in Mari [2]). It becomes clear from the letters of Išme-Dagan to Jašmaḫ-Adad that times are turbulent. In one of the letters Išme-Dagan set his brother's mind at ease about himself and assured him that he himself and the troops of Mari were safe [3]), so that he need not trouble himself about Mari [4]). From this it becomes clear that Jašmaḫ-Adad ruled in Mari at the time of šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan, but that the position of Mari was alarming. Mari could not be managed unless by Zimrilim, so that Zimrilim too must be a contemporary of Jašmaḫ-Adad, šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan.

šamši-Adad is the father of Jašmaḫ-Adad. This can be taken from his letters to Jašmaḫ-Adad, in which he calls himself his father [5]). It becomes also certain by an inscription which states: "Jašmaḫ-Adad stadtholder Enlil, son of šamši-Adad" [6]). Another inscription states, šthat amši-Adad is the son of Ilakapkapu [7]). They were Amorites. The name of Jašmaḫ-Adad and the writing of Sa-am-si-Adad show their origin as West-Semites. šamši-Adad was king of Aššur. This becomes clear by the title saknu, which is an Assyrian title of the kings beginning with šamši-Adad. His father Ilakapkapu was not a king and has not been found in the kinglists. šamši-Adad seems therefore to be a conqueror and a usurper. From a letter of Jašmaḫ-Adad we know, that Ilakapkapu was a contemporary of Jagitlim, the grandfather of Zimrilim. This letter runs: "Nobody in my line has sinned against god. All keep the name of god. In earlier time Ilakapkapu and Jagitlim have solemnly sworn an oath. Ilakapkapu has not sinned against Jagitlim, but Jagitlim has sinned against Ilakapkapu." Further on the letter mentions the destruction of the fortress and also Jaḫdunlim and šamši-Adad. The letter is in too bad a condition to draw any conclusion from this mention. At the end Jaḫdunlim is mentioned to have been killed by his subjects [8]). From this letter we can conclude, that Jagitlim was a contemporary of

[1]) Syria XIX, 1938, p. 112.
[2]) TC XXIII, 1—10, 15—19.
[3]) TC XXIII, 16.
[4]) RA XXXIV, 1937, p. 136.
[5]) TC XXIII, 1—10.
[6]) RA XXXI, 1934, p. 144.
[7]) RA XX, p. .
[8]) RA XXXIV, 1937, p. 136—131.

Ilakapkapu, the father of Šamši-Adad, who was a contemporary of Jaḫdumlim, the son of Jagitlim and the father of Zimrilim and of Zimrilim himself. This is confirmed by a letter of Ribilim to Zimrilim. In this letter an officer is mentioned, a certain Nurilisu, who said to Ribilim: "You know that I have been a servant of the house of Jaḫdunlim of old. I have fled to the house of Šamši-Adad" [1]). He wished to become a servant of Zimrilim and Ribilim concluded the letter by asking a decision of Zimrilim. Šamši-Adad was a contemporary of Jaḫdunlim, but he was also a contemporary of Zimrilim. As Zimrilim was a contemporary of Ḫammurābi, Šamši-Adad must also have lived simultaneously with Ḫammurābi, This is confirmed by a contract, dated the 10th year of Ḫammurābi. wherein is sworn by Marduk, Ḫammurābi and Šamši-Adad [2]). It is also confirmed by the name of a year on two contracts from Dur-Rimus near Esnunna. The name is: "Year, Šamši-Adad died" [3]). Those contracts belong to a certain Ilšunaṣir, who lived at the time of Ibalpel [4]), who was according to a letter from Mari a contemporary of Ḫammurābi, Rim-Sin and Zimrilim [5]). Šamši-Adad consequently died during the lifetime of Ḫammurābi. From the preceding follows, that Ḫammurābi needs to be put much earlier than has been accepted before.

This is in harmony with the archaeological stratification of the excavations. The latest layers of Tell Brak and Chagar Bazar contain a pottery, white-painted on dark underground [6]). During the time this pottery was in fashion, we have a terminus ad quem in Assur, where several pieces were found in the palace and the

[1]) RA XXXIV, 1937, p. 138.
[2]) BE VI, I, No. 26.
[3]) Lutz, Legal and Economic Documents from Ashyaly, UCP, X, I, No. 5, 6.
[4]) Koschaker, ZA, XLIII, p. 210—218.
[5]) Dossin, Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, 1937, p. 18.
[6]) Speiser calls it Hurrian pottery, because it has been found in Nuzi, where especially Hurrians lived cfr. Speiser, M.J. XXIII p. 273 ff. Mallowan calls it Subartu pottery, cfr. Mallowan, White-painted Šubartu Pottery, Mélanges Syriens, René Dussaud II p. 887—894. Woolley calls it Atchana ware. This is however only a special variety of the white-painted pottery, cfr. Sidney Smith, Antiquity 1938, p. 425. As it is desirable to avoid any racial nomenclature for pottery, because artisans, such as potters, may be ethnically perfectly distinct from the people amongst whom they live, we call this pottery simply white-painted pottery. The name Hurrian does not tally with this pottery, because it is completely absent on places, where Hurrians certainly lived as at Ugarit, and also because it only appears some centuries after the appearance of Hurrians in Assyria, cfr. Sidney Smith, Antiquity, 1938, p. 425. For the same reason it is desirable to avoid the name Šubartu, as this name also acquired an ethnical connotation, although it was primarily a geographical term, cfr. Mallowan l.c. p. 118 note 4.

temple, which Tukulti-Enurta I 1243—1207 had built in Kar-Tukulti-Enurta on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite Assur. After the death of this king the place fell in ruin and was never rebuilt [1]). We find here therefore the latest and most evolved type of design, which is often applied to the inside and bottom of large platters, a far more suitable medium than the earlier form of zonal decoration which appears on other sites. This white-painted pottery lasted therefore until ± 1200. For the first appearance of this pottery we have data at Tell Brak, where it has been found in three successive house levels, and in Chagar Bazar where it has been found in the uppermost layer. In Nuzi this pottery was accompanied by a seal and tablets of the time of Saussatar, king of Mitanni circa 1450 B.C. In Alalakh(Atchana) it occurs in levels 2—4, which include a palace and a fortress. There is a difference concerning the date of these levels between Mr. Sidney Smith, who suggests, after an examination of the inscribed tablets, a period running from about 1350 to about 1500 B.C. and Sir L. Woolley, who, on archaeological grounds, would carry the upper date to 1600 B.C. [2]). Although the higher dating is not impossible, great difficulties arise against this maximum date, because the Cypriote milkbowls and base ring ware which were found at Ugarit in layers XV—XIV occurred in Alalakh in level IV, so that level IV of Alalakh must be placed on a parity of time with layer XV—XIV at Ugarit and, consequently, the beginning of the white-painted pottery at ± 1500 [3]). The findings of Tell Brak, as the cylinder seal in paste bearing designs of a sacred tree executed in a peculiar manner with horizontal branches, and the presence at Brak in the same strata of fragments of variegated glass lead to the same conclusion [4]). In Chagar Bazar as well as in Tell Brak this white-painted pottery was at the beginning accompanied by the Habur pottery which preceded this period. The Habur pottery is decorated by geometric motives in red or black paint on a light underground. The terminus a quo of this pottery is given by inscribed tablets of the time of Šamši-Adad I which accompanied this pottery [5]). The stratigraphic sequence of pottery and buildings

[1]) W. Andrae, Das Wiedererstandene Assur, p. 125.
[2]) Mallowan, o.c. p. 891.
[3]) C. Schaeffer, De quelques problèmes que soulèvent les découvertes de Tell Atchana, Syria XIX, 1938, p. 30—37. [4]) Mallowan o.c. p. 891.
[5]) Mallowan, Iraq IV, 1936, p. 157 ff.; Gadd, Tablets from Chagar Bazar, Iraq IV, 1936, p. 178—183.

at Chagar Bazar makes it exceedingly unlikely, that it lasted longer than three centuries, for the buildings of those periods are made of mud bricks and are not very formidable in character. The succession appears to be continuous and we have no evidence to suggest a hiatus, so that the beginning of the pottery can be placed at ± 1800 B.C.[1]). So it is evident from the letters of Mari as well as from archaeological evidence that Ḫammurābi must be put much later than generally has been accepted. As he was a contemporary of Šamši-Adad I who lived 1726 + X—1694 + X[2]) Ḫammurābi too must have ruled about this time. Now we have to find the exact date of his kingship.

Among the names of the years of Ḫammurābi two note a relation with Mari. The name of the 35th year runs: "Year, he destroyed on command of Anu and Enlil the walls of Mari and Malgu". The name of the other year, the 33rd, is: "Year, when Ḫammurābi, the king, dug the canal ""Ḫammurābi is the abundance of the people and the beloved of Anu and Enlil"" and everlasting waters of plentifulness created for Nippu, Eridu, Ur, Ellasar, Erech and Isin; when he restored disturbed Sumer and Akkad to their places and in battle overthrew Mari and Malgû; when Mari and . . . and the cities of Šubartu he caused to accept his commands in friendship"[3]) From Sargon of Agade it was the custom to name the year after the most important fact which took place during this year. The name, however, could not be applied to the year in which the fact had taken place, so that the year after the fact had taken place was named after it[4]). If therefore the 33rd year of Ḫammurābi was named after the capture of Mari the fact itself took place in the 32nd year. The 32nd year of Ḫammurābi was named: "Year, when Ḫammurābi, the heroic bearer of the glory of Marduk, overthrew in battle with a mighty weapon the host of Esnunna, Šubartu and Gutium; Malgû and the banks of the Tigris as far as Šubartu his hand conquered"[5]). It occurs also in shorter form[6]). It is this shorter formula, which has been found in Mari on the clay-labels of the baskets for the tablets. Because Mari, as each other important city, had its own date-formulae, it follows

[1]) Mallowan in a letter to Thureau-Dangin, RA XXXVI, 1939, p. 271.
[2]) P. v. d. Meer, The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt. p. 11—13.
[3]) OECT II, pl. V, p. 33.
[4]) RA XI, p. 90 ff.
[5]) OECT II, pl. V, p. 32; RA XX p. I ff.
[6]) CT IV pl. 22 b.

from the extant Babylonian date-formulae, that the Babylonians had already captured Mari in the 32nd year of Ḫammurābi, which was named after the capture of Esnunna. The year following the fall of Mari was named after this fact [1]).

The reign of Zimrilim finished with the capture of Mari. He ruled for 30 years according to the contracts dated during his reign [2]), so that he became king of Mari in the 2nd year of Ḫammurābi. Before Zimrilim Jašmaḫ-Adad, son of Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, ruled Mari. It is particularly striking, that during this time another manner of dating the contracts was in use at Mari. According to this system the contracts were dated not after the most important fact that had happened, but after the limu, who was in office in that year, as is the Assyrian custom. This different way of dating would not be accepted, unless it was forced by the ruling king, so we need to accept this way of dating to be the result of Assyrian domination. 16 years are dated after Assyrian limu and 4 after Jašmaḫ-Adad. These 4 years of Jašmaḫ-Adad can be placed during these 16 limu years, on account of dating the same year after Jašmaḫ-Adad or the limu of that year. Whatever it may be, we in any way cannot neglect the 16 limu years, neither can we place them during the rule of Zimrilim as Böhl proposes [3]), as it is unthinkable that Zimrilim, whose house had been dethroned, would take over the way of dating the contracts of the hated enemy. We therefore must put these years before Zimrilim. So the 16 years must be placed between the death of Jaḫdunlim and the accession to the throne of Zimrilim. The whole of this 16 years needs to be placed during the reign of Šamši-Adad or at least a part of them. There seems, however, no reason to place them partly during the reign of Šamši-Adad, unless one—as Böhl does—clings to the date of the reign of Ḫammurābi, which Cornelius has proposed 1728—1686 [4]). Cornelius has based his calculations on the informations of Berossos and the Venus-tablets of Ammiṣaduqa. These tablets provide the date of the visibility of Venus as evening- and morning-star during the reign of Ammiṣaduqa. As this phenomenon returns regularly it cannot provide

[1]) Thureau-Dangin, Sur les étiquettes de paniers à tablettes provenant de Mari, Studia et Documenta II Symbolae P. Koschaker, p. 119—120.
[2]) Dossin, Les archives économiques du palais de Mari, Syria XX 1940, p. 105.
[3]) Bibliotheca Orientalis I, 6, 1944, p. 161—162.
[4]) F. Cornelius, Berossos und die altorientalische Chronologie, Klio 35, 1942, p. 7.

by itself an absolutely certain date for the accession to the throne of Amiṣaduqa. We can only expect certainty from absolutely ascertained historical facts and the accession to the throne of Amiṣaduqa and Ḫammurābi can consequently only be settled by such facts. As we cannot place the 16 limu years partly during the reign of šamši-Adad, they all must be placed during his rulership.

When we recapitulate all the data, we see that Ilakapkapu, the father of šamši-Adad, burnt down the town of Mari, where Jagitlim ruled. He does not seem to have kept Mari, because Jaḫdunlim, the son of Jagitlim, ruled Mari for 8 years according to the economical tablets. He was killed by his people, probably stirred up by šamši-Adad, for a servant of Jaḫdunlim fled to šamši-Adad at Ekallate. This murder of Jaḫdunlim and the transition of Mari from Jaḫdunlim to šamši-Adad probably took place when šamši-Adad made himself master of the throne of Aššur and the whole of the country between Tigris and Euphrate. The fact that he was not the legitimate successor, but a conqueror or usurper, probably explains why he calls himself in his inscription: "who devotes his energy to the land between Euphrate and Tigris" [1]). So Mari came under the rule of šamši-Adad in his first year and he kept it for sixteen years 1726 + X—1711 + X, the year that Zimrilim captured it. We have seen, that this took place in the second year of Ḫammurābi, so that the reign of Ḫammurābi began in 1712 + X—1668 + X. He was preceded by his father Sinmuballiṭ, 1732 + X—1713 + X. His father Awil-Sin ruled 1750 + X—1733 + X preceeded by his father Sabum 1764 + X—1751 + X while his father šumulaila ruled 1800 + X—1765 + X. Hisfather Sumuabu founded the dynasty, 1814 + X—1801 + X.

Ḫammurābi defeated Rim-Sin, the last king of Larsa, in his 30th year, the 31st year being named after this memorable fact. The defeat took place in 1683 + X. This dynasty ruled Larsa for 263 years, so that it began under Naplanum in 1945 + X.

Rim-Sin defeated Damiqilisu, the last king of Isin, in his 29th year, the 30th year being named after this glorious victory. This happened in 1714 + X. The dynasty of Isin was in power for 225 years, so that Išbi-irra began to rule in 1939 + X. This is 5 years after the beginning of the dynasty of Larsa. At the end of the

[1]) KAH I No. 2, 5; IAK, p. 22; Luckenbill, Ancient Records I, 43 A.

third dynasty of Ur, during the rule of Ibi-Sin, Išbi-Irra marched upon the south. He probably did not conquer the country at once but gradually [1]). Išbi-Irra seems to have been proclaimed king of Nippur first, before he overthrew Ibi-Sin [2]). This struggle is reflected in a date-formula of Išbi-Irra [3]). The final downfall of Ibi-Sin seems to have been brought about by Kindattu, king of Elam, who, in alliance with Šubartu, marched forward to the West. Išbi-Irra could not remain inactive but came into action. A year is named after this fact: "The year Išbi-Irra, the king, smote the man of Šubartu and Elam" [4]). This campaign probably lasted two years. Another date-formula also probably of Išbi-Irra runs: "The year he went out with weapons against Elam and Ur" [5]). We can reconstruct the battle in this way. Elam and Šubartu marched upon the West with the intention to overthrow Ibi-Sin. Išbi-Irra marched first against the North, where Esnunna was allied to Elam. Išbi-Irra defeated Esnunna and in the meantime Kindattu captured Ur, carried Ibi-Sin off in captivity and took the god Nanar to Susa as booty [6]). Išbi-Irra turned now against Ur and Elam and captured Ur. This must have happened about the 10th year of Išbi-Irra, after the foundation of the dynasty of Isin, for in this year a second kingdom, that of Larsa under Naplanum, came into being from the ruins of the old territory of the third dynasty of Ur. The origin of the kingdom of Larsa can best be explained by the fact of the capture of Ibi-Sin by Kindattu and the campaign of Išbi-Irra. The result is, that the third dynasty of Ur existed 10 years simultaneously with the dynasty of Isin and Išbi-Irra. The end of the third dynasty of Ur took place in $1931 + X$. The third dynasty of Ur ruled 108 years, so that Ur-Nammu the founder of this dynasty started in $2038 + X$.

Ur-nammu lived at the end of the Guti domination. This domination, however, was not so mighty that local principalities could not flourish and develop. Ur-nammu called himself king

[1]) Sidney Smith, Early History of Assyria, p. 168; Ferris Stephens, New date-formulae of the Isin dynasty, RA 33, 1936, p. 12.

[2]) UMBS XIII, No. 3 and 6.

[3]) Gadd—Legrain, Ur Excavations, Royal Inscriptions 292 II 16—18.

[4]) Stephens, l.c. No. 1, p. 14; p. 24, No. 1.

[5]) Stephens, l.c. No. 25, p. 16; p. 25, No. 25.

[6]) Weidner, Historisches Material in der babylonischen Omenliteratur, MOG, IV, p. 136; Virolleau, Astrologie Chaldéenne, Suppl. LXVII, Rev. II, 10—15; Sin, XIX, 4 ff.; Istar, XXI, 12 ff.

of Ur. He seems to have had the intention to restore the power of Sumer to its old glory. His first effort seems to have been to extend his territory and it looks as if Uruk came temporarily into his possession. To rouse the national feeling of the people and to inspire the population he took the proud title: "Ur-nammu, the mighty man, lord of Uruk, king of Šumer and Akkad" [1]). His ambition, however, went further and the restoration of the great empire of Sargon and Naram-Sin was present in his mind, when he called himself in some inscriptions: "Ur-nammu, the mighty prince, king of Ur, king of the four regions" [2]). All these glorious titles were either pious wishes or he had lost power, for an inscription runs: "Ur-nammu, governor of Ur". According to this inscription he built the E-kiš-šir-gal of Nergal in Ur for the life of Utuḫegal [3]). This cannot have happened at the beginning of his government, so that his power must have grown later, for he ruled 18 years and Utuḫegal only seven years. Now according to the chronicle of Assur: "the lordship of all the countries which Utuḫegal possessed has been given to Šulgi, the son of Ur-nammu" [4]). According to this text Šulgi took the lordship of the whole empire immediately from Utuḫegal. This literary text represents the tradition as it was kept in mind by posterity so that it reflects the real course of history. The overtaking of the lordship of the whole empire from Utuḫegal by Šulgi took place after the death of Ur-nammu, when Šulgi probably already ruled three years. Utuḫegal ruled therefore, having been king only seven years, at the end of the life of Ur-nammu and the beginning of Šulgi, so that he ruled 2020 + X—1973 + X.

Utuḫegal put an end to the domination of the Guti, who ruled during 125 years, 2119 + X—2024 + X. It seems, that the beginning of the Guti has to be reckoned from immediately after the death of Naram-Sin, for a chronicle states: "He (Marduk) called the hords of the Guti for a second time against him (Naram-Sin) and gave his kingship to the hords of the Guti [5])." The Chronicle therefore begins with the rule of the Guti immediately after Naram-Sin, so that the rest of the Agade dynasty ruled simultaneously with the Guti. Naram-Sin was king 2156 + X—2120 + X and his

[1]) CT XXI, pl. 7; Thureau—Dangin, SAK, p. 186; Barton, RISA, p. 270—271.
[2]) Barton, RISA, p. 274—275.
[3]) Gadd—Legrain, Ur Excavations, Royal Texts, I, No. 30.
[4]) Ass. 13955gv, Rev. 30.
[5]) Ass. 13955gv, Rev. 21.

father Maništusu 2171 + X—2157 + X. He was preceded by Rimuš 2180 + X—2172 + X and his father Sargon, the founder of the dynasty of Agade 2236 + X—2181 + X. He succeeded his master Ur-Zababa to the throne of Kiš. Ur-Zababa ruled Kiš 2245 + X—2237 + X. He was preceded by Puzur-Sin 2270 + X—2246 + X.

In a lamentation, probably belonging to the end of the Agade period, women and girls of several towns are called up to bewail not religious but secular calamities [1]). Two groups of towns are mentioned, one in the North, the other in the South. The capital of the group in the North was Agade and of the group in the South Uruk. The two groups revolve round those capitals and give an exact picture of the situation immediately after the death of Šarkališarri. During his government the Guti were master in a part of South Babylonia. Šarkališarri fought here against them in the neighbourhood of Uruk. A letter, probably from South Babylonia in which is sworn by the life of Šarkališarri, runs: "The Guti did not cultivate the land up to now [2])." They reared, however, cattle and the person to whom the letter has been written is claimed to deliver on payment the cattle which the Guti reared of his own accord. This cattle the Guti reared could only be delivered by another in the absence of the Guti. In this way the letter seems to have been written at a time immediately after Šarkališarri had defeated them, capturing their king. If this is true, it follows that no independent king ruled at Uruk at the time of Šarkališarri and the fourth dynasty of Uruk must have been in power immediately after Šarkališarri. The fourth dynasty of Uruk consisted of five kings, whose years of government were 30 years altogether. The kings of the Agade dynasty after Šarkališarri ruled 40 years, so that, when Uruk was captured, Agade still continued ten years. At the end of the lamentation only cities of the South are mentioned and bewailed as ruined. The omission of the cities of the North is significant and seems to confirm the fact, that Agade was not yet captured at the time the lamentation was composed [3]). The fall of Uruk happened in the middle of Gutian domination, so that the fourth dynasty of Uruk ruled simultaneously with the dynasty of the Guti and Agade.

[1]) Pinches, PSBA. 1901, May; Pinches, Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records, p. 477; Langdon, Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, No. XXV.
[2]) BM. 121205, Obv. 7—10, JRAS. 1932, p. 295—301.
[3]) Sidney Smith, Notes on the Guti Period, JRAS, 1932, p. 293—328.

Lugalzaggisi, who by himself made the third dynasty of Uruk and ruled in the South at the time of Sargon, was defeated by Sargon. He ruled therefore simultaneously with Sargon. Ur-Zababa and Puzur-Sin I of the fourth dynasty of Kiš still belong to the Lagaš III period, so that we are able to draw up an absolute chronology up to the end of the Lagaš period. For the time before, we must content ourselves with a relative chronology, where no certain date can be given. Although no fixed dates can be given for the duration of the different periods before the Agade dynasty, we must, however, try to see if we cannot settle approximately the duration of the Lagaš period. The Lagaš period cannot have lasted much longer than 200 years, although the layers of this period were in Uruk several meters thick. We cannot determine the duration of a period by the thickness of the layers in some places. This may be purely accidental, because they are much thinner in other places as is the case for the Lagaš period. The thickness of the layer in Uruk can be explained, because the excavated area there contained big buildings as temples which raise the levels much more by their ruins than private houses do. In comparison with other periods of which we can determine the duration, we can fix approximately the duration of the other periods of which we have no certain date. In comparison with the Agade and Ur III period we can estimate the duration of the Lagaš period at about 200 years, so that the beginning must be put at about 2450—2500 B.C. As Puzur-Sin and Ur-Zababa ruled from 2311—2281 at the end of the Lagaš III period and Megiddo XVIII and the first dynasty of Egypt are contemporaneous with the last part of Lagaš II period, Menes, the first king of the first dynasty of Egypt, cannot be earlier than 2400 B.C. We can therefore place the beginning of the first dynasty of Egypt at about 2400 B.C.

The placing of Menes at about 2400 B.C. will meet with serious objections from the egyptologists, who will think it much too low. They cannot escape, however, the stringent force of the facts which all point to the end of the Lagaš period. As the whole of the Near East is interrelated and all the countries are connected with each other, it is necessary that, when the chronology of one country goes down, that of the neighbouring country goes down consequently. In view of the cultural situation of other countries and their connection with Egypt, we cannot proceed arbitrarily. The archaeological researches of the very last time provide more and

more material for the acceptance of a same cultural development in Egypt as in other countries, from the oldest time. In a scheme of a synchronous history of the world it is impossible to apply another criterion for the oldest time of Egypt than for the surrounding countries and Asia. Archaeology provides us with the means between two relatively datable periods. Comparative archaeology has established a relative succession exactly determining the layers in the different excavations in the scattered districts and the mutual relation of the layers, so that these different districts can be connected up in a relative chronological scheme, on account of the fact, that some pieces found in certain layers find their parallels in another district. In this way we are forced to place Menes, the founder of the first dynasty in Egypt, simultaneously with Lagaš II. It is up to the egyptologists to find data in the Egyptian literature and the archaeological material, to build up a continuous chronology starting from a fixed date as has been done in Mesopotamia. It may prove, that many of the old dynasties ruled partly simultaneously in different nomes and that only one or two of certain dynasties, the very great ones, ruled over the whole of Egypt. The building up of the chronology, however, must be done by real facts and not by astronomical observations only.

DE AFRIKAANSCHE ROTSTEEKENINGEN EN HAAR BETEEKENIS VOOR DE EGYPTISCHE KUNST

DOOR W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, LEIDEN

„Uit Afrika komt altijd iets nieuws", schrijft Aristoteles in de vierde eeuw vóór Chr. [1]). Sinds de Fransche expeditie van Napoleon geldt dat zeker ook van den nieuweren tijd, toen de rijkdom van Egyptische monumenten in Europa steeds grooter bekendheid verkreeg. In latere jaren zijn echter over geheel Noord-Afrika belangrijke archaeologische ontdekkingen gedaan, die nieuw licht werpen op de vroegste geschiedenis van dit gebied en van zijn bewoners. De Sahara en de Libysche woestijn zijn lang volkomen onbekende gebieden geweest, en nog steeds zijn er gedeelten, die niet doorzocht of onvoldoende bekend zijn, maar wat de reizigers, die in de 19de en 20ste eeuw in deze gebieden doordrongen, ons mededeelen omtrent hun bevindingen, is van groote beteekenis voor onze kennis van dit werelddeel, dat zoo lang terra incognita is geweest.

Reeds uit het midden van de 19de eeuw hebben wij berichten van reizigers omtrent teekeningen van menschen en dieren, die zij op de rotswanden hadden ontdekt ; ook in het einde der vorige eeuw en in het begin van deze eeuw hebben die rotsteekeningen de aandacht getrokken [2]). De grondlegger van het moderne, wetenschappelijke onderzoek dezer teekeningen is Frobenius, die op verschillende expedities veel materiaal verzamelde, vooral uit Algiers en Fezzan, en in monumentale werken publiceerde [3]). Sindsdien zijn er steeds meer ontdekt en thans beschikken wij

[1]) De animalibus historiae 606b 20 : *καὶ λέγεται δέ τις παροιμία, ὅτι ἀεὶ Λιβύη φέρει τι καινόν* (cf. de generatione animalium 74b 7/8 : *ὡς ἀεὶ τῆς Λιβύης τρεφούσης καινόν*).

[2]) Ebert, Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte, Band IX blz. 118.

[3]) Frobenius-Obermaier, Hadschra Maktuba, Urzeitliche Felsbilder klein-Afrikas, München 1925 ; L. Frobenius, Ekade Ektab, Die Felsbilder Fezzans, Leipzig 1937.

over overvloedig materiaal uit gebieden, die twintig jaar geleden nog ondoorzocht waren, dank zij de onderzoekingen van Newbald, Kennedy Shaw, Peel en Abbé Breuil [1]), die in Centraal-Libye rotsteekeningen fotografeerden. Zeer verdienstelijk hebben zich gemaakt H. A. Winckler, die in 1932 en 1934 veel materiaal verzamelde en wetenschappelijk bewerkte uit de woestijn ten Oosten van den Nijl en uit enkele deelen van Centraal-Libye [2]) en F. de Chasseloup Laubat, die in 1935 een expeditie leidde naar Hoggar, een bergland in Zuid-Algiers, 2000 km van de kust der Middellandsche Zee af, en die daar in een uitgedroogd rivierdal (Wadi Mertoutek) rotsteekeningen en zelfs schilderingen aantrof [3]). De resultaten van hun onderzoekingen zijn van het grootste belang voor allen, die zich interesseeren voor de archaeologie en ethnologie van Noord-Afrika.

Deze Noord-Afrikaansche rotsteekeningen hebben haar eigen plaats in het geheel der rotsteekeningen, die in alle deelen van de wereld voorkomen. Zij dateeren van de oudste tijden der menschheid af tot heden toe. Reeds in den praehistorischen tijd heeft de mensch zijn gedachten en gevoelens neergelegd in deze teekeningen ; wij vinden er in zijn strijd om het bestaan, zijn wapens, voedsel, vrouwen, jacht, scheepvaart, dans, sieraden en huisdieren. Het paradijs der rotsteekeningen is Spanje, waar de eerste in 1880 in de grot van Altamira ontdekt werden [4]). Sindsdien heeft het aantal ons bekende rotsteekeningen uit alle werelddeelen zich reusachtig uitgebreid, en dit getal groeit nog steeds aan. Ook Noord-Afrika blijkt er ongeloofelijk rijk aan te zijn [5]). Nog steeds worden in de eenzame woestijnen rotsteekeningen ontdekt ; elke expeditie, die de woestijn ingaat, ondervindt, dat deze vol is van deze merkwaardige documenten. Langzamerhand beginnen wij

[1]) Newbald, Rockpictures and Archaeology in the Libyan Desert (Antiquity, Vol. II, blz. 261—291) ; W. B. Kennedy Shaw, Rockpaintings in the Libyan Desert (Antiquity, Vol X blz. 175) ; R. F. Peel, Rockpaintings in the Libyan Desert (Antiquity, Vol. XIII, blz. 389—402) ; L'Anthropologie XXXVI, blz. 409—427.

[2]) H. A. Winckler, Felsbilder und Inschriften aus der Ostwüste Oberägyptens (Forschungen und Fortschritte XII, 1936, nr. 19, blz. 237) ; H. A. Winckler, Völker und Völkerbewegung im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde, Stuttgart, 1937 (besproken door A. Scharff in de Orient. Lit. Zeit. 1939, blz. 13—18).

[3]) F. de Chasseloup Laubat, Art rupestre au Hoggar (Haut Mertoutek), Paris, Librairie Plon, 1938 (besproken door A. Scharff in de Orient. Lit. Zeit. 1939, blz. 669—670).

[4]) Julio Martinez Santa-Olalla, Neues über prähistorische Felsmalereien in Frankreich, Spanien und Marokko (Ipek, deel 15—16, 1941—1942, blz. 1—24).

[5]) Leo Frobenius, Kulturgeschichte Afrikas, Zürich 1933, pl. 1—41.

de beteekenis daarvan op de juiste waarde te schatten. Het onderzoek daarvan heeft een nieuw hoofdstuk toegevoegd aan de geschiedenis van den mensch in de verre oudheid.

Deze rotsteekeningen zijn van een uniformen, naturalistischen stijl, zij zijn òf op de open rotswanden uitgebeiteld, waarbij meestal alleen de omtreklijnen zijn aangebracht, òf, hetgeen veel zeldzamer het geval is, daar op geschilderd in rood, wit en geel, waarbij dan tot stof gewreven oker, die opgelost is in een organische vloeistof, als kleurstof gebruikt werd die in vloeibaren toestand met een penseel van veeren op den wand gestreken werd. In artistieke waarde staan zij achter bij die van het Iberische schiereiland ; de waarneming is veel minder levendig, de binnenteekening is minder verzorgd. Wel treft men er, scherp van elkander gescheiden, dezelfde twee kunststijlen aan als in Spanje ; daar staan naast elkaar de z.g. Franco-cantabrische stijl in het Noorden, aansluitende bij Zuid-Frankrijk, met de beroemde afbeeldingen in grotten van op zichzelf staande groote dieren, en de z.g. Levantstijl in het Oosten met de voorstellingen van jachttafereelen op overhangende rotsen [1]). Dezen eersten stijl, met afbeeldingen van op zichzelf staande groote dieren vinden wij ook in het Westen van Noord-Afrika, speciaal in het Atlasgebergte, den tweeden stijl met groepen van menschen en dieren in het Oosten, in Libye. Het grensgebied der beide stijlen is Fezzan, waar zij elkander ontmoeten ; hier komen voor het laatst de afbeeldingen der groote dieren voor ; wat verder naar het Oosten aan rotsteekeningen volgt, behoort tot den tweeden stijl.

Tot den eersten stijl behooren afbeeldingen van olifanten, giraffen, struisen, krachtige, van groote horens voorziene buffels, dieren, die daar thans uitgestorven zijn ; tot den tweeden stijl jachttafereelen en voorstellingen van kudden langhoornige runderen, geiten en schapen met herders. Vooral de afbeeldingen der groote dieren in Franco-cantabrischen stijl maken een grootschen indruk. Haar actie en realisme doen denken aan de producten van de beste moderne artisten. De menschen van de afbeeldingen van den tweeden stijl zijn breedgeschouderd voorgesteld, met wigvormig bovenlichaam, dun middel, breede, ronde heupen ; zij dragen vaak een hoofdtooi van veeren en zijn bewapend met schild, pijl en boog en als jagers vergezeld van honden. Deze voorstellingen hebben geen kunstwaarde ; de overeenkomst met de Oost-Spaansche

[1]) Frobenius, Ekade Ektab blz. 4—5 ; verg. A. Scharff, Or. Lit. Zeit. 1939, blz. 149—150 ; Frobenius, Hadschra Maktuba, blz. 29.

teekeningen is wel groot, maar bij een vergelijking met de levendige menschenvoorstellingen van den Oost-Spaanschen stijl springt de inferioriteit dezer Afrikaansche teekeningen juist ten aanzien van de weergave van menschen wel het meest in het oog. Daartegenover staat, dat enkele fresco's ware meesterwerken zijn, volmaakt van teekening en proporties met een bewonderenswaardig gevoel voor compositie, kleuren en zien van perspectief [1]).

Deze teekeningen zijn afkomstig van menschen, die leefden in de omgeving der afgebeelde dieren en die hun dagelijksch leven vastlegden in deze afbeeldingen. Deze primitieve artisten kenden het schrift nog niet, althans opschriften ontbreken erbij. Sommige dezer teekeningen zijn sterk humoristisch ; zij zouden modernen caricatuurteekenaars eer aandoen [2]). Bij een vergelijking van deze Afrikaansche rotsteekenkunst met die van Zuidwest-Europa vallen de groote verschillen op ; al is het merkwaardig, dat de beide in Spanje duidelijk te herkennen kunststijlen ook in Noord-Afrika terug te vinden zijn, dit behoeft nog niet te beteekenen, dat het eene gebied onder invloed van het andere gestaan heeft ; beide kunstgebieden behoeven in het geheel niet met elkaar in betrekking gestaan te hebben; beide groepen kunnen oorspronkelijk naast elkaar ontstaan en tot ontwikkeling gekomen zijn.

De Noord-Afrikaansche rotsteekeningen moeten voor een groot deel dateeren uit een tijd, toen de Sahara nog vruchtbaar en bewoonbaar was, uit een tijd van veel regenval, een vochtig klimaat en een grooteren zoetwaterrijkdom dan in den tegenwoordigen tijd het geval is, toen de Sahara bedekt was met grasrijke vlakten en dichte wouden en bevolkt met een subtropische en tropische fauna van een uitgesproken Afrikaansch karakter. Gedurende de diluviale ijstijden moet het Atlasgebergte met gletschers bedekt zijn geweest ; dit veroorzaakte langdurige regenperioden en het optreden van rivieren en meren over het geheele gebied van de Sahara, dat thans woestijn is. Dit wordt bewezen door de ontdekking van rotsteekeningen op plaatsen, die nu bijna ontoegankelijk zijn en liggen in het hart van de woestijn, waar thans geen plantaardig of dierlijk leven meer mogelijk is. Het dierenparadijs, waarin de rotsteekeningen ons verplaatsen, met zijn kudden olifanten, runderen enz., is in het huidige uitgedroogde gebied ondenkbaar

[1]) De Chasseloup Laubat, Art rupestre, pl. XVIII ; Illustrated London News, 14 Jan. 1939.
[2]) Frobenius, Ekade Ektab, blz. 61 en pl. LVI.

en veronderstelt uitgestrekte, weelderige, rijkbevloeide landschappen in een periode van mild, vochtig klimaat, welke het kenmerk zijn van den diluvialen tijd. Ook vondsten van vuursteenen werktuigen aan den rand van thans geheel uitgedroogde rivierbeddingen toonen aan, dat de praehistorische mensch, van wien de rotsteekeningen afkomstig zijn, hier leefde en dat Noord-Afrika zich in dien tijd in andere en voor bewoning veel gunstiger levensvoorwaarden verheugde dan thans, nu een groot deel dier gebieden ten prooi is gevallen aan volledige uitdroging [1]).

Immers, de groote woestijn is het resultaat van een langzame, progressieve uitdroging, welke nog in den tegenwoordigen tijd voortgaat. Het is wel niet mogelijk om het tijdstip vast te stellen, waarop deze uitdroging zoover voortgeschreden was, dat bepaalde gebieden onbewoonbaar werden voor menschen en dieren, waarvan wij thans nog in de rotsteekeningen de welsprekende getuigen en de levendige afbeeldingen terugvinden. Deze tijd moet wel heel ver achter ons liggen. Er is geen enkel bewijs, dat in historischen tijd de klimaatsverhoudingen in Egypte of Tripolis gewijzigd zijn. De goede conditie der tempels in het Nijldal en in de oasen toont aan, dat daar reeds in de verre oudheid een regenloos klimaat heerschte. De klassieke schrijvers vermelden reeds woestijntoestanden gelijk aan die van onzen tijd [2]). Wel is het zeker, dat er in de klassieke tijden meer bronnen en oasen in de woestijn waren dan thans, dat er 3000 jaar geleden een drukker verkeer door de Libysche woestijn mogelijk was dan dat in de Middeleeuwen en later het geval was, en dat blijkens de Oud-Egyptische monumenten de Libyers talrijke nederzettingen hadden in de woestijn en groote kudden vee bezaten, wat water en gras veronderstelt, doch dit kan zijn oorzaak daarin vinden, dat de Libyers voorheen betere puttenbouwers en -gravers waren dan de latere en huidige Arabieren; zij bewoonden vele oasen, die nu door het zand overdekt of verlaten zijn. Dit is in zekeren zin ook een gevolg van uitdroging, maar dan ten gevolge van menschelijke en niet van natuurlijke oorzaken.

Het vraagstuk der dateering van de verschillende rotsteekeningen is nog niet geheel opgelost. In het algemeen treden rotsteekeningen eerst in den laat-palaeolithischen tijd op, vele behooren echter tot den neolithischen of nog lateren tijd, maar

[1]) Ebert, Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte, Bd. IX, blz. 110—121.
[2]) D. Newbald, Rockpictures and Archaeology in the Libyan desert (Antiquity, Vol. II blz. 261—291).

voor zulke afgelegen streken hebben de termen palaeolithisch en neolithisch weinig wezenlijke beteekenis. De neolithische tijd heeft in vele deelen van Afrika tot ver in den historischen tijd voortgeduurd. Daarbij moet men niet vergeten, dat ook thans nog overal in Afrika rotsteekeningen worden vervaardigd, die alleen wat onderwerpen, niet wat techniek betreft, van de oude teekeningen verschillen. Dit maakt, dat zij slechts vaag gedateerd kunnen worden. Toch bestaan er wel enkele aanwijzingen, aan de hand waarvan men deze kunstuitingen naar tijdsorde in verschillende groepen kan verdeelen. De voorstellingen van de praehistorische groep, gekenmerkt door haar naturalisme, zijn meest diep gegraveerd en sterk gepatineerd. Hiertoe behooren de afbeeldingen van groote dieren en van jagers op giraffen en struisen, die uit den palaeolithischen tijd kunnen zijn ; enkele daarvan vertoonen denzelfden stijl als die der Boschjesmannen in Zuid-Afrika, waarvan de noordelijkste gevonden worden bij het Tanganjika-meer. De voorstellingen van kudden vee met herders dateeren uit den neolithischen tijd ; dat de praehistorische mensch aan veefokkerij deed is voor het palaeolithicum nog niet bewezen. In elk geval is een groot deel dezer teekeningen zeker zeer oud. Toch is het gevaar, waaraan vele archaeologen bij elke nieuwe ontdekking niet ontkomen, groot, dat men de rotsteekeningen steeds vroeger gaat dateeren. Een jongere groep vormen de Libysch-Berbersche teekeningen uit den tijd voorafgaande aan de Romeinsche periode tot in de Middeleeuwen. In Algiers stamt de meerderheid der rotsteekeningen uit dezen tijd ; een aanzienlijk deel moet echter aan nog vroegere tijden toegeschreven worden. Voorstellingen van kameelen evenwel duiden op een lateren tijd en zijn slechts 2000 à 1500 jaar oud [1]). De jongste groep bestaat uit afbeeldingen en opschriften sinds den Arabischen tijd (8ste eeuw) en van den modernen tijd. Behalve paarden, runderen, geiten, honden, kameelen en ruiters komen daaronder ook symbolen voor zooals kruisen, spiralen en kringen, en zelfs een paar maal menschen met geweren, die dus uit den jongsten, historischen tijd moeten dateeren [2]).

De menschen, die deze rotsteekeningen vervaardigden, moeten als jagers en veefokkers in de thans geheel vereenzaamde woestijn-

[1]) Antiquity, Vol. II, blz. 269.
[2]) Ebert, Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte, Bd IX, blz. 120.

dalen geleefd hebben ; hun jacht- en huisdieren moeten overvloedig voedsel voor levensonderhoud gevonden hebben ; zelfs de krokodil heeft zich in Fezzan nog kunnen ophouden. Vele eeuwen scheiden ons van die periode, waarin de Sahara vochtig genoeg was om door een rijke vegetatie menschen en dieren te laten leven. Daar het onbekend is, wanneer deze levensvoorwaarden in de Sahara hebben opgehouden te bestaan, zijn deze teekeningen wel een bewijs voor den ouderdom der menschelijke beschaving in deze streken.

De ontdekking van deze rotsteekeningen is van groote beteekenis voor onze kennis van de Oud-Egyptische beschaving. Egypte heeft altijd tot Afrika behoord en juist de praehistorische beschavingen van het Nijldal vertoonen veel samenhang met die der westelijk en zuidelijk van Egypte gelegen gebieden. De betrekkingen tusschen de rotsteekeningen der Sahara en de oudste Egyptische kunstproducten zijn menigvuldig ; zelfs de analyse der gebruikte verfmaterialen bewijst dit [1]). Wie de Egyptische praehistorie bestudeert, moet zich ook met deze rotsteekeningen bezig houden. Vooral A. H. Winckler en A. Scharff hebben dit in hun publicaties aangetoond [2]).

Voorstellingen van planten in de Sahara herinneren aan die op vroeg-dynastische vazen [3]) ; die van schepen met kajuiten, roeiers, standaarden en hooge stevens zijn dezelfde als die op roodfigurige vazen der Egyptische praehistorie, op het messenheft van Djebel-el-Arak en op den grafwand van Hiëraconpolis ; de voorstelling van een geharpoeneerd nijlpaard stemt zóó opvallend overeen met een witfigurige vazenbeschildering der eerste Negada-beschaving, dat aan een samenhang geen twijfel mogelijk is [4]). De afbeeldingen van mannen gewapend met pijl en boog en vergezeld van jachthonden met omhoog geheven staarten zijn vaak van een zuiver Egyptischen, vroeg-dynastischen stijl en gelijken op die van de vroeghistorische Egyptische messenheften van ivoor en van de

[1]) Antiquity, Vol. X, blz. 177—178.

[2]) H. A. Winckler, Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde, Stuttgart 1937 ; A. Scharff, Die frühen Felsbilderfunde in den ägyptischen Wüsten und ihre Verhältnisse zu den vorgeschichtlichen Kulturen des Niltals (Paideuma, Bd. II afl. 4/5, Sept. 1942, blz. 162—177).

[3]) Antiquity, Vol. I, blz. 354.

[4]) Winckler, Völker und Völkerbewegungen, blz. 7—8 ; Scharff, Die frühen Felsbilderfunde, blz. 164, 169 ; Scharff, Or. Lit. Zeit. 1939, blz. 15.

paletten van leisteen o.a. van het leeuwenjachtpalet [1]). Deze jachthonden vindt men ook nog bij de Libyers der dynastische tijden (o.a. op de stèle van Antef II, een Egyptischen Nimrod, met de namen van vijf van zijn honden, van welke twee zuiver Libysch zijn : Bakaroe en Takaroe) en op de reliëfs der rotsgraven van Assoean [2]). Eveneens vindt men in Egypte terug de voorstellingen van menschen met wigvormig bovenlichaam en met veeren in de haren [3]). Deze dubbele veeren hoofdtooi herinnert aan de struisveeren, gedragen door Libysche hoofden op de Egyptische reliëfs [4]). Ook de voorstellingen van gazellen, runderen en kleinvee gelijken op die van het praehistorisch Egypte [5]). Vooral de teekeningen van runderen met een zonneschijf tusschen de horens wijzen op verwantschap met Egypte, waar de godin Hathor een zonneschijf tusschen de horens draagt. Zij kunnen ook vergeleken worden met de Egyptische Apisbeelden [6]). De bekende gehoornde ram van Aboe-Alem in het Atlasgebergte met een zonneschijf op den kop vertoont duidelijk Egyptisch-dynastischen invloed en herinnert aan den heiligen ram van den Egyptischen god Amon [7]). Sommige onderzoekers vermoeden, dat deze Sahara-voorstellingen uit Egypte geïmporteerd zijn en dan gedateerd moeten worden 1500 à 1000 vóór Chr., anderen daarentegen meenen, dat deze ramcultus in de Sahara oorspronkelijk is en van hier uit naar Noord-Oost-Afrika gekomen is.

Voorstellingen van menschen met dierenkoppen herinneren ons eveneens aan Egypte, waar deze zoo karakteristiek zijn en reeds in den vroegsten tijd voorkomen. Voor de Egyptologen zijn zij wel zeer interessant ; wij vinden in de Sahara, speciaal in Fezzan, teekeningen van menschen met een jakhalskop, een runderkop, een onbekenden dierenkop, door sommigen voor dien van een nijlpaard gehouden, een ezelskop en wellicht een katten- of hazenkop [8]).

[1]) Scharff, Die frühen Felsbilderfunde, blz. 164—165 ; Antiquity, Vol. I, blz. 354, Vol. II, blz. 288, Vol. X, blz. 177.

[2]) Antiquity, Vol. II blz. 278 ; L. de Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, deel I, Vienne 1894, blz. 187, 188.

[3]) Scharff, Or. Lit. Zeit. 1939, blz. 16.

[4]) Scharff, Die frühen Felsbilderfunde, blz. 167 ; Antiquity Vol. II, blz. 269, 277.

[5]) Antiquity, Vol. I, blz. 354.

[6]) Scharff, Die frühen Felsbilderfunde, blz. 170—172 ; Frobenius, Ekade Ektab, blz. 38—39 ; Winckler, Völker und Völkerbewegung, blz. 46—47 ; Scharff, Orient. Lit. Zeit. 1939, blz. 16. De Chasseloup Laubat, Art rupestre, pl. XIX.

[7]) Ebert, Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte, Bd. IX, pl. 171, 172 ; Frobenius-Obermaier, Hadschra Maktuba, pl. 37, 38, 94, 133, 134.

[8]) Frobenius, Ekade Ektab, pl. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.

In het Hoggar-gebergte komt nog een man met een vogelkop voor [1]). Wie deze dierkoppige gestalten voor het eerst ziet, meent terstond Anoebis, Taoeris, Seth en Horus voor zich te zien. Of echter de gestalten met den onbekenden dierenkop Taoeris voorstellen, zooals Frobenius meent, is nog de vraag, aangezien van een nijlpaardenkop in deze rotsteekening niets te vinden is. Merkwaardig is wel, dat in de voorstelling van een ezelskop duidelijk bedoeld is een opgezet ezelsmasker weer te geven, zooals wij dit ook in Egypte kennen in het jakhalsmasker der Anoebispriesters [2]). Voor de dateering dezer voorstellingen is het van belang, dat de Egyptische goden met dierenkoppen, zooals Anoebis en Seth, tot een zeer oude, zeker tot in den praehistorischen tijd teruggaande periode behooren, in tegenstelling met de jongere, zuiver menschelijk voorgestelde goden, zooals Osiris. Zij komen reeds op de leipaletten van het Boven-Nijlgebied uit den vroegsten praehistorischen tijd voor. Voor geen land ter wereld zijn voorstellingen van dierkoppige menschen zóó karakteristiek als voor het oude Egypte, dat zich zijn meeste goden op deze wijze gedacht en afgebeeld heeft. De ontdekking van zoovele gestalten van dit soort op de rotsteekeningen in de Sahara is meer dan een toeval. Hier is een voorstellingswereld ontdekt, die geheel overeenkomt met de ons reeds lang bekende Egyptische voorstellingswereld.

Enkele humoristische teekeningen doen denken aan de in Egypte zoo geliefde voorstellingen van dierenfabels [3]). Men meent ook voorstellingen van den Egyptischen god Bes met den dierenstaart in de Sahara terug te kunnen vinden [4]) ; echter moet men daarbij bedenken, dat Bes op de Egyptische voorhistorische monumenten niet voorkomt, hij wordt eerst in het Middenrijk afgebeeld en komt pas veelvuldig voor in het Nieuwe Rijk. Het is dus onbekend of hij terug gaat tot de praehistorische gedachtenwereld.

Bijzonder interessant zijn voor de Egyptologen de fresco's, welke zich te Mertoutek in het Hoggargebergte bevinden. Het eerste [5]) heeft in veel bijzonderheden (houding en groepeering der menschen) een werkelijk treffende overeenkomst met de wandschilderingen van Hiëraconpolis. Dit laatste beroemde fresco is

[1]) De Chasseloup Laubat, Art rupestre, pl. XXVII.
[2]) G. Roeder, Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeusmuseums zu Hildesheim, Berlin 1921, blz. 128, afb. 149.
[3]) Frobenius, Ekade Ektab, blz. 61, pl. 54.
[4]) Frobenius, Ekade Ektab, blz. 54—55, afb. 95—108.
[5]) De Chasseloup Laubat, Art rupestre, pl. XV.

in 1898 ontdekt door Quibell en dateert uit het praehistorische Egypte [1]). De gelijkenis der beide fresco's is te groot, dan dat zij niet verwant zouden zijn. In het algemeen is er reeds een bepaalde verwantschap aan te wijzen tusschen de teekeningen van Mertoutek en die van het praehistorische Egypte, maar bij deze fresco's is een onderlinge vergelijking niet absurd ; er is een overeenkomst van algemeene orde : dezelfde afmetingen van het geheel en van de onderdeelen, dezelfde dispositie, dezelfde gebruikte kleuren en dan het meest frappante : bepaalde overeenkomsten in stijl en in beteekenis der voorgestelde objecten. Wel zijn er in Mertoutek geen schepen (er was geen Nijl !), maar de boogschutters ontbreken niet, evenmin de honden. De kleuren wijzen uit, dat enkele figuren in Mertoutek (b.v. de kameelen, die blauw gekleurd zijn) later zijn bijgeteekend [2]).

Andere fresco's van Mertoutek vertoonen runder-hoedsters, boogschutters en danseressen, die dezelfde hoofdmisvorming hebben, welke ons bij de Amarna-prinsessen zoo vertrouwd is [3]). Deze misvorming, bestaande uit kunstmatig verlengde schedels, is een treffende analogie met die van het oude Egypte. Het is waarschijnlijk een Afrikaansch gebruik, door Amenhotep IV in Egypte in de mode gebracht. In elk geval toonen deze fresco's, dat deze gewoonte ook buiten Egypte in zwang was. Zoo is er een merkwaardige overeenstemming tusschen de kunst van Mertoutek en die van het oude Egypte. Deze is te groot dan dat er geen verwantschap zou zijn. De Egyptologen vertoonen de neiging aan deze fresco's van Mertoutek, op grond van de Egyptische analogieën, dateeringen toe te schrijven van resp. 3000 en 1400 vóór Chr. Met deze dateeringen moet men echter zeer voorzichtig zijn.

De gewoonte van het vervaardigen van rotsteekeningen treft men ook in het Egypte van den historischen tijd aan. Wie kennis neemt van de teekeningen, die door de Egyptenaren in historischen tijd op de rotswanden langs het Nijldal zijn aangebracht, zal daarbij telkens getroffen worden door de groote overeenkomst in stijl en keuze der onderwerpen met de andere Noord-Afrikaansche teekeningen [4]). Zoo opent de ontdekking dezer rotsteekeningen nieuwe

[1]) Quibell—Green, Hiëraconpolis, deel II, London 1902, pl. LXXV—LXXVII.

[2]) Verg. Illustrated London News van 14 Jan. 1939, blz. 61—62 : Animal art in Central Sahara, en: Saharan Influences on Early Egyptian Art? ; A. Scharff, Handbuch der Archäologie, I textband 1939, blz. 455.

[3]) De Chasseloup Laubat, Art rupestre, pl. XIX, XXII—XXV.

[4]) J. de Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, deel I, Vienne, 1894 ; Rudolf Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, Leipzig 1928.

vergezichten op de Egyptische voorgeschiedenis en is van groote beteekenis voor onze kennis der oudste Egyptische beschaving. Hierdoor is gebleken, dat de oudste beschavingen van het Nijldal samenhang vertoonen met de overige Afrikaansche gebieden ten Westen, Zuiden en Oosten van Egypte. Dit wijst ook wel in de richting van een gemeenschappelijken oorsprong dezer beschavingen.

Hier ligt een belangrijk terrein van onderzoek voor de archaeologen. Vele onschatbare teekeningen zijn voor altijd verloren gegaan, maar een nauwkeurig onderzoek kan nog tot de ontdekking van vele andere leiden. De Sahara en de Libysche woestijn hebben nog steeds haar onbezochte plaatsen, die geheimen verbergen. Eerst wanneer deze doorzocht zijn, kunnen er eindconclusies uitgesproken worden over de dateering dezer documenten, de identiteit van haar vervaardigers en de verwantschap van deze beschavingen met de Oud-Egyptische beschaving.

SUMMARY

The African Rock-paintings and Their Connection with Egyptian Art.

The rock-paintings, which belong to the most important discoveries of modern times in North Africa, are of a nature that they can throw new light on the earliest history of these parts. Frobenius, one of the most proficient explorers in this field, collected much material during several expeditions and he made it available in several monumental editions. The rockpaintings must belong to a period when the Sahara was still fertile and inhabited. They were engraved on the cliff walls; mostly only the outlines have been drawn, but in a few instances there are also found wall-paintings in different colours. They represent isolated big animals, which now have died out in those regions, such as elephants, giraffes, ostriches and aurochs, and also groups of animals (game or domestic animals and cattle) together with the accompanying human beings (hunters or herdsmen). Many of the pictures are highly impressive and will bear comparison with the best products of modern artists.

The relations between these rock-paintings and the oldest Egyptian art-products are manifold. The representations of plants

and animals and of ships and human beings are strongly reminiscent of the Egyptian way of representation. We even find in the Sahara men with animal heads and with skull deformities, both so characteristic for Egyptian art. All this seems to point to a common origin of the civilization of Ancient Egypt and of the most ancient inhabitants of the Sahara. This is an important field of research, the more so as large parts of the North-African desert have not yet been explored sufficiently.

HADDEN DE EGYPTENAREN VAN HET OUDE RIJK EEN „ZIEL"?

DOOR L. J. CAZEMIER, SCHIEDAM

Deze vraag stelt Ranke in het „Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde", 75 (1939), p. 133. Hij poneert dat het bezit van een ba een voorrecht is, dat oorspronkelijk alleen de koning (als ook de goden) ten deel viel. Eerst in de loop der tijden werd de ba, door het bekende proces der demokratisering, een bezit van alle Egyptenaren. Deze stelling acht ik juist. In mijn dissertatie — Oud-Aegyptiese Voorstellingen Aangaande de Ziel, Wageningen 1930 — ben ik tot dezelfde konklusie gekomen. Ranke heeft echter een tijdbepaling aangegeven door te zeggen, dat de gewone Egyptenaar noch in het Oude Rijk noch in het Midden Rijk een ba heeft gehad. Hieronder wil ik in het kort mijn mening weergeven.

In de Pyramideteksten is slechts sprake van de ba van een god of van een koning. In ieder geval wordt er nimmer over de ba van de gewone man in Egypte gesproken. De koning onderscheidt zich van de andere mensen door biezondere praerogatieven, waartoe we onder meer de ba hebben te rekenen. Door het bezit van een ba is de koning verbonden met de eeuwige wereld der goden. In het oude Egypte wordt niet alleen de koning als god beschouwd, maar hij *is* een god. Hij bezit eeuwig leven. Hij sterft niet, wanneer zijn leven op aarde eindigt. Reeds tijdens zijn leven op aarde bezit hij alles wat nodig is voor het eeuwige leven. Ook een ba. Daardoor bezit de koning een macht, iets machtigs om te doen al wat hij verlangt, ook wanneer hij de aarde verlaat.

Dat machtige, waardoor de koning in staat is bij zijn sterven naar de goden te gaan, wordt voorgesteld als een vogel, dikwijls met mensenhoofd. Een zielevoorstelling dus, die vrij algemeen is.

Daarnaast kennen de pyramideteksten de voorstelling, dat de gestorven koning, evenals de goden die naar de hemel willen

gaan, de hulp van een demonische veerman nodig heeft [1]), of zich op de vleugels van Thot plaatst, opdat deze hem zal brengen naar gene zijde [2]). Dit laatste gebeurt waarschijnlijk, wanneer de veerman hem niet in zijn boot wil nemen. Om niet tot deze of andere noodmaatregelen te vervallen, is het het allereenvoudigste, dat de koning bij zijn sterven van niemand afhankelijk is en zelf beschikt over de middelen, die hem naar de hemel brengen.

Hij gaat naar de hemel op zijn eigen vleugels, evenals de grote gans [3]).

Die kan vliegen, vliege. P. vliegt ver van u weg, mensen.

Niet is hij meer op de aarde, maar in de hemel [4]).

De biezondere positie van de koning wordt in de laatste tekst onderstreept. Nadrukkelijk wordt de koning onderscheiden van de mensen, die niet in de hemel behoren, die niet kunnen vliegen zoals hij, die niet de hemel kunnen bereiken op de wijze, waarop hem dit gelukt. Dit alles heeft hij te danken aan dat machtige, dat hij bezit als god, aan de ba, die de koning qualitate qua behoort. Zo is de ba het praerogatief van de koningen. De ba als iets machtigs, maar ook de ba als zielevogel.

Spiegelberg heeft het vermoeden uitgesproken, dat de valk de zielevogel van de koning is geweest [5]). Enkel en alleen van de koning. Hij herinnert er aan, dat er op vele plaatsen in de pyramideteksten sprake is van het gaan van de koning naar de hemel als een valk. De zielevogel van de gewone Egyptenaar zou voorgesteld zijn als een soort ooievaar. Ook op deze wijze zou de biezondere plaats welke de koning innam door een uiterlijke onderscheiding gemarkeerd zijn.

Boven hebben we echter gezegd, dat niet alleen de valk het voorrecht van de koning is geweest, maar de zielevogel, de gehele ba-voorstelling. Reeds jaren geleden heeft Steindorff er op gewezen, dat de ka oorspronkelijk een biezonder voorrecht van goden en koningen was [6]). Precies hetzelfde willen we ook van de ba zeggen. In latere tijd — en we denken weer aan het proces der demokratisering — is zowel de ka als de ba een onontbeerlijk

[1]) Pyrt. 1091 e.a.
[2]) Pyrt. 387 e.a.
[3]) Pyrt. 1122.
[4]) Pyrt. 890.
[5]) W. Spiegelberg, Der Ursprung des aegyptischen Seelenvogels O.L.Z.29 (1926) p. 394 ff.
[6]) Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 48 (1910) p. 159.

bezit van alle mensen geworden. Daardoor was het toch voor ieder mogelijk een leven in betere streken tegemoet te gaan.

De voorstelling nu, dat alleen koningen een leven na de dood beschoren is, treffen we vaker aan [1]). De gewone Egyptenaar, die niet verder leeft, heeft in het geheel geen ba nodig. Het zou zelfs dwaasheid zijn bij hem van een ba te spreken. Breasted [2]) wijst met nadruk op het feit, dat de ba juist bij het sterven een belangrijke rol vervult. In het ogenblik van sterven is het van het grootste gewicht een ba te hebben, opdat men kan verder leven. Voor de Farao is dit een vanzelfsprekende zaak. Voor hem behoort sterven tot de onmogelijkheden.

> Hij [Atum] maakt, dat de dubbele deuren des hemels voor hem geopend zijn opdat hij niet op de aarde sterft te midden van de mensen [3]).

In pyramidetekst 799c lezen we:

> De goden nemen u ten hemel in uw ba (m b3-k, misschien in uw kwaliteit van ba) en gij zijt ba onder hen.

In geen geval is de ba een gedeelte van de mens. Ba is de gehele mens.

Wij vertalen: gij *zijt* ba. Men kan ook zeggen: gij *wordt* ba. Breasted citeert, wanneer hij het heeft over ba worden, pyrt 1943 b:

> dat gij een ba moogt worden onder de goden, gij die leeft in uw kwaliteit van ba.

Noodzakelijk is deze vertaling niet. Ik zou liever vertalen: dat gij een ba moogt zijn. De gestorven koning behoeft niet ba te worden. Wanneer hij komt te sterven, neemt hij q.q. zijn plaats onder de goden in. In dezelfde spreuk wordt ook gezegd:

> gij vliegt naar de hemel, gij leeft met hen (de goden), gij laat uw vleugels groeien [4]).

Juist omdat de koning ba is kan hij vliegen, heeft hij vleugels, behoort hij tot de goden.

Nu worden er in de pyramideteksten ook andere ceremoniën genoemd, waardoor de koning in de godenkring kan worden opgenomen. B.v. pyrt. 578:

[1]) Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte. Tübingen 1925[4], I, p. 142 b.v.

[2]) J. H. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt. London 1912, p. 56.

[3]) Pyrt. 604.

[4]) Pyrt. 1948.

Uw zoon (Horus) heeft hem (Seth) geslagen. Hij heeft zijn oog aan hem ontrukt en het u gegeven, waardoor gij ba zijt (wordt) en śḫ m, de eerste der 3 ḫw.

Uit deze tekst is af te lezen, dat de goddelijkheid van de koning deze niet in staat stelt een plaats onder de goden in te nemen. Zijn positie is m.a.w. niet voldoende om in de hemel toegelaten te worden. Dit is echter een zuiver Osiriaanse tekst.

Osiris is de typische mens. De mens die van zichzelf geen eeuwig leven heeft. Op zijn dood wordt dan ook alle nadruk gelegd. In de dood heeft hij zelfs bescherming van de nog levenden nodig tegen zijn vijanden. Uit eigen kracht kan hij geen god worden. Allerlei ceremoniën hebben ten doel, dat de gestorven Osiris weer tot nieuw leven komt. De ganse dodenkultus dient daartoe. Zo groot is zijn invloed geweest, dat Osiris, zonder dat de koning zijn Heliopolitaanse voorrechten prijsgaf, ook aan de Farao als voorbeeld gesteld werd. Dezelfde riten, die aan Osiris eeuwig leven verschaften, werden ook gebezigd voor de Farao. Vandaar dat men, naar mijn mening, alleen in Osiriaanse teksten ten aanzien van de koning event. vertalen kan : ba *worden*.

Er is een tijd geweest, dat de groten van het hof, de vorsten der gouwen, die eens in de nabijheid van de Farao hadden geleefd, zich ook in de dood wilden scharen om hun vorst. Naarmate de vorsten der gouwen zelfstandiger werden — ongeveer in het midden der 5de dynastie — voelden ze minder behoefte om zich in de nabijheid van het graf van de koning te laten begraven. Het was voor deze vorsten geenszins een ideaal meer om in de dood bij hun vroegere heerser te zijn. Naarmate de gouwvorsten groter macht verwierven, de koning in macht naderbij kwamen, werd er minder gelet op het principiële onderscheid tussen de koning en zijn rijksgroten. Steeds sterker wordt het streven bij deze vorsten — later is dit zelfde streven te zien bij de gewone Egyptenaar — om zich ook de voorrechten van de koning toe te eigenen. Niet zozeer zijn goddelijke afstamming of de zekerheid van het voortbestaan na de dood op grond van de goddelijke afstamming, maar wel het uitzicht op een goddelijk leven, dat Osiris als „eerste der Westelijken" heeft bereikt. Zoals Osiris is gestorven, zo zal ook de mens sterven. Maar ook : zoals Osiris is opgestaan, zo zal ook de mens, wiens leven met het zijne is verbonden, opstaan. Hij zal tot een nieuw, goddelijk leven ontwaken. Hij bezit wel is waar dat leven niet op aarde, maar hij bereikt het na de dood. De gewone

mens, ook de gouwvorst, is niet een ba op de aarde. Hij kan een ba worden in het hiernamaals. Daartoe moeten allerlei riten worden volbracht, allerlei spreuken gereciteerd. „Het zich veranderen in een ba", het opschrift van hoofdstuk 85 van het Dodenboek, laat zien, dat de mens, die in een ba wenst veranderd te worden, geen ba is.

Het proces der demokratisering gaat nog verder. Straks wil de gewone Egyptenaar ook in het leven op aarde een ba bezitten, evenals de koning. In een spreuk van het lot van de dode in het hiernamaals wordt gezegd :

> Dan zal het gebeuren, dat gij voor de twede maal leeft, zodat uw ba niet van uw lichaam verwijderd wordt, uw ba goddelijk is met de 3ḫw [1]).

Nog duidelijker is wat er op het graf van Inni staat te lezen :

> Mijn ba wordt 3ḫ gemaakt na mijn sterven, onder hen die grootse daden hebben verricht [2]).

In deze teksten wordt geen rekening meer gehouden met het onderscheid tussen de koning en de gewone mens. Dit onderscheid is ook niet meer te vinden in het boek „Que mon nom fleurisse", waarin van de gewone Egyptenaar wordt gezegd :

> Uw ba vliegt naar de hemel met de baw der goden [3]).

Ieder heeft een ba, de gewone mens, de koning, de god. Ieder heeft de beschikking over dat machtige, waardoor eeuwig leven wordt verkregen.

Overal dus een streven om aanspraak te maken op des konings voorrechten. Intussen hebben de priesters niet stil gezeten om toch een onderscheid tussen mensen en goden vast te stellen, daarbij de koning rekenend aan de kant der goden. In deze richting zullen we wel de verklaring hebben te zoeken van het feit, dat èn aan goden èn aan koningen vele baw zijn toegeschreven.

Bij baw kan men — evenals bij ba in de singularis — denken aan een ongedifferentieerde zielemacht, iets machtigs waarvan men meer of minder kan bezitten, iets machtigs waardoor men een bepaalde kracht kan ontwikkelen. Daarnaast kunnen we wijzen op teksten, waarin baw alleen door de pluralis kan vertaald worden. In latere teksten worden aan Re 14 kaw en 7 baw toegeschreven. Bij de kaw is de uitwerking iets nauwkeuriger, daar

[1]) Sethe, Urkunden, IV, 114.
[2]) Sethe, Urkunden, IV, 66.
[3]) J. Lieblein, Le livre égyptien Que mon nom fleurisse. Leipzig, 1895, p. II.

verschillende dezer kaw een naam dragen, bij de baw wordt enkel hun getal vastgesteld op 7. Welke de funktie van deze baw, hoe hun onderlinge verhouding geweest is, daarover is niets te zeggen. In de meeste gevallen wordt er geen bepaald getal genoemd. Toch zullen er minstens 3 geweest zijn, merkt Wiedemann op [1]).

Wanneer van Osiris gezegd wordt:

ik zie uw eigen gestalten, de vormen van uw baw [2])

dan wil ik denken aan zielen met een zekere zelfstandigheid. Dit zou ik ook willen doen ten aanzien van de uitspraak:

o N, tot u is Horus gekomen, voorzien van zijn baw:

Ḥapj, Dwa mwt. f, Imśtj en Ḳbḥ śnwf [3]).

Misschien mogen we hieruit konkluderen, dat Horus eens over vier baw beschikte.

Op grond van de teksten kunnen we zeggen, dat nagenoeg alleen aan de goden baw, „zielen" met een zekere zelfstandigheid, zijn toegeschreven. Een enkele maal aan de koning. Kees wijst op de uitdrukking „godlijk aan zielen" op de koningstafel van Sakkara [4]). Van de baw der gewone Egyptenaren is geen sprake, ook niet wanneer men baw wil vertalen met macht. Mij is enkel bekend Lacau, No. 77 [5]).

ik ben gekomen om mijn baw te voeren naar de hemel, mijn schrik is op de aarde, mijn verwondingskracht in de . . .

Zo kunnen we uit de teksten niet lezen, dat het proces der demokratisering zo ver is doorgedrongen, dat de veelheid der baw, waardoor nog een onderscheid wordt aangegeven tussen de goden (en de koningen) en de gewone mensen, het normale bezit is geworden van iedere Egyptenaar.

Nu spreekt Kees van een „zweifellos uralten Volksvorstellung vom bai, die sozusagen offiziell anerkannt ist" [6]). Hij blijft in gebreke dit te bewijzen. Mijn bezwaren gaan niet tegen het „zweifellos uralt". Ik meen ook, dat er in de ba-voorstelling heel oud materiaal verwerkt is. Maar wel heb ik bezwaar tegen de uitdrukking „Volksvorstellung". De oude pyramideteksten — en dat

[1]) A. Wiedemann, Der „lebende Leichnam" im Glauben der alten Aegypter. Elberfeld 1917, S 10.
[2]) Dodenboek 78[6].
[3]) Pyrt. 2101.
[4]) H. Kees, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Aegypter. Leipzig 1926, p. 59.
[5]) P. Lacau, Textes religieux égyptiens. Première partie. Paris 1910.
[6]) H. Kees, Totenglauben, p. 60.

zijn uiteindelijk de gewichtigste bronnen in deze materie — zijn nagenoeg geheel voor de koning geschreven. Ze hebben niet betrekking op iedere Egyptenaar. We moeten dus hierin allerminst volksvoorstellingen zoeken. Kees merkt echter op, dat, al zijn de pyramideteksten voor de koning bestemd, ze duidelijk „den Stempel des völkischen Allgemeinguts" dragen. Ook hier bewijst hij niets. Merkt enkel op dat „sehr häufig bewusste Gegensätze einer höherstrebenden priesterlichen Spekulation zu den einfacher gebliebenen Volksvorstellungen" zijn vast te stellen [1]).

Maar wat behoort tot de priesterlijke spekulaties, wat tot de volksvoorstellingen ? Het is onmogelijk een zuivere scheiding aan te brengen. Het is trouwens de vraag, of men dit enige duizenden jaren geleden heeft kunnen doen. Wij kunnen alleen maar rekenen met feiten die vaststaan. In de eerste plaats is het proces der demokratisering niet te loochenen. De gewone Egyptenaar was nu eenmaal niet tevreden met de voorstellingen over het leven na de dood, die als voor hem passend in zwang waren. Hij verlangt naar hetzelfde lot, dat de priester voor de koning heeft bestemd. Hij geeft heel bewust de voorkeur aan de priestervoorstellingen.

In de twede plaats zijn de laatstgenoemde voorstellingen in de pyramideteksten beschreven. Zij geven niet de oudste volksvoorstellingen weer, ofschoon deze invloed op de eerste kunnen uitgeoefend hebben. Kees wil daartoe b.v. de verbinding van de dode met het Westen rekenen [2]). Ik meen ook, dat dit juist is. Ook in de pyramideteksten wordt over het Westen gesproken als het eigenlijke dodenland. Maar toch meer over het gaan van de koning naar de hemel. Hij schrijdt door de deuren des hemels naar de Oosthemel, waar de goden leven. Alles moet de koning behulpzaam zijn, opdat hij niet in de aarde zal komen, niet ten onder zal gaan. De koning is dus in het geheel niet gebonden aan de plaats, waar hij begraven is. De gewone Egyptenaar wel. Deze kan zich alleen maar omkeren van zijn ene zijde op de andere.

> Staat op, gij, die in uw graven woont. Maakt uw graflinnen los, werpt het zand van uw gelaat af. Richt u op van uw linkerzijde, steunt op uw rechterzijde, verheft uw aangezicht, opdat gij ziet hetgeen ik voor u gedaan heb [3]).

[1]) H. Kees, Ibidem, p. 26.
[2]) H. Kees, Ibidem, p. 26 ff.
[3]) Pyrt. 1878.

In deze tekst is wel de oude volksvoorstelling weergegeven. Bewegingsvrijheid bezit de dode, maar zeer beperkt, gebonden aan het graf.

Een meer onbeperkte bewegingsvrijheid is enkel het voorrecht van de koning. Deze bewegingsvrijheid heeft hij te danken aan dat machtige, hetwelk aanduidt, dat „es ein ‚Leben' gibt, welches mehr ist als blosse Lebendigkeit" [1]). Dit machtige, dit „Numinos-Wirkungsvolle", deze ba stelt de koning in de gelegenheid de offers in ontvangst te nemen, de zon bij haar opkomen te aanschouwen, enz. Het is dus niet een absolute vrijheid, welke de ba bezit, maar een vrijheid die veel verkieslijker is dan die waarover de gewone man beschikte.

Wanneer in oude tijden de ba als vogel wordt voorgesteld, dan is de vogel „die Form eines numinosen Erlebnisses". Waarom dit juist een vogel was en niet iets anders weten we niet. Begrijpelijke relaties zijn niet noodzakelijk. Het vermogen van de vogel om ver weg te vliegen geeft geen verklaring. De ba behoefde slechts de vrijheid om zich in de onmiddellijke omgeving van het graf te bewegen. De gestalte kan geboren worden zonder dat het verstand werkzaam is.

Later hebben de priesters een ander ideaal voor de koning vastgesteld. Niet langer zal hij leven in de omgeving van zijn graf, maar boven, in de hemel. In de ba had men een buitengewoon geschikt middel om de koning naar de hemel te brengen. Men heeft de oude volksvoorstelling genomen. Nu kan inderdaad gewezen worden op het vermogen van een vogel om ver weg te vliegen. M.a.w. nu kan naar begrijpelijke relaties gezocht worden.

„Eine zweifellos uralte Volksvorstellung." Het zal wel waar zijn. Maar ze heeft door de priestertheologie een andere inhoud gekregen. De priestertheologie heeft niet oude volksvoorstellingen officieel erkend, maar heeft daarvan een dankbaar gebruik gemaakt.

[1]) H. Schmalenbach bij G. van der Leeuw, Phaenomenologie der Religion. Tübingen 1933, p. 261.

SUMMARY

Did the Egyptians of the Ancient Empire Possess a "Soul" ?

The author agrees with Ranke's opinion that only the king is in possession of a ba. This possession makes him a god and bestows on him eternal life. The ba is something powerful, but it is also conceived as a soul-brid ; the king does not need to become a ba, rather he himself is the ba. Osirian influences also bring about other conceptions with regard to the king, which are found in the pyramid texts. The nobles and still later the common Egyptian people try to avail themselves of the privileges of the king. So the essential difference between the king and the common man ceases to exist. Nevertheless, in spite of this process of democratic equalization the priests show a tendency to keep up the difference. In this way the king is provided a.o. with several baw. It is impossible to make a clear distinction between the priestly speculations and the popular views, although the first prevail in the pyramid texts. And even where the popular views are taken over by the priests, they assume another meaning when applied to the king. In the theology of the priests there is always the intention of making a difference in principle between the king and the ordinary human being.

OVER HET KOPTISCHE WOORDENBOEK VAN VEYSSIÉRE LA CROZE

DOOR J. JANSSEN, LEIDEN

Mathurin La Croze, wiens familienaam eigenlijk Veyssiére luidde, was in 1661 te Nantes geboren [1]). Na een romantisch leven en vele omzwervingen werd deze oud-Benedictijn [2]) van de Congregatie van S. Maurus, wiens leven geheel en al opging in de studie, „bibliothecaris des konings" te Berlijn (1697). Indien men hem liever geen „polyhistor" wil noemen, is het moeilijk hem als geleerde te qualificeeren; hij was immers niet alleen iemand, die spelenderwijze allerlei moderne talen leerde, maar ook een uitstekend classicus; hij bestudeerde oude charters evenals de kerkvaders en kerkelijke schrijvers, daarnaast publiceerde hij ook over kerkgeschiedenis, den Bijbel en de apocriefen; zijn belangstelling voor de filosofie uitte zich o.a. in een uitgebreide briefwisseling met Leibnitz, terwijl daarnaast die voor de theologie bleef bestaan. Bovendien was hij een oriëntalist in den ruimsten zin des woords [3]). Vooral schijnt hij smaak gehad te hebben in het maken van woordenboeken: niet minder dan vier heeft hij er samengesteld, een Armeensch, Koptisch, Slavisch en Syrisch. Na zijn dood (1739) kwamen zij met zijn manuscripten in bezit van Ch. Et. Jordan [1]) en toen deze in 1745 stierf, verkochten zijn broers

[1]) Zijn leven werd beschreven door zijn leerling en landgenoot Ch. Et. Jordan (1700—1745) in Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Mr. La Croze, avec des Remarques de cet auteur sur divers sujets, Amsterdam, 1741, 2 d. in 1 vol. Korte samenvatting in Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours publiée par M.M. Firmin Didot Frères, sous la direction de M. le Dr Hoefer, 46, Paris, 1866, 72—73; voor zijn Koptisch werk zie men vooral Ét. Quatremère, Recherches critiques et historiques sur la langue et la littérature de l'Égypte, Paris, 1808, 83—85, 94—99, 289. Zie voor Jordan, Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 14, Leipzig, 1881, 504—506.

[2]) 1682—1696; reeds in 1677 begon hij zijn noviciaat. Jordan (a.w. 83) zegt: „Mr. La Croze a toujours conservé, pour l'Ordre qu'il avoit quitté, beaucoup de considération & d'estime."

[3]) Zie b.v. zijn verhandeling in Dissertationes ex occasione orationum dominicarum scriptae ad J. Chamberlaynium, Amstelædami, 1715, 125—142.

de handschriften van het Armeensche en Koptische woordenboek aan de Leidsche universiteit [1]). Aan dit laatste hechtte La Croze zelf de meeste waarde [2]). Uit de colophon blijkt, dat het klaar is gekomen op 3 Maart 1721. Het omvat VIII + 686 beschreven bladzijden en het papierformaat is 20,7 cm (breedte) bij 26,5 cm (hoogte).

De inleiding werd nog hetzelfde jaar afgedrukt in een brief van J. A. Noltenius aan Th. Hasaeus [3]), tot de uitgave van het woordenboek zelf durfde men echter niet over te gaan, hoewel er toentertijd geen enkel alfabetisch Koptisch lexicon bestond. Ofschoon het voorbeeldig verzorgde manuscript door de vele bewijsplaatsen erg volumineus is, liet de zwager van P. E. Jablonski, Chr. Scholtz [4]), zijn leerling C. G. Woide [5]) de Curatoren der Leidsche universiteit verzoeken, het lexicon te mogen copieeren [6]).

[1]) Mémoire de M. Woide, sur le Dictionnaire Cophte qu'il va publier à Oxford & sur les Sçavans qui ont étudié la Langue Cophte. Adressée à Messieurs les Auteurs du Journal des Sçavans, in Le Journal des Sçavans, Juillet 1774, Tome LXXIV (Édit. de Paris), Amsterdam, 316—346. Over La Croze's woordenboek wordt blz. 323 gesproken. Zie ook R. P. A. Dozy, Catalogus Codicum Orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae, Lugduni Batavorum, I, 1851, blz. 108 [niet geheel juist] ; het Koptische is genummerd Cod. 431 B = Hebr. etc. 120 Warneri ; gaarne dank ik op deze plaats Dr C. van Arendonk voor zijn groote welwillendheid en hulpvaardigheid bij het raadplegen van de hss van La Croze. Het Armeensche draagt het nummer 431 A en is beschreven a.w. blz. 106—107. Over dit laatste waren G. Cuper en A. Reland zeer enthousiast ; zie Lettres de critique, d'histoire, de litterature, etc. écrites a divers savans de l'Europe par feu Monsieur Gisbert Cuper, Amsterdam, 1742, o.a. 123, 299.

[2]) Jordan, Histoire enz., 172.

[3]) In Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica. Classis Quintae Fasciculus Quartus, Bremae, 1721, 745—751 ; de geheele aflevering is opgedragen aan La Croze ,,Serenissimi Potentissimique Borussorum Regis a consiliis, a Bibliotheca, ab Antiquitatibus, viro ***ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΕΣΤΑΤΩΙ καὶ ΠΟΛΥΓΑΩΤΤΑΤΩΙ***" (na blz. 562).

[4]) 1697—1777 ; zie Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 32, Leipzig, 1891, 228—229.

[5]) 1725—1790 ; zie Dictionary of National Biography ed. by S. Lee, 62, London, 1900, 289—290.

[6]) In de Verzamelingh van de Minuten der bijlagen van de Resolutien van de HH^n Cur^n en Burgerm^n. beginnende den 8 Febr. 1746 (= Archief van Curatoren der Leidsche Universiteit (—1815), Inv. No. 48) staat op datum 8 November 1748 de brief van Woide ; naar Dr G. I. Lieftinck mij mededeelde, is de brief, behalve de onderteekening en wat erop volgt, kennelijk van een Nederlandsche klerkenhand ; ,,gehoort hebbende het schriftelijk favorabel Advis van den Heer Bibliothecaris Gronovius" werd dit verzoek welwillend toegestaan ; zie Resolutien van Curatoren = Archief van Curatoren der Leidsche Universiteit (—1815), Inv. No. 33, blz. 217 en 218. De administrateur bij het College van Curatoren, de Heer A. van Hoogstraten, was zoo vriendelijk mij verlof te geven het archief te raadplegen. Woide schrijft in zijn Mémoire (zie noot 1), 323 : ,,C'est de cet original que j'ai pris en 1750 une copie pour M. Scholtz & pour moi." Volgens M. G. Schwartze, Koptische Grammatik, herausgegeben von H. Steinthal, Berlijn, 1850, 20 zou zich een door La Croze zelf gemaakte copie van zijn manuscript in de Bibliothèque Nationale te Parijs bevinden ; ook hier gaat hij blijkbaar terug op Quatremère, Recher-

Deze jonge Pool, die toentertijd te Leiden theologie studeerde en later verbonden werd aan de Nederlandsche kerk te Londen, heeft er zoowel voor zijn leermeester als voor zichzelf een copie van gemaakt. Scholtz heeft het toen verkort, echter met dien verstande, dat geen woorden werden weggelaten, maar slechts bewijsplaatsen of verwijzingen; b.v. bij ⲁⲓ geeft het handschrift 12 plaatsen op, het gedrukte woordenboek 2. Toch is het excerpeeren niet steeds consequent gebeurd, b.v. bij ⲁⲓⲕⲱ is „Sic etiam Kircherus, pag. 462" van het handschrift weggelaten, bij b.v. ⲁⲗⲱⲙ is de verwijzing naar denzelfden schrijver wel opgenomen. Verwijzingen naar het Armeensch zijn weggelaten; ook is de vertaling soms lichtelijk gewijzigd; b.v. ⲁⲑⲛⲁⲓ immisericors, handschrift Expers misericordiae. De voornaamste formeele verandering betreft de Sa'iedische woorden; dit dialect was toen nog slechts kort en onvolmaakt bekend en La Croze had de specifiek Sa'iedische woorden aan het einde van elke letter van het alfabet geplaatst; in het woordenboek zijn deze afzonderlijk opgenomen, met enkele emendaties van Woide, als „Sylloge quarundam vocum Dialecti Sahidicae sive Superioris Ægypti" (blz. 183—199). Woide voorzag het geheel van drie indices: een Griekschen en Latijnschen voor het Bohairisch en een gemengd Grieksch-Latijnschen voor het Sa'iedisch. In 1775 verscheen het, bij de Clarendon Press te Oxford, in druk, want „Placuit Curatoribus Universitatis Oxoniensis Spectatissimis primum, Celeberrimi La Crozii Lexicon Ægyptiaco-Latinum rarissimum elaboratissimumque, pretiosum illud Bibliothecae Academicae Lugduno-Batavae *κειμηλιον*, dignum ejus nomine, in lucem emittere" (Woordenboek VIII—IX). Dat veel is weggelaten, blijkt alleen reeds uit het aantal bladzijden van het boek, waarvan het paginaformaat ongeveer hetzelfde is als dat van het handschrift (21 cm breedte bij 27 cm hoogte);

ches enz., 85; door mijn aanstaand vertrek naar Egypte is het mij niet mogelijk, de juistheid hiervan te onderzoeken. Ook Schwartze blz. 23 is sprake van het Koptische woordenboek. D. Hackman of Hakman (± 1707—1770; Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, 6, Leiden, 1924, 662) heeft het blijkbaar eveneens gecopieerd; wij lezen immers bij Chr. Muller, Satura observationum philologicarum maximam partem sacrarum, Lugduni Batavorum, 1752, 161—162: „La Croze in lexico Ægyptiaco MS. cujus *ἀπόγραφον* mecum communicavit Vir in literatura orientali admodum callens & amicus noster singularis Dithmarus Hakman, verbi divini apud Wassenarienses dispensator". Geen van beide personen wordt vermeld bij J. Nat, De Studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw, Purmerend, 1929. Het gedrukte lexicon is nog in het begin der 19de eeuw afgeschreven door J. Kinker (1764—1845), zooals blijkt uit een hs van hem in mijn bezit.

het eigenlijke lexicon omvat 199 bladzijden; daarbij komen dan nog 66 bladzijden voor de indices en XII paginae voorwerk.

La Croze geeft op blz. V—VII van zijn handschrift de bronnen op, die hij ervoor gebruikt heeft. Het zijn vooral het Nieuwe Testament geweest en enkele liturgische boeken, waarvan de liturgie van Basilius en Gregorius door P. E. Jablonski voor hem te Leiden gecopieerd was. Van het Oude Testament stond hem vrijwel alleen ter beschikking het psalter van Th. Petraeus [1]), evenals, uit de nalatenschap van denzelfde, „Lexicon vetus & nitidum Aegyptiaco-Arabicum vocum Novi Testamenti, quem codicem mihi magno usui fuisse agnosco". Over dit laatste handschrift, dat zich in de Pruisische Staatsbibliotheek te Berlijn bevonden moet hebben, ben ik niets te weten kunnen komen.

Tot 1835, toen tegelijkertijd het Koptische Woordenboek van H. Tattam (Oxford) en Am. Peyron (Turijn) verschenen, is La Croze's lexicon het eenige geweest op dit gebied. En ofschoon J. Fr. Champollion, de grootste Koptisant van zijn tijd, reeds in 1814 een eigen woordenboek der verschillende dialecten had samengesteld, heeft hij toch een dankbaar gebruik gemaakt van het werk van zijn grooten landsman La Croze [2]).

1 December 1945.

RÉSUMÉ

Les avatars du premier dictionnaire copte composé par La Croze dans le premier quart du XVIIIe siècle. Le manuscrit se trouve dans la bibliothèque de l'Université de Leiden.

[1]) Zie voor hem A. Rahlfs, Nissel und Petraeus, ihre äthiopischen Textausgaben und Typen, in Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, 1917, Berlijn, 1918, 268—348. Het psalter werd laatstelijk uitgegeven door O. H. E. Burmester en E. Dévaud, Psalterii versio memphitica e recognitione Pauli de Lagarde. Réédition avec le texte copte en caractères coptes, Leuven, 1925.

[2]) H. Hartleben, Champollion, Sein Leben und sein Werk, I, Berlijn, 1906, 200.

NOTES ON LOCALISM IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

BY H. P. BLOK, LEIDEN

A. GENERAL SECTION.

§ 1. In the last number of Language which reached our country during the recent war Mr. L. Ecker published [1]) an interesting paper on Place Concept in Chinese in which he attempts to show that the idea of unspecified place is not a matter-of-fact concept, but an artificial abstraction unknown to many languages outside of modern Europe. Now, as in the course of an extensive research into this matter I have come to a quite different conclusion (which I hope to publish shortly) I may be permitted to submit here to the reader a preliminary notice on this theme, confining myself for the nonce to the group of so-called African languages which yield some striking features of what I should like to call "Localism" [2]) as an outstanding principle in the life of languages in general.

The fruitful and far-reaching idea of what C. Meinhof has termed the "notion or concept of place" [3]) ("Lokalvorstellung") has been taken up again by his pupil W. Czermak of Vienna [4]) who enlarged on the original theory of Meinhof's by putting it on the base of comparative linguistics. But as neither Meinhof nor Czermak went beyond the restricted area of the Hamitic languages the need is felt to test the range of their promising thesis as to its validity as a general linguistic principle. Indeed, it turns out that, far from being confined to the domain of modern European

[1]) Language Vol. XVI No. 1 (1940), p. 17 seq.

[2]) The term "Localism" is not used here in the sense of E. Sapir, Language (1921), p. 161.

[3]) C. Meinhof, Die Sprachen der Hamiten (1912), p. 20 et pass.; comp. O. Jespersen, Language (1923), p. 402.

[4]) W. Czermak in Festschrift für C. Meinhof (1927), p. 204 seq. This author still confuses Localism in general with "Lokalvorstellung" in particular.

languages (as Mr. Ecker would have it) Localism may be considered to be a guiding exponent of linguistic thought as such; traces of it can be found in nearly every language, sometimes as a still active factor in living speech, more often however as a petrified relic from an earlier period.

Generally speaking Localism may be defined as the particular tendency, during an earlier phase in the life of languages, to express in terms of place and space every relation which later on may develop into subtler distinctions as case, tense, moods, etc. Its psychological foundation lies in the tendency of the human mind during the earlier periods of its activity to subordinate, in relation to the thinking and speaking subject, the objectival world which surrounds it [1]). The terms in which this fundamental notion of subordination is couched in living speech all point to the same underlying principle, in the minds of the speaker and of his audience, of what German scholars might call the "Ortsgebundenheit" of the psychological subject. As will be seen from the instances given later on, these manifold relations which appear to exist between the subject and the objectival world surrounding it are primarily expressed by means of general and somewhat vague terms of locality which in the course of time are refined as to their sense and purport, and develop gradually into the clearly precisized categories of systematic grammar. These local terms ("localistic exponents") which tend to interconnect the subject and the non-subject are primarily vague and entirely indeterminate; they express nothing but the mere existence, in the mind of the speaking subject, of an unspecified *local relation* of coexistence between himself and the-other-thing, the *logical correlation* between the two being suggested by the very function of local parataxis, but not actually expressed by means of words nor by any specific grammatical forms or constructions.

From the psychological point of view we might say that the localistic structure of a phrase, by means of the mere local relation established by the exponents, is essentially a *static* or *descriptive* one, as opposed to the *dynamic* or *functional* construction of full-grown grammar. The fundamental difference between the two rests in the last resort on the distinction between the merely

[1]) Called "Eigenbeziehung" by the German psychologists, comp. M. Friedemann, Ueber Wahnideen im Völkerleben (Grenzfragen des Nerven- und Seelenlebens, VI/VII, 1901, p. 222 seq.; K. Bühler Sprachtheorie, (1934), p. 140 seq.

descriptive *relation* in the *localistic structure* and, on the other hand, the logical *correlation* worded in the *grammatical construction.* The expression by means of "signs" of logical functions does not enter into localism.

Localistic juxtaposition, expressing nothing but the idea of coexistence by means of freely compounded radical elements only, in due course becomes a grammatical function [1]). The *signal* [2]) becomes a *sign* and, from being a *syntagmeme* (or syntactical morpheme) the exponent develops into a real *morpheme* (or morphological morpheme) in the true sense of the word (comp. infra A § 6).

§ 2. In Swahili for instance the general localistic exponent *na* is used as follows: *nina kisu* "I have a knife" (litt. "I-along-with knife"); *ninapenda* "I love" (litt. "I-along-with-loving") [3]); *ninapigwa naye* "I am beaten by him" (litt. "I-along-with-being-beaten along-with-him"). Word-expression is clearly limited to the mere statement of a vaguely local relation between the subject and the-other-things which interest him for the moment, conveying nothing to the mind of the audience but the mere fact of the coexistence, within a limited space, of the subject and the non-subject within the semantic compass of the phrase. The logical or functional correlation however which connects the two elements is not actually expressed in the wording, but is suggestively evoked by way of associative inference in the minds of the speaker and of his audience. The particle *na* is emphatically not yet a pre-

[1]) Comp. M. Bréal, Essai de Sémantique (1904), p. 209.

[2]) "Signal" in the phonemical sense of the word, vid. K. Bühler l.c. p. 28 and N. van Wijk, Phonologie (1939) p. 15. The term "morpheme" is commonly used to denote all formal means required for expressing any relation in living speech. Morphemes may be syntactical (indeclinable particles with only a syntactical function), or morphological (as e.g. the morphemes indicating flexion, conjugation and declension); vid. J. Vendryes, Le Langage (1921), p. 85 seq. For convenience' sake however we will call "*syntagmeme*" every morpheme of the former type, reserving the term *morpheme* in the more restricted sense for denoting those of the latter type. Localistic structure belongs to the group called "simple pure-relation languages" by E. Sapir, Language (1921), p. 145 seq.

[3]) Still more specified in Gola: *we ya ka sua* litt. "he-within-going"; anc. Egyptian on the contrary uses the quite indeterminate local exponent *ḥr* for this purpose; comp. infra p. 80). The categorical differentiation of the nominal ≷ verbal construction, represented by the distinction made between the "pronouns" *a* and *(y)u* for the 3rd pers. sing., appears to be still fortuitous and arbitrary, in statu nascendi as it were. Comp. C. Meinhof, Grundzüge einer vergl. Gramm. der Bantusprachen (1906), p. 95 seq.; id., Grundzüge der Lautlehre der Bantusprachen (1910), p. 38.

position nor any other part of speech belonging to a specified grammatical category[1]; it is a localistic exponent in the true sense of the word, too vague still to be a real grammatical particle. The localistic exponent merely indicates a certain distance between the subject and the non-subject, a distance which can be far or near as the case may be; it even can be the virtual zero-distance which represents the notion of identity in the nominal clause.

It should be noticed however that this semantic vagueness which constitutes a typical feature of all localistic exponents is not the outcome of any secondary act of abstraction by which the human mind builds up its general notions by way of induction from diverse specific data. It is the primary generality of a notion *not yet specified* as to its actual and well-defined meaning. On this ground too we are justified in regarding linguistic Localism to be a diachronical phenomenon to be assigned to an early phase in the life and development of human speech in general.

§ 3. The local relation as expressed by means of the localistic exponents can be divided into two different classes as belonging to either the pausal phase or the directional phase[2].

As this terminology already implies the exponents belonging to the latter do not merely express the side-by-side relation of mere coexistence between the subject and the non-subject; they introduce a new factor *viz.* that of a direction away from or towards the speaker. Into this second group of localistic functions should be classed what C. Meinhof has called the "Lokalvorstellung" in the Hamitic languages, based as it is on the difference in vowel-harmony at the end of the verbal roots. E.g. Haussa: *kai* "to bring away from" > *kāwo* "to bring to"; *tẹfi* "to go" > *tẹfo* "to come"[3]. Although in these instances the localistic exponent has been incorporated to a certain extent into the verbal unit, the actual exponents of the directional phase are very numerous in other groups of languages. One and the same grammatical relation may be expressed by the pausal phase in one, by the directional one in another language, e.g. the degree of comparison in ancient

[1] "There are not parts of speech, but merely formatives in speech", C. M. Doke, Textbook of Zulu Grammar (1945), § 54.

[2] Local direction appears to represent a later stage of development, comp. A. von Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik (1934), § 396.

[3] Infra B II § 1, and comp. the use of *sī* > *sō* in Somali.

Egyptian *ỉw.f wr r śn.f* "he is great towards his brother" (directional) and in Swahili *naye mkuu kuliko mwenzawe* "he is great where-there-is his friend" (pausal).

The notion of 'time'-difference, as we know now[1]), has gradually developed out of the aspects in the verb, however vague the latter term may be. But also this aspective stage, though at the beginning of the *grammatical* (see infra § 6) phase in the life of living speech, has its diachronical predecessor. It is out of the exponents belonging to the directional phase that t e n s e[2]) i.e. the notion of time as conveyed by a verbal morpheme, has often developed. Where this directional factor is lacking the localistic exponents, as used for the expression of temporal relations, must remain extremely vague; the choice among the exponents available appears to be quite arbitrary, varying with each idiom.

In the Bantugroup for instance the exponents *li*, *na* and *ku* are widespread; their application however to the expression of what we call "tenses" is divergent in the extreme:

na (pausal): Herero; Swahili of Zanzibar: present; Luganda: near future; Tšeŵa, Louyi, Kamba, Swahili of Mombasa: preterite.

> It is noteworthy that in Ifumu the interrogative pronoun "where?" is *nani* for the pausal and *kuni* for the directional phase. This fact settles conclusively the functional identity of *na* with the exponents of the local noun-class. As opposed to *li* its deictic form *-no* denotes nearness. In Ibo the exponent *na* (not identical with *na* in Bantu, Ibo being a Sudanese idiom!) forms a verbal mood which denotes some kind of habitual or progressive action; it has also a prepositional function "in, at". In the language of the Fañ (Gaboon[3]) in fact *na* > *ne* performs the triple function of 1°. preposition "along with"; 2°. local adverb "here", and 3°. auxiliary verb "to be". The original localistic exponent has been differentiated into three distinct grammatical categories. In Sotho the part of *na* in Swahili has been taken over by *le* > *li*, belonging to the same group of "particles".

li (pausal, Sotho *le* "along with"). Swahili: past; Luganda: far future; Nyamwezi and Sotho: present; Congo: indefinite present.

ku (pausal denoting remote distance, and directional and used

[1]) J. Vendryes, Le Langage (1921) p. 116 seq.; O. Jespersen, Language (1923) p. 380; E. Sapir, Language (1921) p. 114; F. de Saussure—Ch. Bally, Grundfragen der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (1931) p. 139. There is a slight difference between the notion of aspect proper and the "Aktionsart", vid. H. P. Blok, Bibliotheca Orientalis (1945) p. 30.

[2]) See O. E. Johnson, Tense Significance as the Time of the Action (Language Diss. XXI, 1936); J. van Ginniken, Oorzaken der Taalveranderingen (Med. Kon. Akad. Wet. A'dam LIX, A No. 2, 1945), p. 35.

[3]) L. Martou, Lexique Fañ-français p. 93.

for the infinitive). Swahili : negative preterite ; Congo : perfect I ; Nyamwezi : near future ; Zulu : future ; Lenje : present.

Instances of localistic constructions in verbal paradigms are numerous though not always easily recognisable as such. Among the clear cases we may quote e.g. ancient Egyptian *iw.f ḥr śḏm* "he is on-hearing" (*ḥr* occasionally *m* "in") and *iw.f r śḏm* "he is towards hearing" ; Ewe : *mele yiyím* "I am within going" (progressive) and *mele yiyigé* "I am next-to going" (ingressive from *gbé* "place") [1]. In all the cases mentioned the verbal constructions are in reality nominal clauses with the localistic exponent acting as a copula. The transition from the nominal to the verbal construction is evident in anc. Eg. where both expressions occur side by side. 1°. *Nominal : iw śḏm.f*, the participial term *śḏm.f* (lit. "heard of him") being a virtual adverbial clause acting as a predicate to the preceding impersonal statement *iw* ("it is, there is") ; 2°. *Verbal : iw.f śḏm.f* ("he is he hears"). The latter appears to represent the later stage of development. Likewise the primary nominal construction *wn.t ir.k* (litt. "there is the fact that you do", *wnt* alternating with the conjunction *ntt*) may be turned into a verbal one by "anticipating" the pronominal (*wnt. k ir.k* "that you do") [2].

These localistic exponents of the pausal phase represent nothing but a certain (or rather uncertain) local distance relating the subject to its environments ; the choice amongst them for the expression of our notion of time and tense appears to be quite fortuitous and arbitrary. This lack of direction in the pausal phase of localism accounts for the phenomenon that in several African languages the words meaning "to-morrow, yesterday", etc. are identical, the meaning in each case being decided by the "tense" of the verb in the context.

[1]) Comp. D. Westermann, Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache (1907) § 101.

[2]) A. Erman, Ägyptische Grammatik (1928) § 532d ; A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (1927) § 461 seq. interprets the personal suffix in *iw.f* as "anticipatory emphasis of the subject". I should prefer to regard the whole form as the outcome of a deliberate attempt to verbify the nominal construction, comp. Bibliotheca Orientalis (1945) p. 30. The greater part of Hamitic languages possess a timeless verbal system ; M. Cohen (Le système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps, 1924) has claimed the same principle for the semitic languages with reference to a "temps situé"; comp. also L. Lévy-Brühl, Les mentalités primitives (1922) p. 126.

yesterday, to-morrow [1] = Duala : *kiè̱le̱*; Lenje : *tšilo*; Luba : *makaléla* or *malo̱ba*; Lonkundo : *lóbí*; Mekyibo : *āsō-hā*; Ewe : *etso̱*; Ibo : *ečí*; Gbea : *bine* > *binde*, comp. Sango : *bili* "yesterday", but *kekeleke* "to-morrow"; Mengbattu : *óburu*; Ganda : *jo*; Tabwe : *lukere*

the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow = Lenje : *isona*; Luba : *maipi*; Ewe : *nyitso̱*; Fañ : *odzắn* [2]); Ganda : *olwebiri* (lit. 2nd day). Tabwe : *bolya busiku.*

Compare also Luganda *e'da* "long ago, later on", and Karanga *nakare* or *nakare kose* "from ever, for ever" [3]), and so on.

The psychological function of "Eigenbeziehung" which tends to subordinate, in relation to the thinking and speaking subject, the whole objectival world surrounding it, places the subject in oppositional correlation to the *non-subject;* this concept is primarily a *negative* one, the relation between the two terms being linguistically expressed by means of the localistic exponents of distance, receding along a gliding scale from the zero-point of nominal identity. In the same way the notion of time, still conceived in terms of distance only, distinguishes between "now" (i.e. temporal identity) and "not-now" without reckoning with the secondary factors of direction ("still" and "already") [4]). This

[1]) Comp. D. Westermann, Die Sudansprachen (1911), p. 190, and Gothic *gistra dagis* = *αὔριον*. In Bantu *mbele* means either "before" or "behind" (H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study etc. 1922, p. 486 note).

[2]) In Fañ however "yesterday" = *ānguròˊ* (*ŋguròˊ* "evening") and "to-morrow" = *aki'ri* (from *kirye* "morning").

[3]) = Shambala *kalekale* (cf. Swahili *kale* = Luganda *kade* "old"). Jaunde *mę̀ŋgadi* "perfectum remotius and futurum indefinitum" (H. Nekes, Lehrbuch der Jaunde-Sprache, 1911, p. 152) does not belong here, the intonation of the vowel in the second syllable being slightly different in the two cases (*a* and *â*).

[4]) Comp. K. Roehl, Versuch einer systematischen Grammatik der Schambala Sprache (1911), § 119.

lack of direction in the pausal phase might also account for the double meaning of sentences like Luganda *omugenyi avude awala* ("the guest who came from afar" or "the guest who went far away") according to the context.

§ 4. The degrees of distance as conveyed to the mind by the mediation of the exponents for expressing the notions of time and tense, are not clearly defined in themselves, but they vary along a gliding scale from far-away to zero [1]). The latter which denotes the complete identity of the subject with the predicate, constitutes the scheme for all so-called nominal clauses. This is the reason why many of the original localistic exponents which have survived in the grammatical system present themselves in the guise of defective verbs "to-be" [2]). The most irregular forms in a language are generally the most archaic ones [3]).

It is not always easy for us to decide whether a copulative particle in the context must be regarded as a true localistic exponent which is still felt as such, or is only a petrified survival from an older period now interpreted as a defective copulative verb [4]). There seems to be no consistency however in the custom which obtains in almost every grammar of Bantu linguistics *viz.* to class *na*

[1]) Comp. Ch. Bally, Copule zéro et faits connexes. Bull. Soc. Linguist. Paris 1922 (XXIII[2], No. 71), p. 1 seq.

[2]) This does not mean, of course, that conversily all defective verbs "to-be" should have originated from localistic exponents!

[3]) O. Jespersen, l.c. p. 338 seq., 379 seq., 425; "Le verbe être, loin d'être la copule de toutes les propositions, est le dernier venu des verbes, un verbe autonome vidé de son propre sens. Il a été créé pour assimiler la phrase nominale à la phrase verbale". (H. Delacroix, Le langage et la pensée, 1930, p. 225).

[4]) F. W. Migeod (Languages of Western Africa, 1913. II p. 141) already drew attention to the fact that "there might be thought to be an obstacle to the use of "with" in any place where the verb "to be" might read better in English", comp. also H. H. Johnston (A comparative Study of the Bantu and semi-Bantu Languages. 1922. II p. 523): "In the Bantu there are two widespread roots for "to be" *-ba* and *-li* which may be in use in the same language. *Ba* appears to have referred originally rather to "being" in the sense of "existence", while *li* usually indicated "position, presence"; the distinction between the two roots being somewhat that of the difference between *ser* and *estar* in Spanish and Portuguese." The definition as given by W. A. Crabtree: "*ba* is always used in general statements, and *li* in particular ones" (Elements of Luganda Grammar, 1923, p. 83) hardly covers all the known facts. M. Cohen (l.c., p. 110) points out that "il y a lieu de ne pas exclure l'hypothèse qu'une ancienne expression nominale de l'existence en hamito-sémitique se soit rencontrée avec une racine verbale de sens plein". This is not going far enough; the original exponent of the localistic phase has developed into a defective nominal verb as soon as it entered into the grammatical system. Here it may have met with another full or paradigmatic verb of existence with which it may in some cases have coincided to a certain extent. This might explain the occurrence side by side of the "verbs" *-li* and *-ba* in Bantu.

and *ku* among the particles or prepositions, whilst *a* and *li* on the other hand are listed as so-called defective verbs. This distinction within a series of intrinsically cognate exponents may be true from the synchronical point of view, diachronically speaking it seems to be hardly justified. The fact that in most Indo-European languages the copula as a rule might be regarded to be the residuum of a former verbal root may of course have influenced the Africanists in this matter.

The localistic copula may be found over the whole wide area of African and semi-African languages [1]). In ancient Egyptian a nominal clause in which the predicate is a noun or a pronoun, may be converted into an adverbial-predicative clause by inserting the "preposition" *m* ("in", etc.) before the predicate. The latter construction is the usual one in the Hamitic and Sudanic languages, as e.g. Gola: *kesa ya son* "the house is old" (*ya* "here, with"). Widely spread is the exponent *-d* > *-ġ* in the Hamitic group [2]): *-ġ* (Berber "in") or *-d̲* (Bilin, Saho, Siwi) both being used as copula in nominal clauses: Schilh *ărgăzăn d-ašilḥai* or *ărgăzăn igá ašilḥai* "this man is a Schilh" [3]). In Galla our copula may be rendered by using the typical localistic exponent *-ti:* "ha un significato locativo generico senza distinzione di direzione" [4]). It is doubtless the inherent deictic power of these exponents just mentioned which increases the possibility of their functioning as a copula in nominal clauses; but it is their essentially localistic signification which is of primary importance for our purpose.

[1]) Ch. Sacleux, Le verbe être dans les langues bantoues (Mém. Soc. Ling. Paris XV. 1908/09, p. 152 seq.). We must distinguish in Congo between the exponent *na* and the verb *ina* (a secondary derivate ?) which admits even a passive voice [*-inwa* "to be lived in, to be inhabited"] according to W. H. Bentley, Dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Language (1886), p. 690.

[2]) Comp. W. Vycichl, Aegyptiaka. Wien. Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. XL (1933), p. 171 seq.

[3]) H. Stumme, Handb. des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt (1899), §§ 96, 118; the author adds: "Dies *d* ist syntaktisch ein anderes als die Präposition, denn es modifiziert die im Status annexus verandernden Nomina nicht". The author is right from the synchronical point of view, but both copula and preposition derive from a common source *viz.* the localistic copula. Comp. E. Laoust, Course de berbère marocain, (1939), §§ 154, 155.

[4]) M. M. Moreno, Grammatica della lingua Galla (1939) § 57; A. W. Hodson and C. H. Walker, Grammar of the Galla or Oromo Language (1922) § 28. In rather remote connection with these instances of localistic constructions we might note the use of the modal particles *-wa* and *-ba* in Somali; there exists a remarkable idiomatic parallelism between these particles and the affixes *-wa* > *-ga* in Japanese (B. H. Chamberlain, Handbook of Colloquial Japanese, 1898, § 67).

It is the zero-distance which enables them to play the part of identifying copula in all nominal sentences. From the psychological point of view it is perfectly in keeping with the egocentric state of mind which governs this phase of linguistic development, that identity in its most ideal form, i.e. the indication of the speaking subject *by* the subject himself, should be expressed on the same lines. If the hypothesis of "Eigenbeziehung" (vid. supra) obtains, the consciousness of identity is the primary precondition to every mental function. Psychologically speaking the notion of distance as such appears to be a *negative* one: *viz.* the consciousness of non-identity, and the gliding scale of distantial degrees would not point centre-wards toward the zero-limit, but on the contrary away from the zero-point of identity in a centrifugal direction [1]). For our purpose however this purely theoretical problem is only of academic interest.

As we might expect, it is among the personal pronouns [2]) that we meet again with the localistic mode of thinking. The languages around Lake Tchad [3]) all form their pronouns by affixing the exponent *-gé* (< *gbé* "place") to the original pronominal units. It is in the first place the pronoun of the 1st pers. sing. which appears to be the exponent *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of localistic identification. Accordingly it is not to be wondered at that this pronoun should idiomatically be used as copula in nominal clauses, being essentially an exponent of zero-distance i.e. of psychological identity. In Bantu *ni* ("I") and *si* ("I not" < **ha-ni*) often represent the copula: in Swahili *nilipenda ni* is pronominal, in *ndimi* (< **nilimi* "it is I") *ni* is copulative [4]); Sotho uses *ke* in both functions, etc. In

[1]) On this grounds we have avoided the term *object* as much as possible, using *non-subject* instead.

[2]) Comp. Nandi *an(y)e* "I" with *n(y)* "here". In Fula the possessive pronouns are formed with *ma* "place". See also Haussa *ya tafi wurinna* = Luganda *yagenda gyendi* "he comes to me", lit. "to my place".

In Italian the localistic terms *ci* < **ecce-hic* and *vi* < **ibi* have superseded the toneless pronouns of the 1st and 2nd pers. plur.; as in *egli ci (vi) dà* "he gives us (you)". In Japanese the polite expression for "you" is *anata* > **ano kata*, lit. "that side, beyond", *sono hǫ* (as used in the lawcourts) or *temae*, lit. "before the hand", equivalent to "I" in polite conversation, to "you" nowadays in an insulting sense (B. H. Chamberlain, l.c. § 67). See also C. C. Uhlenbeck, Ontwerp van eene vergelijkende vormleer der Eskimotalen (Verh. Kon. Akad. Wet. A'dam VIII, No. 3, 1907), § 48.

[3]) H. Garbou, La Région du Tsad et du Ouadai (1912), II p. 218 seq.

[4]) Vid. J. Torrend, Comparative Grammar of the South-African Bantu Languages (1891), § 582 seq. It is possible that the original localistic power of *ni* still survives in the prefix (elsewhere unknown) *ṅg* used in Venda to form adverbs of locality; cf. C. Meinhof, Zeitschr. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch. (1901), p. 651.

the Sudanese group we meet with the exponent *me*, originally locative, in all functions mentioned (Dahomey, Ewe). In the Nilotic group we might mention the Lango language, where the interrelation, e.g., between *a-dok* ("cattle-place") and *a-išwanyo* ("I call") is evident. In the Caucasian languages the same phenomenon obtains: in Awaric *u*, concord of the first noun-class, is used as a general copula preceded by the class-concord required by the context [1]), and so forth.

The functional uniformity which appears to exist between localism, personal pronoun and copula derives from the deictic force of the basic notion of localism common to the three of them.

§ 5. In the light of all that has been said we seem to be justified in rejecting the usual view which considers the particles in question to be a sort of petrified or stunted verb-roots [2]). Besides the formative particles derived from roots conveying a clearly-defined meaning and the verbal origin of which stands beyond any doubt [3]) (e.g. Bantu *ta* < *taka*, *me* < *mala*, *a* < *va*, *ka*-movendi, etc.), we meet with a series of localistic exponents having a local meaning in a general way, extremely vague at first, but gradually developing a more subtle notional distinctness and precision which possess every potentiality of becoming a real grammatical category in our sense of the word. In the course of this process the inherent indefiniteness of meaning, typical of the original exponents, loses more and more of its vagueness until they form a kind of sediment, a survival amidst their newly-found surroundings. In this later stage they appear in the guise of so-called "verbs to-be", betraying however in the very vagueness of their defective paradigms the source from which they sprang [4]).

§ 6. There is a fundamental difference between what we have called *Localism*, and *Localisation* in general. Localism is a functional notion, the psychological precondition as it were to the actual fact of Localisation. Localism bears the same relation to actual

[1]) A. Dirr, Einführung in die Kaukasischen Sprachen (1928), pp. 162, 347.
[2]) E.g. "Die Wörter sind dadurch dasz sie ihren selbständigen Charakter aufgegeben haben und nur durch Vergleichung noch als Verba erkennbar sind, zu Formelementen geworden oder sind auf dem Wege dazu", D. Westermann, Völkerkunde von Afrika (1940), p. 413; comp. A. Werner, Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages (1919), p. 186 seq.
[3]) As it is for instance the case with several among the North-American idioms, F. Boas, Handbook of American Indian Languages (1911), p. 759.
[4]) See above p. 82 note 2!

Localisation as the general localistic exponents of distance to the specific demonstratives.

In the table on Plate I the indefiniteness of the localistic relations is represented in the sections B. and C., whilst the sections D. and E. contain determinate localisation in space and time of the "verbal" stage.

The scheme as given in this table is an attempt to outline not only a *synchronic* synopsis of localistic phenomena, but at the same time to offer a glossogonic explanation of these phenomena, i.e. the *diachronical* development of the psychological background of living speech as such ; with this restriction however that it can only apply to those languages in which traces of localistic formations actually occur.

It is to be clearly understood at the outset that the delimitation between the various sections is in reality not as stringent as this schematic classification would suggest. In every language in which any trace of localism does occur, survivals from each of the five sections A—E appear side by side and at the same time. There are no exclusively localistic languages, just as no language is entirely without some traces at least of localistic survivals.

Nor would we be justified in considering Localism as being the only starting-point from which the development of the grammatical system may have commenced. *The localistic phase marks, above all, the psychological background of the historical process.*

Localism is a psychological condition under which the grammatical categories may develop by way of differentiation i.e. by the narrowing of the semantic and the functional range of the exponents in question [1]). Localism contains the potentiality from which localisation (locative case), conjunction, preposition, pronoun, copula and verbal tenses (resp. moods and "Aktionsarten") may arise in due time (comp. supra § 3). But the exponents and, on the other hand, conjunctions, prepositions etc. are emphatically not the same thing ! *Grammatical categories as a whole derive their logical rights of existence only and alone from their oppositional cor-*

[1]) "Jede grammatische Kategorie erzeugt sich auf Grundlage einer psychologischen. Die Erstere ist ursprünglich nichts als ein Eintreten der letzteren in die äuszere Erscheinung. Sobald die Wirksamkeit der psychologischen Kategorie in den sprachlichen Ausdrucksmitteln erkennbar wird, wird sie zur grammatischen", H. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte (1920), § 180, comp. infra B sub II.

PLATE I

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Localism a living function.</td><td>Localism a survival.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Virtual distance (zero-distance):</td><td colspan="3">Actual distance:</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">A. Identity clause.</td><td>no direction:</td><td colspan="2">direction:</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">B. Pausal phase.</td><td>notion of time lacking:</td><td>with notion</td><td>of time:</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">C. "Lokalvorstellung"; directional phase.</td><td>syntagmatic</td><td>morphological</td></tr>
<tr><td>D. "Lokalvorstellung" and periphrastic construction.</td><td>E. "Lokalvorstellung"; flexion, declension and conjugation.</td></tr>
</table>

Pausal stage — *Directional stage*

Pregrammatical. — Grammatical system.

relation within the well-defined area of a continuous and restricted grammatical system [1]). It is on this consideration of oppositional correlation that bipartition (as applied in our schematic table) as a methodical principle of modern phonemics is based [2]). Terms like "nominal", "verbal" and the like become quite devoid of meaning as soon as they are applied to phenomena and constructions outside the categorical system to which they belong. Hence we have preferred the terms "pregrammatical" [3]) and "grammatical" instead of "nominal" and "verbal" for denoting the sections A—D and E respectively [4]).

§ 7. Here, an interesting problem arises. From Kant onward we have been accustomed to consider Space and Time to be two, psychologically and philosophically, equivalent quantities ; modern mathematics have even merged them into the indivisible unity of non-Euclidean coordination, *viz.* Minkowski's space-time continuum. The linguistic data, however, as given in the preceding pages, now threaten to overthrow this view completely by discriminating between Space and Time in regard of the question of functional priority. This fact now seems to compel us to reconsider our ideas about their supposed equivalence. On the one side we have the mathematical point of view according to which Space and Time are the equipollent constituents of a homogeneous continuum. On the other hand we have the psychological fact that the notion of Time requires a much higher degree of abstraction on the

[1]) The word "grammar" here should not be taken in the sense of "grammaire générale"; it merely denotes the restricted but comprehensive system of categorical paradigms of scholastic tradition.

[2]) "Phonemics" in the sense of "Phonologie" of the Linguistic School of Prague, comp. N. van Wijk, l.c., p. 19. On oppositional correlation as a methodological principle cf. N. Troubetzkoy, Travaux du Cercle Ling. de Prague IV (1931), p. 97 seq., V (1934), p. 5 seq.; R. Jakobson, ibid. VI (1936), p. 240 seq.; id., Proc. IIIrd Congress of Phonetic Sciences 1936, p. 35; A. W. de Groot, Mélanges Bally (1939), p. 111 seq.

[3]) Or "precategorical", comp. H. Delacroix, l.c., p. 311.

[4]) Nor should we apply the term "prelogical" to the localistic phase merely on the grounds that a localistic construction is limited to the statement of a general distantial relation of coexistence, without expressing *in actual wording* the logical and functional correlation existing between the subject and the non-subject. This would mean falling into the fundamental error committed by L. Lévy-Brühl in his admirable treatises on "Fonctions Mentales" (1918) and "Les Mentalités Primitives" (1922). Vid. on this matter H. Hjelmslev, Principes de Grammaire Générale (1928), p. 258 seq.; F. R. Blake in Language VII (1931), p. 51 seq.; J. Wils, Nominale Klassificatie in de Afrikaansche Negertalen (1935), p. 55 seq.; J. de Leeuwe in Mensch en Maatschappij XV (1939), p. 273 seq.

part of the human mind than the notion of more tangible Space [1]).

As it is often the case where misapprehensions of the kind are concerned, the apparent contradiction is mainly due to a faulty definition by the rather slovenly and careless use of the same term for denoting two essentially different ideas. Firstly: any point or position defined by the coordinates of the Minkowski continuum constitutes, not a *static fact*, but a *dynamic event*, as a constituent of a "world-line" which again denotes a *process*. In regard to mathematical terminology it would therefore be more correct to say that it is not space-time as such, but rather their (relatively changeable) *rhythms* which are marked on the coordinates of the frame of reference in question. The homogeneity of the continuum is not so much due to a pretended similarity of Space and Time as such (which can hardly be maintained on psychological grounds), as rather to the equipollence of their rhythms. Secondly, it is not Space or Time as such ("Vorstellungsraum" and "Vorstellungszeit"), i.e. the mathematical *concept* which concerns us here, but rather the *notion* of "Raumvorstellung" and "Zeitvorstellung" as a psychological abstraction [2]).

The mechanism of pure mental activity coming into play, the question of genetical priority must automatically crop up; the conclusion which we reached turns out not to be at variance with the accepted interpretation of Space and Time as proposed by mathematical theory.

We cannot go further into this matter here, however interesting it may be, but in any case the point was worth mentioning.

B. SPECIAL SECTION.

Having outlined a summary survey of the theoretical aspects of the question we will now proceed to record two striking instances of its practical application, *viz.* to the Degrees of Comparison and

[1]) "Nous autres civilisés abandonnons dans la morphologie la notion concrète de l'espace et exprimons plus volontiers la notion abstraite du temps. C'est un fait de civilisation", J. Vendryes, Le Langage (1921), p. 415; comp. D. Nys, La Notion d'Espace (1922), p. 205 seq.; L. Lévy-Brühl, Fonctions Mentales etc. (1918), p. 159; P. Eringa, Het phonologische Quantiteitsbegrip (1948), p. 253 seq.

[2]) Or, according to Kant: "Raumvorstellung" and "Zeitvorstellung" as the psychological correlates to the cognitive "Anschauungsformen" of Space and Time (sit venia verbis germanicis!). This is the same point as which K. Roehl aims at when he remarks that "der Begriff Zeit ist den Schambalen fremd; sie kennen nur die Anschauung der Zeit" (l.c. § 190). Comp. H. Reichenbach, Philosophie der Raum-Zeit-Lehre (Diss. Leipzig 1928) and J. Havet, Kant et le Problème du Temps (1947).

to Case. We must confine ourselves to the domain of African languages only although the material at hand, taken from other linguistic areas, yields a rich crop of rather suggestive and elucidating data.

We must bear in mind the distinction drawn in the first part of this paper, between the pausal phase and the directional phase in localistic constructions (supra A § 3), both occurring side by side in the same group of languages.

I. Localism and the Degrees of Comparison.

It is not to be wondered at that the comparison of two (or more) differing quantities lends itself admirably to the application of localistic parataxis expressing distantial coexistence [1]).

We can but touch lightly on the widespread use of circumlocutory expression by means of verbs ("to surpass, to excel"), of prepositions, reduplication (as in Jaunde) or by altering the pitch or tone of the words concerned [2]). In Ewe the predicate is substantivized by means of a specifying morpheme *-to* which emphasizes the subject in contradistinction to its surroundings: *eya enye lolotǫ* germanice: "er ist der schlechthin grosze". Very rare are the cases in which the second term of comparison is merely joined to the predicate without any kind of connecting exponent, as e.g. in a popular Swahili song: *hapana ugonjwa mbaya buba* "there is no illness bad < = worse than > the plague [3])", or in Schambala *muntu na nama mŭnáni ní mŭntu* ("man and beast man is intelligent"), mere juxtaposition being the most primitive form of expressing any logical relation. The syntactical accent rests exclusively on the first term of the comparison and may even still more be emphasized by excluding (instead of connecting) the second term from the compact unity formed by the first term and the predicate proper, e.g. Nyamwezi: *lugoy'ulu ludito ssūmbūa nulo* "this rope is strong to-the-exclusion-of that one".

Mere coordination in wording seems to be sufficient for the purpose of awakening in the mind of the audience those associations

[1]) Comp. J. Torrend, Comparative Grammar of the South-African Bantu-Languages (1891) § 630. All adjectives being essentially predicative in Bantu, this construction may be regarded as a special case of the ordinary nominal clause, cf. C. Meinhof, Vergl. Gramm., p. 32.

[2]) E.g. D. Westermann, A Short Grammar of the Shilluk-Language, § 28; J. H. Driberg, The Lango (1923), p. 309 seq., both Nilotic idioms.

[3]) C. Velten, Desturi za Wasuaheli (1903), p. 134.

which may lead to the recognition of the adequate logical correlation required for the correct interpretation of the context. The localistic construction of the degrees of comparison [1]) consists of the syntactical coordination of two independent factors, *viz.* a simple term (the second term of comparison) and a compound one (first term + predicate), both factors being connected by means of a localistic exponent denoting distantial coexistence. Grammatically speaking, the comparison is not enacted on the predicate proper (as it is the case with most modern languages), but rather on the second term and on the local relation in which it stands to the first one; the syntactical accent lies on the connecting link, i.e. on the exponent. Again we should remember that localistic parataxis marks only and alone the mere coexistence (as expressed by means of a distantial term) of the subject and the non-subject within the semantic compass of the phrase.

The scheme of construction of localistic comparison is as follows:

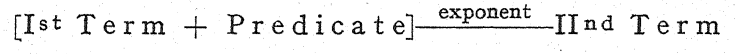


Fig. 1.

the exponent representing either the pausal or the directional phase [2]).

§ 1. Pausal. E.g. Swahili: *namna mbali mavazi ya kiume na ya kike*, lit. "a far-manner the men's attire along-with the women's". The localistic comparison appears to be built on exactly the same lines as the localistic nominal sentence, the second term acting as a predicate connected by means of the exponent with the subject, *viz.* in this case the compound factor consisting of the first term and the predicate proper. Some examples may elucidate the point. Tabwe: *motu ozu urepere na olya*, lit. "this man is tall along-with that one"; Sudanic Kunama uses

[1]) Comp. O. Selz, Die Steigerungsreihen und die Theorie von Raum, Zeit und Gestalt (Bericht XI Kongress der Deutschen Gesellsch. f. Psychologie, Wien 1929).

[2]) The first term is the logical subject; the compound factor (first term + predicate proper) is the grammatical subject, the second term being both logical and grammatical predicate of the construction; comp. A. Gardiner, Theory of Speech and Language (1932) §§ 68 seq. We must point out however that, as in all questions of localism, the distinction between psychological subject and psychological predicate plays a preponderant part which might require a chapter apart; comp. N. van Wijk, l.c., p. 135.

the local adverb *la*, Shilluk and Nilotic Dinka *ke* for the same purpose. In Nûer the latter exponent occurs again preceded by the emphatic particle *nĕ*, e.g. *díid nĕ yanké ji* "as for me great I am along with thee". Similarly in Tamašek : *aouakkes enta oua issahaten d'esen*, lit. "the lion he-there being strong along-with them" = "is stronger than they are". Modern Nubian uses the locative postposition *-logō* > *-dogōr* for the purpose, preceded by and joined to its antecedent by means of a relative particle *-n-*, e.g. *ambāb indí-n-dógor genun* "my father my-mother-near is good" ; medieval Nubian has *-logo ĭan*. All the particles occurring in these examples (and for convenience' sake uniformily rendered here "along-with") [1]) are usually classed as prepositions resp. postpositions with local meaning ; as a matter of fact they are typical localistic exponents. Karanga : *biza i guru pane m'bongoro*, lit. "horse is big there-is donkey" ; the exponent *pa* represents "nearness" and may alternate with *ku* which denotes a somewhat further distance. Swahili : *mimi mwema kuliko yule* lit. "I good where-there-is he" ; Tšewa : *A ni wábwinŏ̀-kŏ̀* "A. is good-there, i.e. better" ; Zulu : *indoda inamandhla kuno m'fana* lit. "a man is strong there-is a boy", and so on.

Instead of the strict morphological constructions of grammatical comparison localistic comparison forms a rather loosely-built syntactical structure ; parataxis as such states the fact of coexistence in distantial terms which leaves it to the associative faculties of the hearer's mind to supplement the lacuna of logical correlation which the schematic coordination of the localistic wording couldn't supply out of itself. How broad a gulf gapes between these two modes of expression can best be illustrated by the complicated manner in which Hungarian for instance forms its degree of comparison: *a fiú rest-ebb a leány-nál* ("the boy is lazier than the girl"). The part of connecting link in this construction is performed by two different exponents. Firstly by the postposition *-nál* ("at, near". etc.) [2]) which interconnects the second single term of comparison and the first compound one (first

[1]) M. Bréal, l.c., p. 72 ; in the language of the Southern New-Hebrides the exponent of comparison *ra* is essentially locative, S. H. Ray, Comparative Study of Melanesian Island Languages (1926), p. 182. In Bulgarian the degree of comparison requires the exponent *po-* (cf. Latin *po-situs*, and *ἀπὸ*, A. Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes, 1915, p. 335).

[2]) = **na-l* comp. Finnish *takala* "back-place" from *taka* "back" ; *a leány-nál* = *mint a leány*. Comp. A. Nagy, Ungarische Sprachlehre (1928), p. 60.

term + predicate); secondly, by means of the comparative morpheme *-bb* < **-mp-* < *-*mb-* which links the second term directly with the predicate only and which bears a strongly pronounced localistic character[1]). Instead of the simple *linear* structure of localistic comparison in African languages and elsewhere, Hungarian shows a *cyclic* construction which actualizes a twofold relation between the second term on one hand, and, on the other side, resp. the predicate proper and the compound term of subject and predicate (Fig. 2).

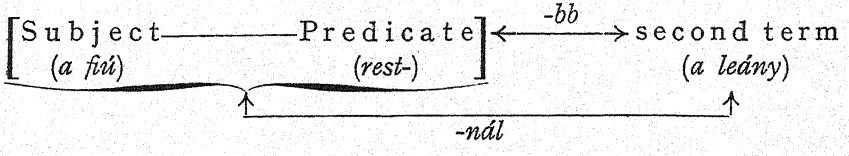


Fig. 2.

As compared with the structure of the same phrase in Swahili (Fig. 3):

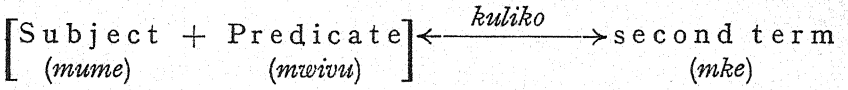


Fig. 3.

the construction in Hungarian is indeed much more intricate and complicated, but the underlying principle is in both cases the same, *viz.*

1°. the comparison is not primarily enacted on the predicate proper, but mainly on the second term only by means of the localistic relation which puts it in opposition to the compound first term; and

2°. the gradual difference, which is the logical basis of all comparison, is not expressed in the wording as such, but must be supplemented by way of association in the minds of the speaker and of his audience.

§ 2. Directional. The scheme is as follows (Fig. 4):

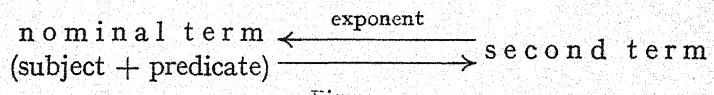


Fig. 4.

[1]) Cf. in Mordwinic *tombal'* ("at the other side") which contains both exponents *-mb-* and *-l* at the same time; J. Szinnyei, Finnisch-Ugarische Sprachwissenschaft (1922), p. 73.

In accordance with the fact that the localistic exponent of this phase has acquired a new characteristic element, *viz.* that of motion or direction, the exponental function may be twofold:

a. Direction away from the subject towards the second term of comparison, or, in terms of comparison: A. is good in regard to B. (as for instance in English: "it is so different here to Rome" [1]); or

b. Direction towards the subject away from the second term; or in terms of comparison: A. is good from B.'s point of view.

a. The first is the rarer one: anc. Egypt.: *ʿš3 śt r ḫt nb.t* (lit. "they were many towards everything"), and *rḫ-kwj nn ỉr.k* ("I knew it towards = better than you"). Besides this basic meaning "towards" the exponent *r* seems to have another polar meaning "away from" as in: *sṯn.ỉ wʿ r wʿ* ("I distinguish one from the other") and *A. ḫrw r B* ("A. is far from B."). According to this view, generally accepted by the grammarians [2]), some verbs signifying the notion of separation must be followed by this preposition which in those cases would have the special meaning of "away-from". Referring however to the scheme of Fig. 4 there is no need at all to assume any semantic polarity for the preposition *r*. It does not link up the predicate (resp. the verb) with the object, but it opposes the object at one side to the compound term consisting of subject + predicate at the other; thus [*A ḫrw*] *r B* "A. is far in relation to(wards) B". The directional relation between subject and non-subject is established over the head as it were of the predicate. In the course of development of the language the predicate obtains a more independent part in the sentence, whilst the semantic area of the original exponent narrows down to that of a downright preposition; i.e. it finds its place in a grammatical category in the true sense of the word. It is precisely this apparent contradiction within the semantic area of the preposition which may be regarded as a symptom of the transition (albeit not yet complete) from the localistic into the grammatical phase (cf. Section A § 6).

We have seen that instances of this kind of directional comparison are extremely rare. Sotho: *mōthō eō ō mōtlè hō ēna lē uēna*

[1]) In Finnish the verbs indicating the notion of comparison appear in the so-called Illative mood, J. Neuhaus, Finnische Sprachlehre (1919), p. 102 and below § 4.

[2]) A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (1927), § 163 sub 8; G. Farina, Grammatica della Lingua Egiziana antica (1926), § 165 ("da; separazione").

(lit. "that man is fine away-from-him along-with you" = "that man is fine compared to thee") offers a very interesting example of the kind, since the directional and the pausal phase occur here side by side [1]). I have not met as yet with many other instances in the African languages, but two more examples taken from other linguistic families may suffice for our purpose. Samoan [2]) uses the directional "accusative" *-i* for introducing the second term of comparison whilst for the superlative degree *-i ke* (i.e. *-i* reinforced with the exponent of the directional infinitive) is used. In Esquimau [3]) the formative of "comparison" *-ilthōūg̊na* occurs again in the ingressive verbal form: *īya katalthōūg̊na* ("I was about to go"). To this latter type of construction the anc. Eg. future *iw.f r ṡḏm* = Coptic ϵϥϵϹϢϮϺ constitutes an instructive parallel.

b. Quite common is on the other hand the occurrence of the second type of directional comparison in which the localistic exponent represents the direction away from the second term towards the subjective term [4]). We will confine ourselves to some striking instances taken from the African group. In Sudanic Mubi *gìr sùltân gù bbà má girjo* lit. "the sultan's house is big away-from my house" [5]); compare in Bilin: *líni-lid* ("away from the house") with the comparative construction *nī kŭ-lid bahar gin* (lit. "he away-from you great"; *gin* is an indeclinable copula); in Dinka: *yen a-bār etoṅ koyc* ("he is tall away-from the men"); Somali: *nāgtu adíga ká wânágsan* ("that woman is beautiful away-from you"), etc. Although in the Bantu languages pausal com-

[1]) E. Jacottet, A Grammar of the Sesuto Language (1927) § 60; B. I. C. van Eeden, Inleiding tot die Studie van Suid-Sotho (1941), § 175; R. A. Paroz, Elements of Southern Sotho (1946), p. 83.

[2]) H. Neffgen, Grammatik der Samoanischen Sprache (1902), pp. 7, 43; 156, 159.

[3]) L. L. Hammerich, Personalendungen und Verbalsystem im Eskimoischen (Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. XXIII. 2. 1936) § 41 (*-g̊na* is in both cases the suffixed 1st pers. sing.); see also ibid., p. 92.

[4]) E.g. E. Benveniste, Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen (1935), p. 84 seq. It occurs in the Indo-European, the Caucasian and the Semitic languages, in Japanese, Munda and Dravidian (see W. Geiger, Beiträge zur Singhalesischen Sprachgeschichte, Sitzungsber. Bayer. Akad. Wiss. XI, 1942, § 73), in Malayan and in some of the Melanesian idioms; comp. B. H. Chamberlain, l.c., §§ 126, 212; G. Bergstrasser, Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen (1928), p. 17; J. Szinnyei, l.c., p. 74; S. H. Ray, l.c., p. 362; R. H. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages (1885), pp. 274, 518, 557; A. Dirr, l.c., pp. 107, 163 seq., and so forth.

[5]) This exponent *má* performs the double function of preposition ("away-from") and connective copula ("and"); i.e. the directional exponent does not specify the direction in relation to the subject.

parison prevails, there are a few hints that the directional phase is not entirely lacking. As I hope to demonstrate elsewhere the deictic "Ablaut" *-o*, which plays a preponderant part in the formation of relative forms throughout the whole group, has an inherent directional power in the true localistic sense of the word. Presupposing this to be true we meet in Lonkundo [1]) (Belgian Congo) with an illustrative instance of development of the original scheme of directional comparison. The sentence "the leopard is stronger than the horse" runs as follows: *nkŏi la mpúnda bŏlŏ ô nkŏi* lit. "the leopard and the horse strong towards the leopard". As in the example taken from the Hungarian quoted above the predicate as such becomes an active contributor to establishing the comparative correlation between the two terms of comparison, although the original localistic parataxis remains intact.

The direct contact between the two principal terms (away from the second towards the first) has now been interrupted between the former and the predicate (dotted line in Fig. 5). This means the predicate to be involved henceforth in the process at the expense of the second term which now appears to be pushed aside from the actual line of correlation. The only remaining indicant of its rather secundary cooperation lies in the fact that the directional exponent represents some motion towards the central term away from *some-thing;* this *some-thing,* although not defined any further as to its function in the process, still betrays its presence

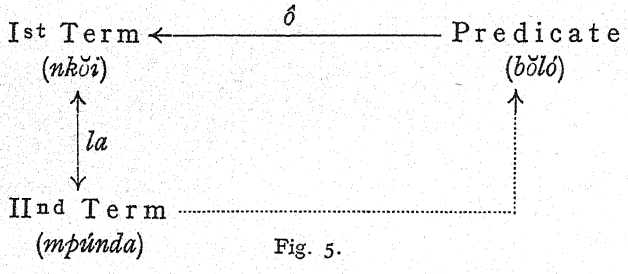


Fig. 5.

in the very notion of direction as such. That's why a construction as outlined in Fig. 5 does not lend itself to the purpose of enacting pausal comparison! (Cf. the example from the Hungarian Fig. 2).

[1]) G. Hulstaert, Praktische Grammatika van het Lonkundo (Lomongo), 1938, p. 114.

§ 3. An exceptional case among comparative constructions is the first degree of comparison or E q u a t i v e which should not be confused with the complete identity in nominal clauses dealt with in Section I. The localistic exponent approaches more and more to the limit of zero-distance without however reaching it ! The difference between Equative and Nominal Identity is therefore a matter of degree along the continuous gliding scale of localistic distances. Even making allowance for the inherent vagueness of all localistic exponents it is not always possible to tell one thing from the other, nor to circumscribe clearly the respective domains of Equation and of Identity. Like all forms of localism the equative too represents both phases, pausal and directional.

In Luganda *ekintu kino kye kimu na kiri* ("this thing is one along-with that one") or in Songa : *A kota tonga na B* ("A. is great along-with B") the well-known localistic exponent *na* fulfills the part of connecting link between the two terms according to the scheme of Fig. 1. In Nilotic Nûer the equative particle *ké* is identical with the preposition "with, to, of" ; the pregnant use of *mu*-localis [1]) as an equative exponent must be mentioned in so-called Yombe : *bip'ia bikala mu mungu,* lit. "these animalcula are in <= like> caterpillars" [2]). In all the examples mentioned the localistic relation directly connects the two noun-terms of comparison over the head of the predicate which acts more or less as an adverbial adjunct to the localistic clause, the latter having the syntactical accent : "A-being-great next-to B." Logically both terms meet i n the intermediate predicate. This consideration may account for Ifumu : *A ya B mu ubwe imbe* lit. "A. and B. *mu* strong likewise", where *mu* is the localistic exponent of the p a u s a l phase !

[1]) J. P. Crazzolara, Outlines of a Nuer Grammar (1933) § 120 ; cf. also modern Chinese *mo*^{4} *hsiao*^{3} *yü*^{2} *che*^{4}*-ko* ("nothing as small as this"), *yü*^{2} being the prepositional exponent "with, by, at" ; A. N. J. Whymant, Colloquial Chinese (1922), p. 46 ; Austronesian *pada*^{c} ("just like, as") can hardly be separated from Malayan *pada* "place" (O. Dempwolff, Vergl. Lautlehre des Austron. Wortschatzes (1934) I p. 89 ; III p. 109) ; comp. the use of *kwa* (after a vowel *wa*) in Korean, G. R. Ramstedt, Korean Grammar (1939), § 284 sub 25 ; and so forth.

In anc. Eg. *my* commonly considered to be an independent preposition and hardly ever provided with suffixes, vaguely expressing the notion of likeness, might possibly be a kind of nisbe-derivate from the local exponent *m*, going back to an earlier period. If this be true *ỉmy* would be the correct transliteration. The construction in Mende *ña gbiañŏ a bie* (lit. "I ressemble along-with you") does not belong here since this is a case of verbal rection dealt with infra II § 1.

[2]) Also *muna*, L. Bittremieux, Mayombsch Idioticon (1923), pp. 405, 741.

The difference between equative and nominal identity being solely a matter of degree along the continuous scale of localistic distances, it presents a new problem since the inherent vagueness of all exponents concerned prevents us from assigning to them a fixed individual place on this scale. As it was the case with temporal adverbs (A § 3), nothing but the context alone can decide the question. The nominal construction implies only two factors (*viz.* the subject and the predicate) whereas comparison requires two noun-terms and also their mutual relation to the predicate as an intermediate factor of comparison. No difficulty arises so far. But the problem crops up to its full extent when (as it is the case with the equative) a third factor of comparison is not mentioned as such ; in other words, when the third term is a v i r t u a l one. In Luba (Congo) for instance [1]) the phrase "this tree is different from that one" reads *mútši eu udi pa buau* (= *bu-a-u*, prefix of abstract class + possessive exponent + concord of IInd class to which the noun *mútši* belongs). The occurrence of the localistic exponent *pa* characterizes the sentence as a pausal equative, whereas it never occurs in this function in a nominal clause of identity. This case however is an exceptional one, the usual way of expressing the notion of dissimilarity [2]) being by means of the adjective *-ngine* "other", common to the Bantu group.

§ 4. This great resemblance between the nominal clause and the equative means (in terms of localism) that, whereas nominal identity signifies a distance = 0, the exponent of the equative denotes so small a difference between the distance of equation and the zero-point of identity as to be hardly noticeable. That is why, within this small interval, the notion of direction must be almost a virtual one ; so we cannot expect the directional equative to be substantially represented. Still there are some indications which might signify that this manner of expression is not lacking altogether. As far as the Bantu languages are concerned we must be reminded of the fact that the distantial exponent *ku* is not quite devoid of the notion of direction and thus the

[1]) Vid. A. de Clercq, Grammaire de la langue Louba (1911), p. 86 ; L. L. Bittremieux, l.c., p. 65.

[2]) That the notions of similarity and dissimilarity belong to the same constructional scheme is apparent from expressions like Korean *na wa kathiŋ* ("it is similar to me") and *na wa taŋinda* ("it is different from me"), both by means of the exponent *kwa* mentioned supra p. 97 n. 1.

cases of equative in which this exponent occurs are hovering on the borderline which separates the directional from the pausal phase [1]). In Galla the phrase *iñni àkka obbolêsasa gâri* means lit. "he like-his-brother good", but the exponent *àkka* when followed by the subjunctive, serves to introduce the *final* aspect of the verb ! [2])

To conclude this chapter we might direct attention on the way in which in Finnish this almost-identity is rendered by means of both the pausal and the directional equative.

1. P a u s a l, as in *lapsena* "as a child"; the affix *-na* characteristic for the so-called Essive case, is in reality a locative ending, e.g. *kotona* "at home".
2. D i r e c t i o n a l: comparison is established by means of the (directional) Illative case: *hän on isäänsä* "he is like <towards> his father" (English: *like unto*).
3. The Translative case, purely directional in origin, but weakened to a colourless identifying ending represents the i n t e r m e d i a t e stage between the pausal and the directional phase: *elää herro-ksi* "to live like a gentleman".; *hän tuli sotamiehe-ksi* "he became a soldier".

The preponderance of the part primarily played by the notion of localism in constructions denoting the degrees of comparison appears to be sufficiently established herewith.

II. Localism and Case.

In his notable work on the philosophy of language Mr. K. Bühler [3]) formulates the following question: "Sind die Kasus lokalistisch oder logisch-grammatisch zu deuten ?" and in the course of his exposition he rejects the localistic theory as far as the Indo-European languages are concerned. From what we have seen thus far we may safely conclude that it is not the localistic theory as such which is at fault, but rather the manner

[1]) Other instances: old Irish: *mõr sléibe* "as great as <towards> the mountains"; Bulgarian: *trapere na list'* "he shivers like a leaf" (*na* as a preposition "towards"); the twofold function of anc. Greek ὡς as a conjunction and as a preposition. Mongolian (*-ece*) and old Turkish (*-ta*) form their superlatives on similar lines by means of the locative-ablative; e.g. *yaruqta yaruq* "the most illustre" lit. "illustre-from illustre"; comp. A. von Gabain, l.c., § 412. W. A. Crabtree (Manual of Luganda, 1921, § 168) explains the exponent *ku* as a partitive particle.

[2]) M. M. Moreno, l.c., pp. 145, 189.

[3]) K. Bühler, Sprachtheorie (1934), p. 236 seq. See also A. Marty, Die logischen, lokalistischen und anderen Kasustheorien (1910).

in which the problem has been formulated by Bühler and by his predecessors. Explaining cases by means of Localism means to regard the latter as a still active linguistic factor on a par with the other functional forces which urge living speech on its road to fullgrown development. The diachrony of Bühler's doesn't reach further back than to the commencement of the grammatical system and he was forced accordingly to involve what he calls localism in a domain foreign to its inherent tendencies and to its true nature. "Logisch-grammatisch" (as Bühler has it) must not be confused with grammatical logic as distinct from "logic in localism", which is not represented as such in actual terms of speech, but which, nevertheless, plays its integrant part in building up speech. This rather subtle distinction in terminology must constantly be borne in mind where localism in general is concerned, lest we be led astray (as Bühler has been) in the important matter of diachrony in the evolution of speech as a whole, and, in particular, of the function which human logic has fulfilled in it from the very beginning. There is logic in localism just as there is logic in grammar; the idea of something alogical occurring in any form of speech would be palpably absurd. We are not concerned here with the question of logic being a guiding principle in the genesis of expression in speech, but rather with the problem how and to what extent the underlying logical concepts are represented as such by actual constituents of human speech, whether morphematic, or syntagmemic, or semantic.

There is no actual opposition between localism and grammatical logic for the simple reason that they never appear both at the same time in the arena of conflicting views, both as contemporaneous acting forces. Where grammatical logic sets in, localism appears but as a petrified survival absorbed under another name into the new system by which it has been displaced once and for all by rights of a higher logical refinement and a more extensive capacity of expression.

§ 1. Direct object.

Objective constructions in general may roughly be divided into three different types:

1°. The objective function is morphologically expressed in the second noun-term, i.e. the object proper, as it is common in Indo-European languages (the "accusative" case).

2°. The objective function is morphologically expressed in the verbal predicate, the second noun-term remaining unaltered. This is what C. Meinhof has called "Lokalvorstellung" (cf. supra A § 3). In Haussa for instance the final vowel (*-a*) of the verb-root is altered according to the object being a noun (*-a* > *-i*) or a pronoun (*-a* > *-é*) ; e.g. *yā búga* "he has beaten" ; *yā búgi yāro* "he has beaten the boy", *yā bugé ši* "he has beaten him" [1]). In the languages of the Bantu family we meet with the relative (better termed: applicative) aspect of the verb (vid. infra II § 2), and so on.

The two former types 1°. and 2°. of objective constructions are analogous in that the objectival notion is expressed by means of the interrelation between the second noun-term and the predicate proper :

subject + [predicate ⟷ object]

Fig. 6.

3°. The objective function is syntactically expressed by means of a localistic exponent connecting the second noun-term with the conceptual unit of first noun-term and verbal predicate, according to the scheme given supra Fig. 1 :

[subject + predicate] ⟷ (exponent) object

Fig. 7.

This third type shows the typical localistic structure. As contrasted with the first two types the localistic structure connects the object not with the action of the subject, but with the subject acting. For instance in Mende : *ñga bali a mehīi*, lit. "I-vomit along-with food" ; in Shilluk : *a tšam ki byel* "he-ate along-with durrah" ; this means that he-being-in-the-very-act-of-eating is brought into a loose localistic relation with the notion of food. The logical correlation however that it is actually durrah which he is eating, is not expressedly worded as such, but must be supplemented in the minds of the speaker and of his audience. We may now compare in Lingala [2]) : *kamba na motengo* "to round a

[1]) According to the theory of the "Lokalvorstellung" *-i* denotes the direction away from the subject.

[2]) Vocabulaire Lingala-Français par les Missionaires de Scheut (Turnhout, no year), p. 114.

cape" ; this exponent *na* occurs in Zulu [1]) after several verbs such as *-ala* "to refuse", *eduka* "to lose (the way)", etc.: *bala bona nobisi* "they refused the milk" (= *na-obisi*). In Mende the exponents *ma* ("on") and *a* ("with") connect some verbs (not all !) with the object-term in the sentence ; in Nubian the objective case is characterized by the suffix *-gà* meaning "locality" [2]). In Galla the postpositional element *-ti* having a general locative meaning, is alternatively used with *-f* (idem) in sentences as: *motif hori* = *mōtíti hori* "to pay the King" (cf. infra p. 106). In Haussa the exponent *-da* which is functionally equivalent to *na* in Bantu, serves to introduce the object of causative verbs [3]) ; in Coptic the object is preceded by the local exponent ⲛ̀ (= anc. Eg. *m* !), e.g. ϯⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩ "I take hold of him" (> **eim°f* [4])). Miss Aginsky in her admirable treatise on the Mende language [5]) remarks "then the object is the object of the preposition rather than of the verb". Put in this way the explanation is faulty since the term "preposition" for the localistic exponent is clearly an anachronism! Categorial denominations are meaningless if not in oppositional correlation with all the other categories within a determinate and self-contained grammatical system (vid. supra A. § 4). It is by means of the exponent that the object-term is linked to the conceptual unit denoting "a subject acting". After entering into the domain of the grammatical phase however (where the unity of subject and verbal predicate is not stringent anymore), the exponent loses its preponderant function which is gradually taken over by the verb. The use of the connecting "particle"

[1]) Ch. Roberts, Zulu Manual (1900), p. 6 seq. Comp. Cl. M. Doke, Textbook of Zulu Grammar (1945), § 860.

[2]) D. Westermann, Die Sudansprachen (1911), p. 50 remarks "Das eigentliche Objekt ist als abhängiger Genitiv von *-gà* zu denken. Ich-sehe-den-Baum ist eigentlich : ich sehe des Baumes Gegend". In Spanish there is a slight difference between *busco criado* "I am looking for a servant", and *busco a un criado* "I am looking for a particular servant."

[3]) In the course of time the syntactical accent shifts on from the causative verb to the exponent which, even when preceded by a non-causative verb, may indicate the causative aspect: C. Meinhof, Die Entstehung der flektierenden Sprachen (1936), p. 95. This means of course the transition from the localistic to the grammatical phase, the exponent now acting as a real morphematic unit ; comp. infra § 4. See also H. P. Blok, A Swahili Anthology I (1948), p. 148 seq.

[4]) G. Maspéro, Revue Critique (1905), p. 209 ; the exponent can only be used after verbs having no special status constructus.

[5]) E. G. Aginsky, A. Grammar of the Mende Language (1935), p. 68 seq. K. H. Crosby (An Introduction to the Study of Mende, 1944, §§ 101 seq.) explains this construction as being an indirect object ! (See below § 2).

becomes restricted to a small number of verbs [1]). In some cases the persistent use of these exponents can be explained from the very semantic force of the verbs in question ; in other cases however there seems (as far as I could ascertain) to be no semantic connection whatever, as for instance in Mende ("to go", "to vomit", "to dream"). This may account for the fact that the verbs denoting any kind of motion have retained this localistic rection of their objects until now. E.g. in Haussa *yā tafí wuriṇ sáriki* "he went place-of chief". This is evident also in Ewe where *gbè* ("locality") forms the ingressive or intentional aspect of the verb whilst all verbs denoting a motion must be followed by a local particle : *eyi dọwọgbè* (lit. "he went place-of working) [2]). As might be expected from the foregoing these exponents belong for the greater part to the directional phase ; compare with the instances just given the verbal construction in Schambala : *nahíta kwa lima* "I go place-of [3]) labouring". The same notion of direction underlies the rection of most verba sentiendi which in Coptic and Demotic are constructed with $r < \in$ "towards" ; the fact however that some few other verbs like *wn* ("to open up") and *pnˁ* ("to overthrow") are connected with their objects in the same manner is extremely suggestive [4]).

In the course of development of a language from the localistic to the grammatical phase the semantic range of the exponents narrows and its functional force dwindles away to be gradually taken over by the verb as such. Many of the foregoing examples are standing just on the borderline which separates one from the other ; it is not always easy for us to make out to which phase they really belong. This state of affairs can best be illustrated

[1]) As with the reciprocal verbs in Bantu : Luba : *badi bamani angana ne X* "they know each other along with X = he and X know another" ; Sotho : *re retana le X* "we love one another with X", etc. ; *na* and *le* being the wellknown exponents (Cl. M. Doke, Bantu Linguistic Terminology, 1935, p. 76). In these cases the grammatical and the localistic constructions have clearly blended. Things lie different however in many instances of *secondary insertion of real prepositions* after some verbs in colloquial constructions where the verb proper is felt to have lost its transitive meaning. This might explain the abundant use of *na* in colloquial Swahili as a merely reinforcing particle ; cf. in English "I could smell of it; he must expect of that; he insulted of me", etc. (J. Galsworthy, Fraternity (1909), pp. 66, 208, 259, and so forth).

[2]) Vid. supra p. 102 n. 2. In Ewe *gbè* is also used to connect the regens with the rectum in the possessive case.

[3]) *Kwa* genitive (or *kwe* relative) form of the exponent *ku*.

[4]) W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik (1925), § 283.

by the degrees of activity or intensity of the verb in Javanese [1]), expressed by means of the localistic exponents *-i* (pausal) and *-akĕ* (directional). Although these constructions are doubtless verbal in the true sense of the word the original localistic nature of these suffixes has not entirely been obliterated.

The principal difference between Localism and grammatical conception lies in the fact that *the original localistic exponents are never morphemes ; they are always syntagmemes and the development from syntagmeme into morpheme marks the transition from Localism into grammatical system* [2]). The objective case, from being a mere localistic relation becomes a grammatical one in oppositional correlation with the differentiation of all the other cases of the system [3]). The general "confix" [4]) develops into a specified morphematic suffix.

§ 2. Directive Object [5]).

The original localistic scheme (Fig. 1) still obtains albeit in a more complicated form :

First term — Second term — Third term
[{subject + predicate} ⟷ direct object] ⟷ directive object

Fig. 8.

from which of course the second term may be absent.

The exponent which links the IInd term, or direct object, with the preceding part of the sentence is not essentially different from the exponent connecting the IIIrd term (or directive object) with

[1]) C. C. Berg, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Javaansche Werkwoordsvormen (1937), pp. 101 seq., 128 seq. In Algonkin on the contrary the so-called initial and secondary stems of the verb bear the full weight of the functions in question ; F. Boas, l.c., p. 759.

[2]) Supra A § 1.

[3]) "L'accusatif, de cas local qu'il était, est devenu cas grammatical", M. Bréal, l.c., p. 201 ; compare the "objectivus localis" in classic Japanese, J. L. Pierson, The Manyōshū (1936), IV p. 346.

[4]) H. Stumme in the Festschrift für Carl Meinhof (1927), p. 81 seq.

[5]) For the use of this term I refer to the following passage : "most grammarians term *indirect object* what we call the *directive object*. From the viewpoint of English grammar they may be right. But such a view is completely opposed to the genius of Sesuto. In fact, in Sesuto the directive object is the most direct of all. If we put into the passive voice the sentence *kĕ mō tsĕbisa litaba* ("I cause him to know the news") we have *o tsĕbisŏa litaba ke'na* ("he is caused by me to know the news") ; that is, the directive object *mō* has become the subject of the passive. In fact both objects are direct objects, and it is only for syntactical reasons that we have to distinguish between both" (E. Jacottet, l.c., § 244).

the rest; there cannot exist an intrinsical distinction between this type of construction and those dealt with in the preceding §. Indeed, the "dative case" as such is lacking in nearly all African idioms [1]). In Bantu the difficulty is obviated by an alteration of the verbal aspect, the so-called Relative (or better Applicative) mood [2]) In Swahili, for instance:

a-me-u-leta waraka wake "he has brought his letter".
u-me-letwa waraka wake "his letter has been brought".
a-me-ni-letea waraka wake "he has brought me (*-ni-*) his letter".

Now, in the passive voice the latter phrase does not read (as might be expected) *umeniletewa waraka wake* (litt. "brought was to me his letter"), but *nimeletewa waraka*, litt. "I have been brought-letter". In other words, the whole term *-letea waraka* ("bring-letter-to") is interpreted as forming an indissoluble unit, a new compounded verbal concept as it were, to which the directive object stands in a direct objectival relation.

This preliminary consideration serves to explain the scheme in Fig. 8. The first relation (Ist←→IInd term) once having been satisfactorily established the interest in the IInd term appears to have evaporated for the moment, the direct object being relegated into a state of minor importance by being incorporated into the verbal concept [3]). The difference between direct and directive object appears therefore to be a matter of shifting interest, of *psychological appreciation* rather than of *grammatical expression.* From the grammatical viewpoint the relation between the direct object and the unit of subject + predicate (i.e. the Ist term), and on the other hand the relation between the directive object and the newly formed compound of Ist + IInd term remains practically unchanged. The IIIrd term (directive object) stands in a localistic relation to the whole remaining sentence which constitutes a complete conceptual unit. E.g. in Gola [4]): *o na nẽ kiẹ kobẹ* (litt. "he-there-gave-them < place = *bẹ* > his men"). The

[1]) The Sudanese languages fill up this lacuna in their grammatical outfit by using a circumlocutory expression by means of verbs denoting "to give". Dinka however appears to constitute an exception to this general rule, vid. D. Westermann, Die Sudansprachen (1911), p. 51.

[2]) C. Meinhof, Vergl. Gramm., p. 76; id., Entstehung etc., p. 86 seq.; F. N. Finck, Haupttypen des Sprachbaus (1923), p. 87.

[3]) Cf. supra p. 104 n. 5.

[4]) D. Westermann, Die Golasprache in Liberia (1921) § 58. *Kobẹ* is a compound of *-bẹ* ("locality, place") with the locative prefix *ko-*.

wording of the phrase contains two separate statements *viz.* that "he gave away the things", and that "his men were present". As it is invariably the case where a localistic construction is concerned, the logical correlation which compels us to conclude that the recipients of the gift are actually his men, must be supplemented in the minds of the speaker and of his audience.

In Mubi [1]) a directional localistic exponent *di* (with the suffixes of the suffixing preterite) introduces the directive object if this object is a pronoun: *nde sagin digún àmbàbât* ("I brought you the maize"); here the local "case" evidently preludes to a true dative case. More often still the exponent denoting the relation between the predicate and the directive object is suffixed to the verb in a rather loose way: Nama *tita gye mī* ("I say"), but *tita gye mī'-ba tsi* ("I tell you"); Masai uses *āki*, Nandi *-tši* for the same purpose, a suffix which shows an undeniable relationship with the local-deictic element *-tš-* [2]).

These instances constitute to a certain extent the intermediate phase between the pure localistic expressions in Gola and Mubi and, on the other hand, the morphematical construction by means of the applicative aspect of the verb in Bantu.

To conclude this paragraph we will mention some other examples to illustrate the localistic tendency in denoting the directive object. There occurs in Berber (Schilh) a *directional* localistic exponent *-i-* (e.g. *iffúg-i-i* "he came out to me") used for introducing the so-called dative case (*fk-ii-t* "give him to me"). In Barea the *pausal* exponent *-go* performs the same function (as in *ku-go-es* "tell it to the man"). In Ifumu we meet again with the well-known exponent *kuli*; and so on [3]).

Ancient Egyptian offers an interesting illustration of this homogeneity in treating the direct and the directive object in this respect. The preposition *n* in a general way indicates the person or thing affected by the action, being essentially directional. It denotes inter alia 1°. the "dative" case; 2°. the direction in which an action or a movement points when the objective is a living person (alternating with *r* in the case of the object being a thing); 3°. the direct object after some very few verbs [4]); and last not least

[1]) J. Lukas, Zentralsudanische Studien (1937), p. 175.
[2]) A. C. Hollis, The Masai (1905), p. 76; id., The Nandi (1909), pp. 186, 211. Both examples however are somewhat dubious.
[3]) Comp. also Galla *mōtiti hori* supra B II § 1 sub 3.
[4]) Vid. supra p. 103.

as a verbal formative (*šḏm.n.f* "he heard", litt. "heard to him") it does not mark a well-defined tense, but rather the fortuitous and incidental aspect of an occurrence [1]). Indeed, it is to this fact of its being only *remotely interested* in the action as such, that the directive case owes its place on the gliding scale of distances as represented by the localistic exponents.

§ 3. Agential Term.

In the comprehensive denomination of "agential term" we combine, for convenience' sake, 1°. the agens in the passive voice, and 2°. the instrumental case, both having an equal agential interest in the action as expressed in the sentence. The degree of interest in relation to the various grammatical parts of the phrase may be apparent from the scheme in Fig. 8.

It is quite immaterial however for our purpose whether the verbal concept is actually a morphological passive, or constitutes merely a circumlocutory expression [2]). The principal consideration lies in the fact that the *logical subject* (i.e. the agens), whatever its grammatical function may be, is placed in a localistic relation to the main concept of action as expressed in the sentence as a whole. In English "he was killed *by* me" and "he is shaking *with* fear", the function of the agential term in both cases is exactly the same from the localistic point of view; they may be considered to represent the archetype of localistic construction [3]). The *presence* only of the agential term is recorded by means of the exponent, the causal bond which logically links it up with the concept of the action being supplemented in the mind [4]). In Swahili the phrase *ninapendwa na mke wangu* contains in reality two separate statements, *viz.* "I am loved", and "my wife is near", without being precisized any further as to the logical correlation between both

[1]) A. Gardiner, Eg. Gramm., § 411 sub 2.

[2]) For the active > passive construction cf. in Georgian A. Dirr. l.c., p. 63 seq.; F. Sommerfeld, Beiträge in the Mélanges van Ginneken (1934). See also C. C. Uhlenbeck, Oude Aziatische contacten van het Eskimo (Med. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., Lett. IV No. 7, 1941), p. 225.

[3]) The English construction (as in Dutch: "d'outste zoon onterft *bij* d'oppermajesteit", Vondel, Lucifer vrs. 1032) constitutes the *pausal* phase. The causal nexus begins to appear in terms of speech as soon as the *directional* phase sets in: interfectus *ab* eo, ucciso *da* lui, getötet *von* ihm"; or again: "tué *par* lui, gedood *door* hem", and so forth.

[4]) The question as to how far the anc. Eg. particle *in*, which serves for introducing the agential term (if denoting a living person) may be related to the exponent *n* mentioned in the preceding paragraph, still remains undecided.

notions. Some more examples of the kind may help to elucidate the point. Ifumu: *nde ubo mu bwo asa* ("he did it from fear", litt. "he thus there-fear he acted"), the exponent **mu** meaning "in a place". By means of the exponent **na** [1]) ("along-with" etc.) Bira: *indo a-bokoti na mungu* (lit. "they have begotten him along-with God", i.e. "God's own son"); Haussa: *ana búgan dāwáki da sáriki* (lit. "they are beating the horses along-with the chief"). In Luganda mere juxtaposition suffices when the agential term denotes a living being, otherwise the term requires *na* preceding: *omusubuzi eyawebwa kabaka ekintu* (lit. "the trader he was given the king something"), but *yakubibwa nomugo* ("he was hit along-with a stick", **na-omugo*). With the directional exponent **ku** [2]) in Yombe: *k'omb'andi batatika ku ngo* (lit. "they have bitten my sisters towards leopard"), or more explicitly still in Luba: *bakum'udia kudi nakašama* ("they have eaten him there-is (*ku* + **li*) a leopard". (Comp. A. Burssens, Manuel de Tshiluba, 1946, § 254).

The localistic realisation of the agential term appears therefore to consist in establishing a colourless and extremely vague distantial relation between the agent proper and the rest of the sentence either by means of mere juxtaposition without any connective factor at all (as in Luganda), or by means of one out of the many localistic exponents; the choice among them seems to have been quite arbitrary and fortuitous, an essential characteristic of Localism!

§ 4. Summary.

In the localistic phase the relation between the subject and the non-subject is established directly by means of the exponents over the head of the predicate; the exponents remain essentially *syntagmemic* (vid. p. 77 n. 2). This does not mean of course that the predicate is a negligeable factor (which would be absurd); but merely that *the local affinity between subject and non-subject,*

[1]) For an instance of *na* in Sotho vid. supra p. 104 n. 5. In Zulu we have a copulative formed from the substantive expressing the agent, i.e. expressed by a mere juxta-position; e.g. "I was struck, it is (= by) a stone" (Cl. M. Doke, Textbook of Zulu Grammar [1945], § 342). C. Meinhof (Grundzüge einer vergl. Gramm. d. Bantu-sprachen, 1906, p. 37) mentions the pronominal copula *ga* in the same function.

[2]) The "possessive" derivate *kwa* is commonly in use among the coastal idioms of Eastern-Africa. The exponent *ku*, used as an agentive prefix e.g. in Lamba, see Cl. M. Doke, Textbook of Lamba Grammar (1938), § 309 and id., Bantu Linguistic Terminology (1935), p. 46.

as expressed by means of the exponents, is a much closer one than that which exists between the non-subjects and the predicate. In the course of time however the part assigned to the latter in the localistic phase becomes more and more pronounced; and as the exponents are slowly developing from *syntagmemes* into actual *morphemes* the contact between them and the predicate becomes gradually closer and closer [1]) (Fig. 9).

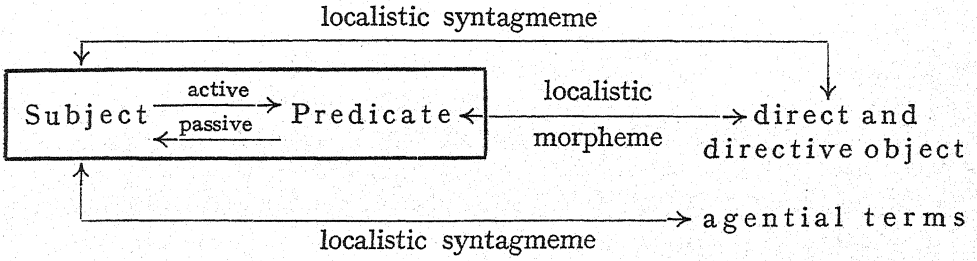


Fig. 9.

In the localistic phase the local relation between subject and non-subjects is a *direct* one, whereas the latter stand in only an *indirect* relation to the predicate, the subject being the intermediate term between them. In other words, the localistic relation exists between the non-subjects and the subject acting, not the action of the subject. It is on the other hand the predicate which performs the function of a catalysator in the psychological process which intervenes to supplement the logical correlation needed for the correct interpretation of this localistic juxtaposition, a correlation not yet expressed in the actual wording of the context.

Indeed, it is because of this secondary part played by the predicate in the interrelation of subject and non-subject that the question whether the predicate appears in the active or in the passive voice is quite immaterial. In the localistic phase *morphological* niceties play a role of only minor importance; the emphasis lies on the purely *syntactical* function of the exponents.

After all that has been said on the matter we scarcely need stress the point that the case, as we have outlined it here, is a theoretical one. *There are no exclusively localistic languages; no more is there any idiom in existence entirely without localistic elements, albeit only in the shape of survivals.*

[1]) Cf. Haussa; see supra p. 102 n. 3.

Nor is Localism to be considered as the only source to which the development of the grammatical system in all its intricacies is ultimately due. The growth of human speech constitutes too complicated a phenomenon as to permit such a simplistic explanation. Nevertheless we cannot completely disregard the abundant material at hand which appears to justify the recognition of Localism being a factor of paramount importance.

The object in view of this paper has been to do justice to these surviving relics from a more primitive stage in the history of human speech, although I had to confine myself to a rather summary survey of the data available. Lack of space prevents me however from discussing the many other instances of Localism, as with regard to the Relative Pronoun (comp. pausal in modern Greek *ποῦ*[1]), directional in French *dont* = **de unde*), the Possessive Case[2]), the formation of Abstract nouns (e.g. anc. Eg. *bw* "place")[3]), of the Infinitive (Engl. "*to* give", Bantu: *ku*)[4]), the Conjunction (e.g. Spanish *luego che* "when") and so on, which I hope to discuss in a forthcoming paper to be published shortly.

Localism representing a real activity of the mind, we should not content ourselves with simply enumerating a string of anecdotical facts picked up at random in the vast field of human speech; an attempt to class them provisionally into a unifying system has become necessary. The exposition given in the preceding pages, theoretical though it may appear at first sight, may help to realise this aim and to contribute to the correct interpretation of the survival phenomena to which Mr. Ecker has drawn our attention in his important paper.

[1]) Comp. Hebrew אֲשֶׁר and Bernese: *wo*.

[2]) E.g. *-gbè* in Ewe (supra p. 103) and *pa* > *pô* in Nilotic Sûk, M. W. H. Beech, The Sûk, their Language and Folklore (1911), p. 53.

[3]) Comp. Egypt. *bw nfr* "beauty", with Swahili: *penye kweli* "truth" (Mambo Leo 1946, p. 134). There exists a very suggestive semantic relation between the notions of "thing" and "place" in Congo: *uma*, *kuma* and *vuma*; in Herero: *opona*; Bondei: *hanthu* = Kikami: *hanhu* "place"; comp. Duala: *uma* "place" with *yoma* plur. *bema* "thing" (< **e-oma* plur. **be-oma*). Comp. also: "for better or for worse, in health and in sick places" (J. Galsworthy, Fraternity, Ch. XXX).

[4]) See A. Gardiner, Theory etc., p. 174 and G. P. Lestrade, Locative-class Nouns and Formatives in Sotho (Bantu Studies XII, 1938) p. 48 note 1. "*To* therefore is no more an essential part of an infinitive than the definite article is an essential part of a nominative" (O. Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, 1933, § 209).

LES ORIGINES DE L'ART COPTE

PAR A. W. BYVANCK, LEIDEN

Dans son étude sur l'histoire de la langue égyptienne, M. B. H. Stricker [1]) s'est surtout occupé des différentes périodes que les égyptologues y distinguent. En même temps, il a tracé un aperçu du développement de l'égyptien qui mérite l'attention des archéologues, les idées qu'il prononce pouvant servir à éclaircir d'une façon remarquable l'histoire de l'art égyptien.

M. Stricker établit une division en trois grandes périodes : celle de l'ancien et du moyen empire, celle du nouvel empire et de la langue démotique, celle de la langue copte. Ce fut vers la fin du IVe millénaire que les Égyptiens ont commencé à écrire leur langue telle qu'ils la parlaient à cette époque. Toutefois, déjà pendant l'ancien empire, la langue écrite ne correspondait plus avec celle de tous les jours. Pour la religion, les inscriptions et la littérature la langue ancienne est restée en usage, tandis que l'administration et la correspondance des particuliers ont subi l'influence de la langue parlée. Au plus tard vers le commencement de la XIXe dynastie la différenciation est complète. La langue classique s'est fixée d'une manière définitive dans la forme qui s'est maintenue pour le culte, mais elle a disparu dans la littérature profane. Ce qui était le dialecte vulgaire jusqu'à cette époque, est devenu à son tour la langue écrite pour l'usage quotidien.

Déjà les anciens auteurs grecs ont observé que les Égyptiens utilisaient deux langues différentes, le dialecte sacré et le dialecte vulgaire. Ce dernier était le langage parlé par le peuple tel qu'il s'était développé au cours des siècles en s'éloignant de sa forme primitive. Le dialecte sacré, au contraire, a conservé son caractère ancien, fixé par les formules du culte qui n'admettaient aucun changement.

[1]) B. H. Stricker, *De Indeeling der Egyptische Taalgeschiedenis* (Thèse Leyden, 1945 ; paru aussi dans *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, N.S. XXV, 1944, pp. 12—90).

En Égypte, la langue sacrée a joué le rôle du latin au moyen-âge. Le dialecte vulgaire, cependant, s'éloignait lui aussi de plus en plus de la langue parlée, du moment qu'il avait été fixé pour des textes écrits. Déjà sous la XIXe dynastie cette différence se manifeste ; vers la fin de l'époque païenne, l'ancienne langue vulgaire, étant devenue la langue de la littérature, avait perdu entièrement le contact avec le dialecte parlé.

En effet, pendant plus de mille ans il a manqué aux Égyptiens une façon d'écrire qui correspondît à l'usage quotidien. De la sorte il faut plutôt distinguer, au cours de cette période, trois langues : celle du culte, la langue classique datant de l'ancien empire ; celle de la littérature et de la correspondance, c'est-à-dire le démotique datant de la XIXe dynastie et renouvelé pendant la XXVIe ; celle parlée par le peuple. Dans ces conditions on ne s'étonne point que pour l'usage journalier les Égyptiens se soient servis de plus en plus de la langue grecque, qui au moins représentait une façon de parler connue aux gens d'une certaine culture, le peuple ne ressentant pas le besoin de s'exprimer par écrit.

Ce fut avec l'arrivée du Christianisme qu'un nouveau changement eut lieu. Un dialecte parlé dans l'Égypte supérieure, le copte, a été élevé au rang de langue littéraire comprise du peuple. Depuis, il est resté vainqueur sur toute la ligne et s'est maintenue jusqu'à nos jours comme la langue de l'Égypte chrétienne et de sa littérature.

En même temps que la religion ancienne disparurent la langue sacrée et la langue démotique aussi bien que l'art ancien. Celui-ci avait survécu dans les temples, mais a dû céder la place à l'art copte qui devint alors l'art national. La question se pose si l'art copte, ainsi que la langue copte, peut être regardé comme le descendant d'une forme vulgaire de l'art qui aurait existé à côté de l'art officiel.

En effet, tout aussi bien que la langue sacrée, l'art égyptien officiel contient un élément artificiel, archaïsant et schématisant. En opposition à cet art, qui était celui de la religion, de l'État et des classes aristocratiques, a surgi celui des classes populaires. L'État créait les temples avec leur décoration et leurs statues ; le peuple avait besoin de figurines et d'ex-voto pour exprimer sa piété.

L'art officiel observait strictement les lois qui, depuis l'ancien empire, dominaient rigoureusement la conception artistique ; mais

de temps en temps on aperçoit une tendance à rompre avec le schématisme de l'art hiératique qui ne correspondait plus aux besoins d'une société prête à s'évoluer. Les statuettes figurant le peuple présentent des attitudes plus variées que les statues des dieux et des rois ; elles risquent des innovations qu'on cherche vainement dans l'art officiel.

Les racines de cet art populaire datent d'une époque assez reculée. Déjà pendant le moyen-empire on rencontre des figurines d'un style plus libre. L'art d'Amarna donne les preuves les plus convaincantes de cette tendance. Reléguée à l'arrière-plan durant le règne de Séthos I, elle reparaît sous Ramsès II et Ramsès III dans les grandes représentations de combats et de chasses. Quelques détails de ces tableaux rappellent d'une manière remarquable les particularités de l'art populaire telles qu'elles se trahissent dans les statuettes mentionnées.

C'est surtout M. Capart qui a étudié les monuments qui affirment leur indépendance vis-à-vis de l'art officiel. Ces figurines, quelquefois, rompent la frontalité toujours observée de la manière la plus absolue dans les statues de grandes dimensions. Par exemple dans une statue au Louvre, conservée autrefois au Cabinet des médailles à Paris et figurant un esclave porteur de fardeau, la frontalité est nettement coupée [1]). Au musée de Leyden, une esclave se penche de côté pour contrebalancer le poids de sa charge trop lourde [2]).

Toutes ces infractions à la règle, cependant, appartiennent au domaine de la petite sculpture. L'art officiel, la statue proprement dite, n'a jamais admis cette liberté qui ne s'accorde pas avec le style égyptien. Ce sont les monuments de petites dimensions, produits de l'art industriel, dans lesquels ces particularités sont présentes ; elles gêneraient les auteurs des grandes statues.

En étudiant les figurines de l'art populaire on découvre un sentiment artistique qui s'oppose au schématisme de l'art officiel. Celui-ci s'écartait de plus en plus du « vouloir » artistique du peuple qui n'admettait plus les lois surannées. En outre, on constate un besoin de naturalisme qui, lui aussi, va à l'encontre de l'art officiel. Ce naturalisme, qu'on pourrait appeler vérisme, envahit la sta-

[1]) J. Capart, *Monuments-Piot*, 26 (1923), pp. 47—65, pl. II. — Voir aussi É. Suys, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales à Bruxelles*, III (1935), pp. 545—562.

[2]) G. Roeder, *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, n.s. XX (1939), pp. 1—23 (avec une bibliographie).

tuaire égyptienne des époques plus récentes ; nommons par exemple les portraits de particuliers, qui, quelquefois, sont d'une laideur effrayante [1]). Cet art naturaliste continue pendant l'époque gréco-romaine dans les portraits privés du style national [2]).

Pendant ce temps-là, l'art classique persistait à trouver son expression dans les temples que les rois grecs ont fait construire. Cet art, toutefois, n'était plus qu'un atavisme servant pour la religion ancienne, n'était plus qu'un résidu du passé. Seule la technique avait survécu ; la forme créatrice y avait perdu toute sa puissance.

A côté de cet art privé de tout contact avec l'esprit du peuple, on trouve en Égypte pendant l'époque gréco-romaine l'art grec d'Alexandrie et l'art gréco-égyptien, qui parfois rappelle les formes hellénistiques, parfois continue l'art national avec des libertés caractéristiques. En effet, l'art grec a eu une grande importance en Égypte, plus forte et plus prépondérante, peut-être, que la langue grecque. Cette dernière n'a pas éliminé le parler national parce qu'elle n'avait pas pénétré dans le peuple comme le fit, plus tard, l'arabe. Sous la domination grecque, l'égyptien s'est maintenu ; l'art national a eu un sort différent.

L'art grec n'étant pas soumis aux règles de la tradition nationale, a pu satisfaire jusqu'à un certain point aux exigences nouvelles. Toutefois, cette tendance n'a pris le dessus qu'au moment où la religion ancienne fit place au christianisme. C'est alors que l'art ancien disparut et que naquit l'art copte.

Dans l'art copte, on remarque un mélange extrêmement curieux de technique orientale et de motifs grecs, d'un vérisme très prononcé et d'un certain schématisme hérité de l'art ancien. En effet, on ne peut douter que l'art copte, tout aussi bien que la langue copte, ne soit la dernière étape de la longue évolution de la culture égyptienne. L'art copte représente le sentiment artistique national qui s'est maintenu depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'aux époques gréco-romaine et chrétienne.

On aurait tort, cependant, en définiant l'art copte comme l'expression d'une mentalité primitive. Au fond cet art n'a rien de

[1]) On trouve des exemples dans l'étude de Käthe Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit: Ägyptologische Forschungen*, I (1936). — Voir aussi, par exemple : M. A. Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 146—148.

[2]) Voir G. A. S. Snijder, *Hellenistisch-römische Porträts aus Ägypten : Mnemosyne*, III[a] s. VII (1939), p. 241—280.

primitif. Il n'a eu l'occasion de se déployer qu'après le déclin de la tradition ancienne quand la religion nationale avait disparu, mais il s'était préparé depuis longtemps. Ainsi l'art copte contient des éléments de l'art classique national, de l'art vulgaire et de l'art gréco-égyptien, aussi bien que des éléments de l'art de la Syrie et de l'Asie antérieure importés pendant les époques hellénistique et romaine.

Il faudrait une analyse très approfondie pour déterminer tous les éléments dont se compose l'art copte. Toutefois, la qualité qui réunit tous ces éléments et qui détermine essentiellement le style de cet art, est le sentiment artistique égyptien. Ce sentiment se manifeste tout aussi bien dans l'art classique en sa forme originale que dans l'art populaire du nouvel empire et de l'époque saïtique, dans l'art gréco-égyptien et dans l'art copte.

EINE TAUSCHURKUNDE AUS DEM FÜNFTEN REGIERUNGSJAHR DES AŠŠUR-NĀDIN-ŠUMI (694 v. Chr.)

VON F. M. TH. BÖHL, LEIDEN

Privaturkunden aus den Regierungen der babylonischen Könige und Usurpatoren aus der Zeit Sargons II und Sanheribs sind selten. Aus der Regierung des *Marduk-apla-iddin II* (Merodach-baladan) gibt es nur zwei, die eine aus Nippur, die andere aus Babylon, beide wohl aus der ersten Regierungsperiode. Aus der Zeit des *Bêl-ibni* gibt es gleichfalls zwei, beide aus Dilbat; aus der des *Aššur-nādin-šumi* wohl auch zwei, wovon die vorliegende aus Dilbat; aus der des *Nergal-ušēzib* („Šuzubu des Babyloniers") keine; aus der Zeit des *Mušēzib-Marduk* („Šuzubu des Chaldäers") nur eine, wahrscheinlich aus Babylon.

Von diesen sieben Urkunden befinden sich drei hier in Leiden, in unserer Sammlung von Keilschrifttafeln. Von diesen drei Urkunden habe ich die aus Babylon aus der Zeit des *Marduk-apla-iddin II* in Umschrift veröffentlicht in MAOG XI/3, 1937, S. 31 Anm. 3, und in Übersetzung im dritten Heft der *Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties* (III, 1936, S. 7 f. = MKNAW, afd. Letterkunde, deel 82, Serie B, No. 2, S. 71 f.). Dem vorigen Besitzer, Ds. M. Foeken in Ilpendam, danke ich auch an dieser Stelle für seine Bereitwilligkeit, dieses Stück der Leidener Sammlung abzutreten. Es ist trotz der schlechten Erhaltung beinahe vollständig lesbar.

Die zweite dieser drei Leidener Urkunden — die aus dem zweiten Jahre des *Mušēzib-Marduk* — veröffentlichte ich in Umschrift im selben Heft dieser „Mitteilungen aus der Leidener Sammlung von Keilschrifttafeln", S. 10 f. (= a.a.O., S. 74 f.). Mit Ausnahme der sieben Zeugennamen und des Datums ist sie leider nur fragmentarisch erhalten.

Unsere vorliegende Veröffentlichung gilt nunmehr der Urkunde aus Dilbat aus der Zeit des *Aššur-nādin-šumi*, gleichfalls in unserer Sammlung in Leiden. Diese Tontafel, gut erhalten und lesbar, wurde von mir im Juni 1938 im Pariser Antiquitätenhandel erworben und trägt jetzt die Inventarnummer 1336.

Von den ausserhalb Hollands befindlichen Privaturkunden aus den Regierungen dieser Herrscher wird die Nippur-Urkunde aus der Zeit des *Marduk-apla-iddin* in der Hilprecht Collection zu Jena bewahrt (in Keilschrift veröffentlicht von O. Krückmann, TMHC II/III, 1933, Nr. 8). Keine Privaturkunde im engeren Sinn dieses Wortes ist die lange Liste der „Anführer von fünfzig Mann" aus der Regierung desselben Königs (in Keilschrift veröffentlicht von Alfr. Pohl im zweiten Teil seiner *Neubabylonischen Rechtsurkunden*, Anal. Or., Rom 1934, Nr. 1). Die eine der beiden Dilbat-Urkunden aus der Regierungszeit des *Bêl-ibni* befindet sich im Besitz der Yale University in New Haven (früher in der Bibliothek von J. Pierpont Morgan, in Keilschrift veröffentlicht von A. T. Clay, BRM I, 1912, Nr. 29). Die übrigen beiden Urkunden aus der Zeit des *Bêl-ibni* und des *Aššur-nādin-šumi* kenne ich lediglich aus den Erwähnungen von E. Unger, RLA II, S. 220 *a* und von F. H. Weissbach, RLA I, S. 213 *b* (mit Berufung auf Peiser, SBA 1889 II, S. 815 Anm.).

Der Seltenheitswert unserer Urkunde erstreckt sich nicht nur auf die Datierung, sondern auch auf den Inhalt und die juridische Terminologie. Was zunächst das Datum betrifft, so ist eine einleitende historische Erörterung am Platze.

Die auffälligste Erscheinung im Charakterbild und der Geschichte König Sanheribs ist der plötzliche und radikale Wandel seiner Einstellung gegen Babel und die Babylonier vor und nach dem Jahre 694[1]). Vor diesem entscheidenden Wendepunkt hatte er den Babyloniern im Rahmen des Weltreiches unter eigenen Königen die möglichste Unabhängigkeit gewährt, ihre Hauptstadt Babylon mit ihrem berühmten Tempel bei den beiden Eroberungen in den Jahren 704 und 699 sorgfältig verschont und sie sogar —

[1]) Die beste monographische Untersuchung der inneren und äusseren Beweggründe von *Sanherib af Assur's Babylonske Politik* findet sich im Beitrag von O. E. Ravn zu den *Studier tilegnede Prof. Fr. Buhl*, Kopenhagen 1925, S. 217—230. Hier ist der Gegensatz anfänglicher Milde und späterer Schärfe klar hervorgehoben, doch das dramatische Moment, welches dazwischen liegt, blieb noch unbetont.

z.B. durch eine Neupflasterung der berühmten Prozessionsstrasse [1]) — vielfach verschönert und auch den verräterischen König *Bêl-ibni* im letztgenannten Jahre mit auffallender Milde behandelt. Das grausame Los des *Nergal-ušēzib* und die raffinierte Art der Zerstörung der Stadt Babylon und ihrer Tempel heben sich davon nachher umso schwärzer ab. Auch aus Sanheribs Schilderung der Schlacht bei Chalûle — die nach dem Zeugnis der babylonischen Chronik eine Niederlage gewesen ist — sprechen im Gegensatz zu jener Milde eine Rachsucht und ein Blutdurst, die ans Psychopathische grenzen. Diese Rachsucht richtete sich gegen die Elamiter und gegen die mit diesen verbündeten und von ihnen aufgehetzten Babylonier. Was war dazwischen vorgefallen?

Hierauf ist nur eine Antwort möglich. Es war der schmähliche Untergang seines tüchtigen ältesten Sohnes, des Erben des Weltreiches, den Sanherib von diesem Augenblick an mit allen Mitteln an den verräterischen Babyloniern und Elamitern zu rächen bestrebt war. Die Vermutung liegt selbst nahe, dass dieser im Frühjahr 694 erfolgte Verlust des Lieblingssohnes den Vater des seelischen Gleichgewichts beraubt hat. Jedenfalls bedeutet er das tragische Moment im Leben des grossen Königs [2]).

Um dies zu verstehen, müssen wir zurückgreifen auf die Ereignisse des Jahres 700. Der chaldäische Scheich *Mušēzib-Marduk* (später der letzte Gegenkönig von Babylon vor der Zerstörung) hatte schon damals den anfangs assyrerfreundlichen König *Bêl-ibni* bei seinem Aufstand gegen Sanherib unterstützt, wurde aber bei Bittūtu geschlagen und in die unzugänglichen Sümpfe seines Stammlandes verjagt, woraufhin Sanherib seinen eigenen Sohn, Aššur-nādin-šumi, mit der babylonischen Königswürde bekleidete.

Dass dieser der älteste Sohn und der Erbe des Weltreiches gewesen ist, kann auf Grund der Bezeichnung als *māru rēštū tarbit birkia*, welche Sanherib ihm an verschiedenen Stellen seiner

[1]) Vgl. R. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, S. 52 f.; *Die Pflastersteine von Aiburschabu*, Tafel 4 f.

[2]) Auffallend bleibt, dass die Quellen über sein Leben und seine Taten zwischen 689 und 681 schweigen, und dass selbst in der babylonischen Chronik von diesen acht „königslosen" Jahren lediglich berichtet wird, dass sie mit den acht Regierungsjahren des Ḫummaḫaldašu von Elam zusammenfielen (II, 28 ff.). Die RLA II, S. 118*a* (s.v. Daniel) geäusserte Vermutung, die Erzählung vom Wahnsinn Nebukadnezars (Dan. 4, 20 ff.) beruhe auf einer Verwechslung mit Sanherib, bei welchem Geistesstörung während seiner letzten Regierungsjahre nicht ausgeschlossen erscheine, hoffe ich gelegentlich näher auszuführen.

Inschriften gibt, wohl nicht bezweifelt werden [1]). Allerdings wurde das natürliche Vorrecht des ältesten Sohnes der Hauptfrau in der Sargonidendynastie später keineswegs immer eingehalten. Die Bestimmung der Erbfolge geschah vielmehr durch eine feierliche Proklamation in der Versammlung des Hofes und der Reichsgrossen und durch den Einzug des präsumptiven Nachfolgers in das *bît ridūti*. Diese Zeremonien auf Grund göttlicher Orakel hatten jedenfalls noch nicht stattgefunden. Doch ist die Annahme wahrscheinlich, dass Sanherib durch die Bestallung gerade des ältesten Sohnes nicht nur die engste politische Verbindung beider Länder im Sinne einer tatsächlichen Abhängigkeit Babyloniens, sondern ihre spätere Zusammenschmelzung durch Personalunion beabsichtigte. An seiner Absicht, diesen „ersten Sohn" zum Thronerben zu erheben, braucht man nicht zu zweifeln [2]).

Die Stellung dieses jungen Vasallenkönigs muss selbst beim besten Willen schwierig gewesen sein. Sein Streben wurde durchkreuzt durch die Politik des Vaters, die keine wirkliche babylonische Selbständigkeit zuliess ; durch die babylonischen Grossen, die dem Sohn des Unterdrückers misstrauten ; durch die Intriguen des elamischen Hofes, welcher stets bereit war, den chaldäischen Prätendenten und ihrer Partei Schutz, Zuflucht und Hilfe zu gewähren. Dass er sich trotzdem mehr als fünf Jahre lang (699—694 v. Chr.) auf dem schwankenden Thron behaupten konnte, verdankte er dem assyrischen Schutz, sowie den Folgen innerer Wirren in Elam, wo König *Ištar-ḫundu* nach 18jähriger Regierung durch seinen Bruder *Ḫallušu* vom Thron gestürzt und interniert war. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass er trotz seiner Jugend auch persönlich eine Herrschernatur gewesen ist, ein würdiger Sohn und

[1]) Vgl. die Stellen bei D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, 1924, S. 35, Z. 73 ; S. 76, Z. 11 ; entsprechend dem ideographischen *GAL-DUMU*, S. 152, Z. 3. Allerdings ist der laut der letztgenannten Ziegelinschrift für ihn in Assur gebaute Palast nicht das *bît-ridūti*, und allerdings fehlt der betreffende Zusatz in der Chronik (II 28, vgl. a.a.O., S. 158) und auch in der Stierinschrift (S. 71, Z. 37).

[2]) Vgl. zur Bedeutung des Ausdrucks *māru rēštū* bereits H. Winckler, AOF I, 1897, S. 518 f. Die Meinung von Sidney Smith, er sei „a younger son of the king" und „not the heir to the Assyrian throne" gewesen (vgl. Cambr. Anc. Hist. III, 1925, S. 65 f.) hat, soweit ich sehe, keine Zustimmung gefunden. Sie beruhte wohl auf den am Schluss der vorigen Anmerkung erwähnten Einwänden. Zur interessanten Frage, ob der Ausdruck *šumu* in Eigennamen stets ein Hinweis auf die Erstgeburt des Benannten ist, vgl. die Ausführungen bei J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, MVAeG 44, 1939, S. 41 f. Zur Proklamation und zu den Zeremonien vgl. im Fall Asarhaddons : Prisma Thompson, Kol. I, Z. 8—22 ; im Fall Assurbanipals : Rass. Cyl., Kol. I, Z. 8—22.

Enkel Sanheribs und Sargons. Somit konnte sich Sanherib in diesen ruhigeren Jahren kriegerischen Expeditionen nach dem armenischen Bergland widmen und das assyrische Heer auf jenen Feldzug nach Kilikien entsenden, dessen Anlass (nach dem von Eusebius aus Polyhistor überlieferten Bericht des Berossos) ein Einfall jonischer Seeräuber gewesen sei [1]).

In diesen Jahren traf Sanherib auch die umständlichen Vorbereitungen zum Angriff auf die elamische Ebene vom Süden, also von der Küste her. Unter dem Vorwand der Verfolgung chaldäischer Flüchtlinge unternahm er dann im Jahre 694 jene abenteuerliche Piratenfahrt gegen das elamische Küstengebiet mit einer eigens zu diesem Zweck gebauten und bemannten Flotte, wobei der Erfolg freilich nicht der (in der „Stierinschrift" so anschaulich beschriebenen) Mühe der Vorbereitung entsprach [2]).

Da Sanherib in seinen Annalen jedes Missgeschick verschweigt oder beschönigt, können wir den weiteren, für *Aššur-nādin-šumi* tragischen Verlauf der Ereignisse nur mit Hilfe der babylonischen Chronik rekonstruieren. Die Assyrer hatten sich mit ihrer umständlichen Flottenoperation auf ihnen ungewohntes Gebiet gewagt und so dem Gegner die Gelegenheit zum raschen und unerwarteten Gegenstoss auf ihre ungeschützte Flanke geboten. Während das assyrische Heer mit der Flotte noch im Süden operiert, bricht König *Ḫallušu* an der Spitze eines elamischen Heeres unvermutet in Mittelbabylonien ein, offenbar in der Absicht, die Assyrer von ihrer Basis abzuschneiden. Hier in Babylonien auf die Hilfe früherer Parteigänger zu rechnen, lag nahe.

Dass die Elamiter trotzdem auf kräftigen Widerstand stiessen — offenbar auch im rasch eroberten Sippar, wo unter den Bewohnern ein Blutbad angerichtet wurde — ist wohl der beste Beweis dafür, dass es *Aššur-nādin-šumi* gelungen war, nach fünf Jahren im von ihm regierten Lande festen Fuss zu fassen. Man könnte vermuten, dass die Priesterschaft des Sonnentempels Ebarra, der dann auch verschont blieb, dem Feinde die Tore der Stadt geöffnet hat, während die Bürgerschaft dem jungen König Treue hielt. Dessen Versuch, die Stadt zu entsetzen, endete mit einer Katastrophe. Er wurde gefangengenommen, nach Elam transportiert und dort — über diesen Punkt schweigt selbst die Chronik — vermutlich grausam hingerichtet. Die Erbitterung, mit welcher

[1]) Luckenbill, a.a.O., S. 61 f.; 162.
[2]) Luckenbill, a.a.O., S. 73 ff.

Sanherib von nun an den Krieg gegen Elam und gegen die beiden letzten babylonischen Gegenkönige *Nergal-ušēzib* und *Mušēzib-Marduk* geführt und die alte heilige Stadt Babylon schliesslich im Jahre 689 zerstört hat, erklärt sich vor allem aus dieser schmerzlichen Erfahrung: dem schmählichen Tod seines Sohnes und Erben. Diese Erfahrung bedeutet den Wendepunkt seines Charakters und seiner Politik.

Was die genauere Zeitbestimmung dieser Katastrophe betrifft, so fällt die Eroberung Sippars und das Ende des *Aššur-nādin-šumi* nach der seit Winckler und Delitzsch üblichen Auffassung von Bab. Chron. Kol. II Z. 40 (= CT XXXIV 48 Obv.) *ina kît Tašrîti*, also am Ende des 7. Monats seines sechsten Regierungsjahres. Hiermit lässt sich die Datierung einer Schuldurkunde kombinieren, welche wenige Wochen später zu Sippar (Abu Habba) ausgestellt sein dürfte. Es handelt sich um die Urkunde VS IV, Nr. 1 (= NRVU I, Nr. 165), deren Datum wahrscheinlich folgendermassen zu ergänzen ist: „Sippar, am 20. Araḫsammu (Marcheswan) im 5. Jahre des *Ḫallušu*, Königs von Elam". Dass hiermit (gegen Ungnads frühere Annahme) der Zeitgenosse und Gegner Sanheribs gemeint ist, liegt nahe. Die Stadt wurde somit von den Elamitern besetzt, blieb aber mit ihrem berühmten Sonnentempel verschont, und das geschäftliche Leben ging seinen Gang ungestört weiter; nur dass der Name des Eroberers in den Daten an die Stelle des gefangenen Königs trat, bis der neue König *Nergal-ušēzib* als Schützling Elams den babylonischen Thron bestieg.

Hier erhebt sich nun freilich eine chronologische Schwierigkeit. Denn schon am 7. VII des folgenden Jahres (693 v. Chr.) fand die Schlacht bei Nippur statt, die das Ende der Regierung dieses *Nergal-ušēzib* bedeutet. Trotzdem regiert dieser nach der Angabe des Haupttextes der Chronik (CT XXXIV 48, Kol. III 5) anderthalb Jahre. Rechnet man zurück, so müsste die Eroberung von Sippar durch die Elamiter und die Gefangennahme des *Aššur-nādin-šumi* also mit A. T. Olmstead (*History of Assyria*, 1923, S. 291) nicht erst gegen Ende des Monats Tischri, sondern „in the spring of 694" angesetzt werden. Schon Fr. Delitzsch (*Die babylonische Chronik*, 1906, S. 21, Anm. 1) schloss seinerzeit aus der Zeitangabe für *Nergal-ušēzib*, dass die im Abschnitt Kol. II 36 ff. berichteten Ereignisse des Jahres 694 bereits frühzeitig im Anfang dieses Jahres stattgefunden hätten, was freilich seiner Auffassung von Kol. II 40 „Ende Tischri" widersprach. Doch ist eine andere Auffassung

dieser Angabe unwahrscheinlich [1]). Im Nebentext der Chronik fehlt zudem jene Bestimmung der Regierungsdauer des *Nergal-ušēzib* (vgl. CT XXXIV 45, Kol. III 3), und nach der babylonischen Königsliste *A* (CT XXXVI 25, Rs. Kol. II Z. 17) dauert diese nicht anderthalb, sondern nur ein Jahr. Dazu kommt, dass *Ḫallušu*, welcher nach der Chronik (Kol. II 31 f.) noch im ersten Regierungsjahre des *Aššur-nādin-šumi* den elamischen Thron besteigt, nach Kol. III 8 nur sechs Jahre regiert, was bei anderthalbjähriger Dauer der (darin eingeschlossenen) Regierung des *Nergal-ušēzib* zu kurz wäre. Für die Chronologie macht aber die Verteilung des Krisisjahres 694/3 weiter keinen Unterschied aus, da nach babylonischem Brauch das letzte Regierungsjahr eines Königs mit dem Akzessionsjahre seines Nachfolgers identisch ist [2]). Am wichtigsten in diesem Zusammenhang ist jene aus der Regierung des *Ḫallušu* datierte Urkunde, welche somit in die oben aufgezählte Liste von babylonischen Privaturkunden aus den Regierungen der Zeitgenossen Sanheribs eingereiht zu werden verdient.

Die Ausstellung unserer Urkunde erfolgte am 18. X des vorhergehenden, also des vorletzten Regierungsjahres des *Aššur-nādin-šumi*, nach unserem Kalender aber wohl bereits Anfang Januar desselben Jahres 694 v. Chr. Der Ort der Ausstellung ist die mittelbabylonische Stadt D i l b a t, wo somit auch die Grundstücke gelegen waren, um deren Tausch es sich hier handelt. Auch diese wichtige Handelsstadt, die Kultstätte des Gottes Urasch, entging in den erbitterten Kämpfen der folgenden Jahre nicht dem Los der Zerstörung durch die Assyrer. Abgebildet war diese Belagerung und Zerstörung auf einem Relief, das leider schon bei der Auffindung nur fragmentarisch erhalten war und heute verschollen und nur in Abzeichnung erhalten ist [3]). Die Stadt lag wahrscheinlich

[1]) Da die Zeichenformen *DUL* und *KU* in diesen Texten ziemlich identisch sind, liesse sich etwa noch denken an das seltene Ideogramm b a d - z í d [- d a], welches nach Deimel, ŠL 69, 119 (vgl. V Rawl. 41, 61*e*) *ni-i-tu* bedeuten kann. Dann wäre König *Ḫallušu ina nīti*, d.h. durch eine „Umklammerung" oder eine überraschende strategische Wendung in Sippar eingedrungen.

[2]) Vgl. die Bemerkungen von A. Ungnad „zur Datierung der Urkunden": NRVU I, S. 755 ff. — Der Name *Ḫallušu* ist übrigens ein babylonisches Hypokoristikon des echt elamischen Königsnamens *Ḫallutuš-In-Šušinak* III (699—693 v. Chr.).

[3]) Vgl. A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London 1849, Tafel 73; Arch. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sinacherib*, Den Haag 1915, Tafel 13; Eckh. Unger, RLA II, Tafel 60. Der letztere rechnet RLA II, S. 220*a* aller-

an der Stelle des heutigen *Dêläm*, etwa 12 km südlich von Borsippa und — wie auch das Relief zeigt — innerhalb bedeutender Palmengärten zwischen zwei Wasserläufen, als deren einer der Euphrat oder der damals wichtigste Euphrat-Arm anzunehmen ist (vgl. die Reproduktion nach A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures)*.

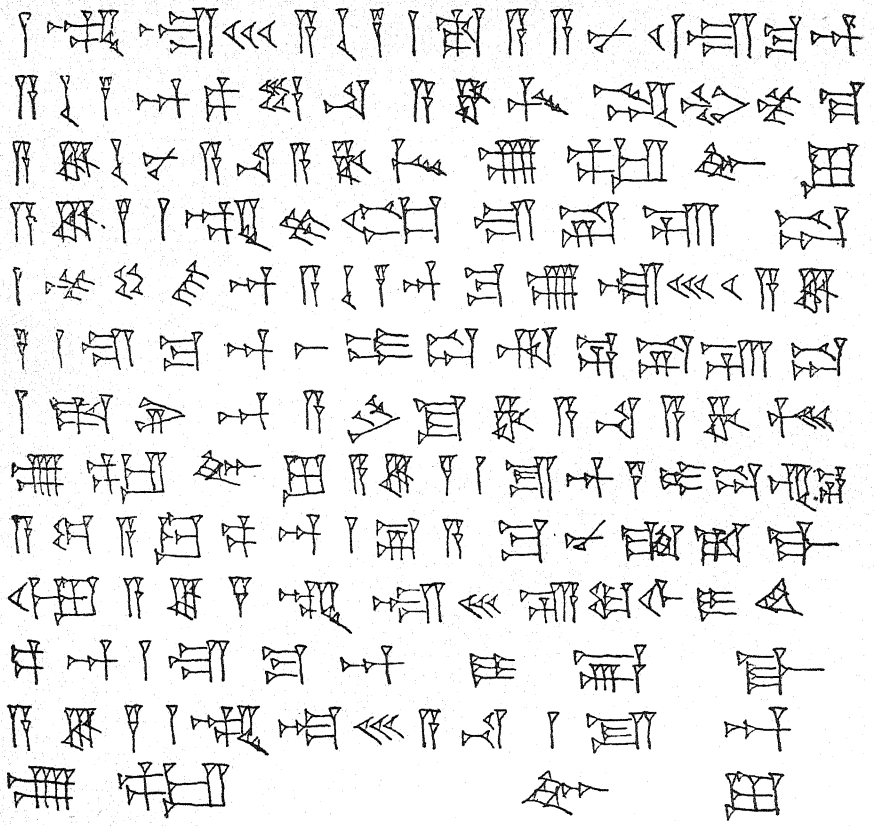
Zum Formular des Tausches findet sich die alte Terminologie in der Serie *ana ittišu* Kol. III, Z. 46—50; IV 40—51, vgl. B. Landsberger, MSL I, 1937, S. 125 und 220. Tauschurkunden, auch solche über Feldertausch, sind, wenn auch in verhältnismässig geringer Zahl, sowohl aus der altbabylonischen wie auch aus der neubabylonischen Periode bekannt und veröffentlicht [1]). Für die lange Periode dazwischen bedeutet unser Text ein Unikum, dessen Abweichungen vom älteren wie vom jüngeren Schema das Verständnis im einzelnen freilich nicht erleichteren. Denn die beiden neuassyrischen Tauschkontrakte bei Kohler und Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, 1913, Nr. 632 und 633 beziehen sich nicht auf Felder-, sondern auf Sklaventausch.

Die beiden jüngsten Tauschurkunden, welche mir bekannt sind, stammen aus dem 129. und dem 154. Jahre der Seleukiden-Aera: A. T. Clay, *Legal Documents from Erech, dated in the Seleucid Era* (BRM II, New York 1913), Nr. 35 und 45. Die juridische Terminologie zeigt starke Abweichungen, wie ein Blick in die Umschrift und Übersetzung der ersteren dieser Urkunden a.a.O., S. 29—32 beweist.

Der Text unserer Urkunde (Sammlung Böhl, Nr. 1336) ist trefflich erhalten. Die Farbe der Tontafel ist rotbraun; die Masse sind 6 × 4 cm. Der autographierte Text findet sich auf den folgenden Seiten.

dings mit der Möglichkeit, dieses Relief nicht für Sanherib, sondern für Assurbanipal in Anspruch zu nehmen. Doch ist, wie wir unten auf Grund der Beischrift nachzuweisen versuchen, die Zeit Sanheribs weit wahrscheinlicher. Eine Abbildung der Zeichnung dieses Reliefs nach Paterson bieten wir auf der Tafelabbildung.

[1]) Vgl. für die altbabylonische Periode: Kohler—Ungnad, HG III, Nr. 443—451 usw.; M. Schorr, VAB V, Nr. 112—117, S. 159 ff. Für die neubabylonische Periode: San Nicolò und Ungnad, NRVU I, Nr. 109—112, wovon aber nur Nr. 112 über Feldertausch handelt.

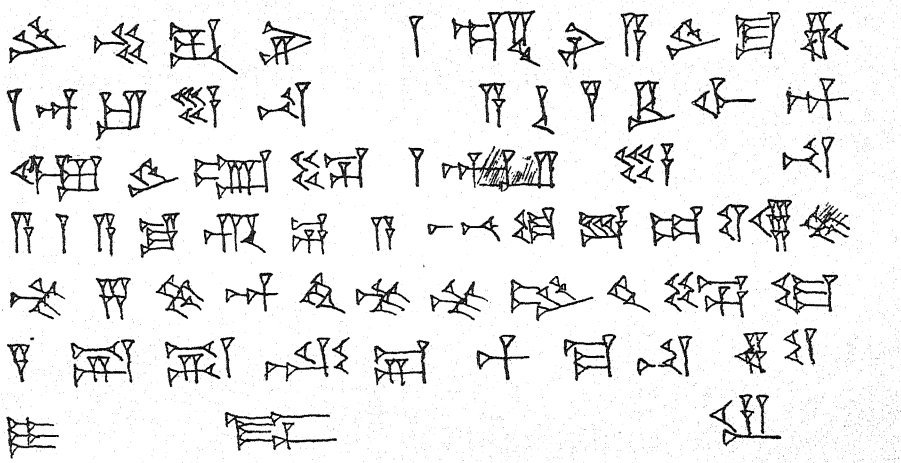


a) UMSCHRIFT :

Vorderseite :

1 *I ^{il}Bêl-ēreš^{eš} apil-šú šá I Da-a-a-nu u I Eri-ba-ilu*
apil-šú šá I Nabû-apal-iddina^{na} a-ḫa-meš il-tim-mu-ma
eqil-šú-nu a-na a-ḫa-meš ú-šap-'i-lu
eqlu šá I ^{il}Bel-ēreš^{eš} muḫḫi āli itā
5 *I Mu-še-zib-ilu apil-šú šá ^{il}Ba-bá-ēreš^{eš} u eqlu*
šá I Eri-ba-ilu ina kan-du-re-e itā
I Da-ni-ilu mār ^{amēl}bā'iri a-na a-ḫa-meš
ú-šap-'i-lu eqlu šá I Erība-ilu šá kan-du-re-e
a-di nāri pa-an I ^{il}E-a-ba-nu id-da-gal
10 *ù eqlu šá I ^{il}Bel-ēreš^{eš} atru itti ši-i-ḫi*
pa-an I Eri-ba-ilu i-dag-gal
eqlu šá I ^{il}Bêl-ēreš^{eš} a-na I Erība-ilu
ú-šap-'i-lu





Rückseite :

ki-i eqlu šá ^{I} ^{ìl}*Bel-ēreš atru a-na Bán*$^{ta\text{-}àm}$
^{I}*Eri-ba-ilu i-na-áš-šú ki-i šá* ^{I}*Eri-ba-ilu*
atru a-na 3 Qa^{àm} ^{I} ^{ìl}*Bel-ēreš*^{eš} *i-na-aš-šú*
ūmu ^{amēl}*si-ḫu-ú u* ^{amēl}*pa-qi-ra-nu i-ba-áš-šú-u*
man-nu a-na libbi eqli-šú ur-rad
^{amēl}*mu-kin-ni* ^{I} ^{il}*Bēl-ibni mār* ^{amēl}*bā'iri*
^{I} ^{ìl}*Uraš-iddina*^{na} *apil-šú šá* ^{I}*Ibašši*^{ši}*-ilu*
u ^{amēl}*ṭupšarru* ^{I} ^{il}*Uraš-iddina*^{na}
apil ^{I}*A-bur-re-e-a Dil-bat*^{ki} *araḫ*^{Ṭ}*ebētu ūmu 18*^{kam}
šattu 5^{kam} ^{ìl}*Aššur-nādin-šumi šàr Bābili*^{ki}
šá it-ta-bal-kit $^{1}/_{2}$ *manē kaspi*
i-tur-ru

b) ÜBERSETZUNG :

(Vorderseite :)

(1) Bêl-ēreš, der Sohn des Dajānu, und Erība-ilu, (2) der Sohn des Nabû-apal-iddina, willfahrten einander, (3) ihre Felder mit einander zu tauschen (eig. : einander zu übertragen). (4) Das Feld des Bêl-ēreš oberhalb der Stadt, angrenzend an das des (5) Mušezib-ilu, des Sohnes des Baba-ēreš, und das Feld (6) des Erība-ilu bei der Vormauer (?), angrenzend an das des (7) Dāni-ilu (Daniel), des Angehörigen der Fischergilde, haben sie mit einander (8) getauscht.

Was nun das Feld des Erība-ilu betrifft, so wird das Stück von der Vormauer (?) (9) bis zum Flusse dem Ea-bānu gehören. (10) Dagegen wird das überschüssige Feldstück des Bêl-ēreš mit den hohen Bäumen (11) dem Erība-ilu gehören, (12) (somit zum selben) Felde, welches Bêl-ēreš gegen das des Erība-ilu (13) eingetauscht hat.

(Rückseite :)

(14) Falls die Feldfläche des Bêl-ēreš einen Überschuss aufweisen sollte, so darf (15) Erība-ilu diesen gegen eine Vergütung von je einem Seah behalten. Falls aber die Feldfläche des Erība-ilu (16) einen Überschuss aufweisen sollte, so darf Bêl-ēreš diesen gegen eine Vergütung von je drei Qa behalten.

(17) Falls sich ein Reklamant oder Vindikant vorfinden sollte, (18) so wird jeder von beiden seines Feldes verlustig gehen.

(19) Zeugen : Bêl-ibni, der Angehörige der Fischergilde ; (20) Uraš-iddina, Sohn des Ibašši-ilu ; (21) und als Schreiber : Uraš-iddina, Sohn des Aburrēa.

Dilbat, am 18. Ṭebet, (23) im fünften Jahre des Aššur-nādin-šumi, des Königs von Babylon.

(24) Wer vertragsbrüchig wird, muss eine halbe Mine Silbers (25) einbüssen.

c) SPRACHLICHE ERLÄUTERUNGEN :

(1) Die beiden Kontraktanten heissen *^{d}Bêl-ēreš* (besser : *^{d}Bêl-īriš*) und *Erība-ilu*. Vgl. zur Bedeutung dieser Namen : J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, MVAeG 44, 1939, S. 144 f. und 289 f. Auffallend ist die Ungleichmässigkeit der Schreibung derselben Namen in derselben Urkunde. Der zweite Bestandteil des ersten dieser beiden Namen wird in Z. 1, 4, 10, 12, 16 (vgl.

auch Z. 5) mit dem Zeichen *APIN* (Deimel, ŠL 56, 5) geschrieben, dagegen in Z. 14 mit dem Zeichen *KAM* (Deimel, ŠL 143, 5; 406, 4). Ebenso unregelmässig ist die Schreibung des ersten Bestandteils des zweiten Namens: in Z. 1, 6, 11, 15 (2mal) phonetisch mit dem Zeichen der „Stadt" für die Silbe *eri* oder *rí*; in Z. 8 und 12 dagegen ideographisch mit dem Zeichen *SU* (Deimel, ŠL 7, 2) = *rābu* „ersetzen".

(2) Vgl. zur gegenseitigen „Erhörung" (*šemū* 1/2) als Ausdruck der Willensübereinstimmung beim Vertragsabschluss: San Nicolò *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilinschriftlichen Rechtsquellen*, 1931, S. 160 (sowie u.a.: San Nicolò und Ungnad, NRVU Nr. 683, S. 590 Anm. 6: *a-ḫa-meš iš-mu-'-ma*).

(3) Die Tauscherklärung wird im Altbabylonischen meist ausgedrückt durch *upîḫu* „sie haben getauscht" (vgl. CH Kol. XII 53, § 41; Schorr, VAB V, S. 159 f.); im Neubabylonischen dagegen mit der Wendung: *ana šupēlti ana aḫameš iddinu* oder einfacher *itti aḫameš ušpēlu* (vgl. San Nicolò und Ungnad, NRVU I S. 144). Letzterer Ausdruck findet sich gleichfalls bereits im Altbabylonischen, z.B. bei Schorr Nr. 295, 21; 276, 9. In unserer Urkunde findet sich aber in Z. 3, 8 und 13 die einfache Kausativform des unkontrahierten Verbums *pa'ālu* = *ba'ālu* „Herr, Eigentümer sein". Die Grundbedeutung des Tausches aus der Übertragung des Eigentumsrechtes ist deutlich. Bei der gegenseitigen Übertragung durch Tausch ist eine Ergänzung wie *ana aḫameš* (oder etwa *eqla ana eqli*) freilich unentbehrlich. Die analoge Form III/2 findet sich bereits in einer Urkunde aus dem 18. Jahre des Sinmuballiṭ, bemerkenswerterweise gleichfalls aus Dilbat: *bîtam ana bîtim uštap'ilu* „sie haben Haus gegen Haus getauscht"; vgl. J. E. Gautier, *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat* Nr. 25, Rand Z. 2 (s. Schorr, a.a.O., Nr. 112) [1]).

(4) Der Ausdruck *muḫḫi āli* bedeutet hier schwerlich den Bürgermeister: *ša muḫḫi āli* „der über die Stadt (gesetzt ist)", wie in NRVU Nr. 731 Anm. 6.

[1]) Die Ableitung von *apālu* „begleichen" ist trotz der Schreibung *uš-ta-pí-lu* schon wegen der Analogie mit unserer Form ausgeschlossen. Allerdings verdient das Verb *šupēlu* (im Praet. *ušpēl*), welches auch einfach „ändern, abändern" bedeuten kann, noch eine eingehendere Untersuchung. Für diese häufigere Form ist ein Zusammenhang mit בעל < פ,אל „herrschen, besitzen" schwerlich anzunehmen, und die Erklärung als Lehnwort aus dem sumerischen š u - b a l „verändern, vertauschen" weitaus vorzuziehen (vgl. Deimel, ŠL 9, 14). In der seleukidischen Spätzeit lautet der Fachausdruck für die Tauschurkunde: *kunuk šu-pil-lu$_4$-tum* (vgl. BRM II, Nr. 45, 1).

Dass *UŠ.SA.DU* in Grenzangaben *itā* zu lesen ist, ergibt sich aus dem Brüsseler Vokabular, TCL VI Nr. 35 Rs. Kol. II 44, vgl. NRVU I, S. 51 f.

(6) Der Ausdruck *k/qandurē* in Z. 6 und 8 ist der sprachlich schwierigste unserer Urkunde. Dass es sich um eine Ortsbezeichnung handelt, ist deutlich. Somit kommt *kandurū* „ein Kultgefäss" (RA XXI 143, vgl. Bezold-Götze, *Glossar* S. 143 b) hier ebensowenig in Betracht wie etwa ein Zusammenhang mit den „Müllersknechten (?)" aus den Tempellisten von Ur III (vgl. Deimel, ŠL 143, 64). Für eine Erklärung aus dem Akkadischen als *qan-dūri* „Mauersaum" gibt es eine — freilich gleichfalls fragliche — Analogie: *ḫān-dūri*, vielleicht = **ḫām-dūri* „Mauerschutz" [1]). Allerdings lautet der Plural sonst *dūrāni*. Nach dem Zusammenhang wäre die Auffassung als *qan dūrē* „Rand der Mauern, Vormauer" nicht unpassend.

(9) Zum Ausdruck *dagālu pāni N.N.* (hier 1/2, in Z. 11 I/1) „jemandem zu eigen gehören" vgl. Ungnad., NRVU I 738 und Glossar S. 49. Der Ausdruck wurde von Sklaven auf Sachen (Grundstücke) übertragen. Diese Übertragung ist auffallend, doch öfter belegt, z.B. von einem Hause NVRU I, Nr. 676 Anm. 5. Die Grundbedeutung ist das Schauen des Antlitzes im Sinne der verpflichteten Dienstbereitschaft [2]).

(10) *atru*, Idg. *DIR*, ist hier (sowie auch in Z. 14 und 16) nicht die „Zugabe" oder „Notariatsgebühr", sondern ein „überschüssiges" Feldstück, über welches eigene Bestimmungen getroffen werden müssen.

Der Ausdruck *šiḫi* „hochgewachsene (eig. alte) Stämme" kann eine Zedern-, bezw. Zypressenart bedeuten; doch denkt man in diesem Fall im Hinblick auf die Abbildung des erwähnten Reliefs (vgl. die Tafelabbildung) lieber an Palmen.

(12 f.) gehört wohl zum Vorhergehenden in Z. 10 f.: „.... und das Feld des B.-ē. wird dem E.-i. gehören; (es ist nämlich) das Feld, welches B.-ē. getauscht hat".

(14) Nun beginnt die Ausgleichsformel für den Fall des unrichtigen Ausmasses der getauschten Grundstücke. Über solche Klauseln für den Fall, dass gekaufte oder getauschte Grundstücke nicht das richtige Ausmass besitzen sollten, handelte im Hinblick auf

[1]) Vgl. E. F. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien*, 1922, S. 90, Anm. 1; A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, 1922, S. 33, Anm. 11.
[2]) Vgl. Psalm 123, 2 vom Schauen auf die Hände.

das babylonische Recht ausführlich M. San Nicolò, *La clausola di difetto o eccedenza di misura nella vendita immobiliare secondo il Diritto Babilonese*, in den *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante*, vol. II (Mailand 1930), S. 41—50. Aus dieser instruktiven Materialsammlung ergibt sich freilich, dass eine genaue Analogie zur vorliegenden Formulierung dieser Klausel bisher noch nicht bekannt geworden ist. Die Klausel verdient somit unten im Zusammenhang der sachlichen Erklärung eine ausführlichere Erörterung.

(15 f.) *inaššu* bedeutet eigentlich: „er wird davontragen", im Sinne des Erhaltens oder des Behaltens (vgl. NRVU, Glossar S. 113, s.v. *našû*). Der Form nach handelt es sich um einen Ventiv (oder Allativ, nach Ungnads Terminologie); die Schreibung des Plurals oder des Subjunktivs wäre *i-na-áš-šú-u* (vgl. *ibaššū* in Z. 17). Ventivformen auf *-u* statt *-a(m)* sind im Mittel- und Neubabylonischen ziemlich häufig; in unserer Urkunde ist *iturru* Z. 25 ein weiteres Beispiel.

(18) *mannu* „wer immer, jeder einzelne, jeder (von beiden)", z.B. auch NRVU I Nr. 112 Anm. 15, gleichfalls in einer Tauschurkunde aus Dilbat (aus der Zeit des Darius I).

Der eigenartige Ausdruck „vom Felde herabsteigen" (wobei *ina libbi* doch wohl = *ištu libbi*) entspricht offenbar völlig dem nur scheinbar entgegengesetzten Ausdruck: „vom Felde (bzw. Gelde) hinaufsteigen", d.h. in beiden Fällen „davon hinwegziehen, sich dessen begeben, dessen verlustig gehen"; *ina kaspišu itelli* bedeutet bekanntlich schon im Codex Ḫammurabi an zahlreichen Stellen (CH §§ 35, 37, 71, 78, 113, 116, 177) „er geht seines Geldes verlustig".

(19—22) Zwei der fünf Eigennamen enthalten den Namen des Stadtgottes von Dilbat: Urasch.

(21) Der Gottesname im Namen des Schreibers ist etwas verwischt. Der Name ist wohl sicher mit dem ersten der vorigen Zeile gleichlautend.

(23) Der Königsname wird hier genau so geschrieben wie in der babylonischen Chronik (Kol. II Z. 31, 41 f.) und in der Königsliste *A* (CT XXXVI 25 Kol. IV Z. 16) [1]. Sanherib selbst schreibt

[1]) Der Zusatz „aus der Dynastie von *Ḫa-bi-gal*", welchen Aššur-nādin-šumi ebenso wie sein Vater Sanherib an der erwähnten Stelle in der babylonischen Königsliste *A* erhält, ist doch wohl sicher eine Abkürzung aus dem bekannten Landesnamen, welcher sonst *Ḫanigalbat* (besser: *Ḫaligalbat*) geschrieben wird. Es handelt sich offenbar in der zweiten Silbe um einen labialen Spiranten, dessen Aussprache zwischen *w* und *l* (bezw. *r*) gelegen war; vgl. dazu E. A. Speiser, *Intro-*

den zweiten Bestandteil dieses Namens stets phonetisch *na-din*; wieder anders ist die Schreibung in der Königsliste aus Assur, KAV Nr. 216 Kol. IV *b*, Z. 6. Der Name *^{d}Aššur-nādin-šumī* bedeutet doch wohl „Der Gott Aššur ist Geber von Erben", ist also in unserer Periode so gut wie identisch mit einem Namen wie **^{d}Aššur-nādin-apli*. Der Ausdruck *šumu* „Name" bedeutet hier im konkreten Sinne den Namensträger oder Fortpflanzer des Namens, ist also synonym mit *aplu* „Erbe". Ist dies richtig, dann ist ein solcher Name charakteristisch für den ältesten oder einen der älteren Söhne, ein Name wie *^{d}Aššur-aḫḫē-iddina* (der des späteren Nachfolgers Sanheribs) dagegen für einen der jüngeren Söhne. Allerdings rechnet J. J. Stamm mit der Möglichkeit, dass Namen wie *^{d}Sin-nādin-šumī* in ihrer ursprünglichen Form und Bedeutung eher besagten: „Sin hat die Eigenschaft, männliche Nachkommenschaft zu spenden". Vgl. hierüber ausführlich: Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, S. 40 f., 98 f., 217.

(24) *šá ittabalkit* (ohne *-u*) z.B. auch VS V 86, 13.

(25) *iturru* (Ventiv auf *-u*, wie *inaššu* Z. 15 f.) statt *utarru* oder *utāra* ist auffallend, aber gerade in dieser Schlussklausel gebräuchlich. Einen Erklärungsversuch bietet Ungnad, NRVU, Glossar S. 164; etwa: „sich durch die Erlegung der Strafsumme wieder (zur Freiheit) hinwenden = die Freiheit zurückgewinnen", oder einfacher: „sich vom Gelde zurückwenden", d.h. es einbüssen.

d) SACHLICHE ERLÄUTERUNGEN:

Die kurze Urkunde zerfällt in acht Abschnitte:

a) Z. 1—3: Die Namen der Kontraktanten, das Objekt ihres Tausches und die Erklärung der freiwilligen Übereinkunft der Vornahme dieses Tausches. Der juridische Terminus für die Übereinkunft ist die „gegenseitige Erhörung"; der Terminus für die Vornahme des Tausches ist die gegenseitige Übertragung des Eigentumsrechtes.

b) Z. 5—8*a*: Nähere Bestimmung der Lage beider Felder durch Angabe der Namen der benachbarten Feldbesitzer und Wieder-

duction to Hurrian, AASOR XX, New Haven 1941, § 52 (S. 41 f.). Vgl. zu dieser Ableitung auch I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, S. 72, Anm. 184. Aus diesem Lande — dem Gebiet des alten Mittanni im nördlichen Mesopotamien — hätte das Geschlecht Sargons II somit seinen Ursprung abgeleitet. In diesem Stammland der Dynastie fand dann nach der Ermordung Sanheribs die Entscheidungsschlacht statt, die Asarhaddon auf den Thron brachte (vgl. R. C. Thompson, *The Prism of Esarhaddon*, London 1931, S. 12, Z. 70).

holung der Tauscherklärung. Man beachte den Namen des einen der beiden benachbarten Grundbesitzer, welcher dem biblischen Namen *Daniel* entspricht. An dieser Stelle erwartet man die Angabe des Umfanges der beiden Felder mit genauen Massangaben. Im Hinblick auf die Klausel für den Fall ungenauer Messung wäre eine urkundliche Formulierung des Umfanges mindestens wünschenswert. Vermutlich hielt man sie für entbehrlich unter der Voraussetzung, dass die beiden getauschten Grundstücke denselben Umfang hatten, sodass Kontrolle durch Vergleichung auch ohne nähere Massangaben jederzeit möglich war. Jedenfalls aber sind die jüngeren und auch die älteren Urkunden über Kauf und Tausch von Immobilien in dieser Hinsicht exakter.

c) Genauere Abgrenzung der beiden Felder. Das Grundstück des *Erība-ilu* ist offenbar das grössere von beiden. Um beide Felder gleichwertig zu machen, muss erst der Ausläufer ausserhalb der Stadt zwischen der „Vormauer" (vgl. oben über den noch unsicheren Ausdruck *qan dūrē*, eig. „Saum der Mauern") vom zu vertauschenden Feldstück abgetrennt werden. Dieser Teil wird somit als selbstständige Grösse veräussert und — jedenfalls auf Grund eines eigenen Kontraktes — einem Dritten, namens *Ea-bānu*, als Eigentum zugeschrieben. Dagegen erhält der bisherige Besitzer *Erība-ilu* auf Grund seines Tausches das Grundstück des *Bēl-ēreš* in seinem vollen Umfang, einschliesslich des (ebenso wie das ganze Feld nach Z. 4 „oberhalb der Stadt" gelegenen) Ausläufers, welcher entsprechend seiner Lage mit „hohen Bäumen", wahrscheinlich mit Dattelpalmen, bepflanzt und dadurch besonders wertvoll war. Ausdrücklich wird bestimmt, dass auch dieser Teil zum eingetauschten Feld gehört, welches somit im vollen Umfang dem *Erība-ilu* zufällt. Natürlich erhielt *Erība-ilu* ausserdem noch die Vergütung, welche ihm von *Ea-bānu* zukam, von welcher Vergütung aber in unserer Urkunde weiter keine Rede ist, da sie durch einen eigenen Kontrakt geregelt wurde.

Hier bietet nun das erwähnte Relief die beste und anschaulichste Illustration zu unserer Urkunde, selbst wenn dieses Relief nach Ungers Vermutung nicht von Sanherib, sondern erst von Assurbanipal herrühren sollte. Wir sehen auf diesem Relief, das wir auf der Tafel nach Patersons Prachtwerk abbilden, die Innen- und die Aussenmauern der Stadt Dilbat mit ihren Türmen und Toren und Zinnen, sowie die beiden Flussläufe und die prächtigen hohen Dattelpalmen, von welchen die Stadt an allen Seiten um-

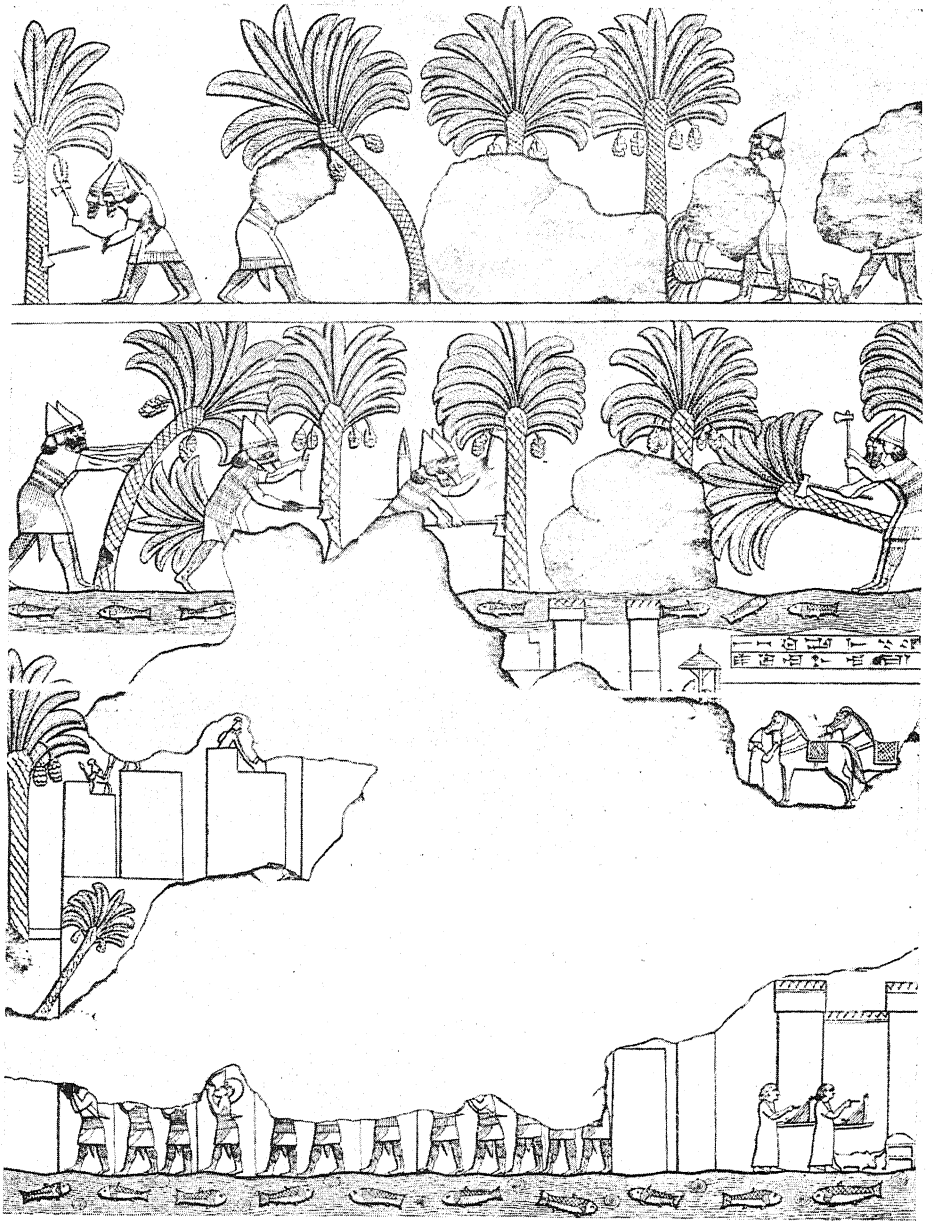
geben war, und sehen, wie diese Bäume dem rohen Vandalismus der assyrischen Soldaten bei der Belagerung zum Opfer fallen [1]).

Im Mittelfach rechts befand sich die Abbildung des Königs selbst, wovon leider nur mehr der Baldachin mit der Tiara erhalten ist. Die Beischrift daneben (oberhalb der Pferde des gleichfalls nicht mehr erhaltenen königlichen Streitwagens) lautet: „Die Stadt D i l b a t habe ich belagert, erobert und ihre Beute weggeführt." Aus dieser Beischrift lässt sich doch am wahrscheinlichsten auf König S a n h e r i b als den Urheber dieses Reliefs und Belagerer und Zerstörer der Stadt schliessen, da gerade in dessen Annalen diese Formel auffallend häufig ist, während sich Assurbanipal in den zahlreichen Aufschriften seiner Reliefs mit Darstellungen aus der Kriegsgeschichte eines ausführlicheren und weit weniger formelhaften Stiles zu befleissigen pflegt [2]). Schon wenige Jahre nach dem Abschluss unseres Tauschkontraktes fiel somit die Stadt mit ihren Mauern und Palästen und umliegenden Feldern und Anpflanzungen der unbarmherzigsten Zerstörung anheim. Erst aus der Zeit Nabopolassars und Nebukadnezars II besitzen wir wieder vereinzelte Privaturkunden aus Dilbat als Zeugen des Wiederaufbaus der Stadt.

d) Z. 14—16: Einige Anregungen verdanke ich hier Herrn Kollegen M. David, auf Grund einer mündlichen Besprechung des juristischen Inhalts. Es handelt sich in diesen Zeilen zunächst um die Verpflichtung einer Vergütung der geschädigten Partei im Falle, dass sich eines der beiden eingetauschten Grundstücke infolge (absichtlich oder unabsichtlich) ungenauer Messung als grösser als das andere herausstellen sollte. Diese Vergütung erfolgt nicht (wie sonst meistens) in Geld, sondern *in natura*, wobei es zunächst ungewiss bleibt, ob man an eine Abgabe bei der jeweiligen Ernte oder an die Abtretung von Ackerland zu denken hat. Die Massangaben sind in diesem Falle zwar genau, können sich aber auf beides beziehen, da die Babylonier seit der Kossäerzeit das Feldmass nach dem Volumen der darauf verwendeten Aussaat zu berechnen und zu bezeichnen pflegten. Die Getreidemenge, mit

[1]) Im schärfsten Gegensatz zu solcher Barbarei steht die humane Bestimmung des israelitischen Gesetzes, welche vermutlich aus derselben Periode stammt. Nach Deuteronomium 20, 19 f. ist es verboten, die zu einer belagerten Stadt gehörigen Fruchtbäume umzuhauen. Man hat sie zu schonen, um ihre Früchte zu geniessen, und darf höchstens das Holz von Bäumen, welche keine essbaren Früchte tragen, zur Anfertigung von Belagerungswerkzeugen verwenden.

[2]) Vgl. die erläuternden Beischriften („Epigraphs") zu den Kriegsreliefs Assurbanipals in CT XXXV 9 ff.; Weidner, AfO VIII, S. 175 ff.; und schon M. Streck, VAB VII/2, S. 311 ff.



SIEGE OF DILBAT
(A. Paterson, Palace of Sinacherib, pl. 13)



welcher ein Feld besät wurde, diente zugleich zur Bezeichnung seines Umfanges, als wollten wir heutzutage die Fläche eines Grundstückes in Litern oder Hektolitern ausdrücken.

Die Einheit des Hohlmasses nun, welche in dieser Periode ungefähr einem Liter (genauer 0,842 Liter) entsprach, war das *Qâ* (sumerisch s ì l a). Hiermit konnte man ein Ackerstück von etwa 280 qm besäen. Als Bezeichnung eines Flächenmasses entsprach das *Qâ* somit ungefähr 280 qm. Die nächst höhere Einheit war das Seah (akkadisch *sūtu*, sumerisch b á n), welches in dieser Periode sechs (früher zehn) *Qâ* enthielt und somit als Hohlmass ungefähr fünf Litern, als Flächenmass aber etwa 1680 Quadratmetern entsprach. Mit diesen beiden Masseinheiten haben wir es in unserer Klausel zu tun [1]).

Die Entscheidung, ob Flächen- oder Hohlmass, ist schwierig. Im ersteren Falle würde die Differenz durch das Abtreten eines entsprechenden Feldstückes, im zweiten dagegen durch die jeweilige Abgabe einer bestimmten Getreidemenge bei der Ernte zu begleichen sein. Nun gibt es einen Text, welcher dieses Dilemma im ersteren Sinne zu entscheiden scheint. Allerdings liegt dort ein Sonderfall vor, den man nicht ohne weiteres verallgemeinern darf. Es handelt sich um eine Kaufurkunde aus Babylon aus dem Jahre 647, also nur 47 Jahr jünger als unsere Tauschurkunde. Ein gewisser *Êrišu* verkauft laut dieser Urkunde ein Saatfeld an *Bel-aḫḫē-iddina*. Die betreffende Klausel lautet dort in freier Übersetzung (VS V Nr. 3, Z. 40—44):

„Falls die Saatfläche bei der Nachmessung ein Defizit aufweisen sollte, so wird er (der Käufer) das Fehlende vom Saatland des *Êrišu* (des Verkäufers) zu seinem Gebiet hinzumessen und in Besitz nehmen. Sollte die Saatfläche dagegen bei der Nachmessung einen Überschuss aufweisen, so wird Êrišu dasjenige, was sich von der Saatfläche als überschüssig herausgestellt hat, zu seinem Gebiete hinzumessen und in Besitz nehmen" [2]).

Hier ist alles deutlich. Ist das verkaufte Grundstück zu klein, so wird es durch eine Nachtragsleistung an Boden auf das verab-

[1]) Vgl. Ungnad, NVRU, Glossar S. 125, s.v. *qâ*. Nach F. Thureau-Dangin, RA XXXIV, 1934, S. 80 ff. enthielt das *Qâ* in der altbabylonischen Zeit 0,97 Liter. Hiernach ist die frühere Annahme (0,4 Liter) zu korrigieren.

[2]) Vgl. San Nicolò und Ungnad, NRVU I, Nr. 45, S. 70 f. und ausführlich San Nicolò in der oben erwähnten monographischen Behandlung dieser *clausola di difetto o eccedenza* in der Festschrift *Studi* ... P. Bonfante, 1930, S. 46 f. Die Klausel lautet:

kî ^{še}zēru indašḫuma maṭû, ina libbi ^{še}zēri ša Êrišu ana itēšu imaššaḫuma išabbat; kî indašḫuma aṭru, ^{še}zēru mala ittiru Êrišu ana itēšu umaššaḫma išabbat.

redete Ausmass gebracht ; ist es zu gross, wird das Überschüssige abgetrennt und dem anderen Kontraktanten zugeschrieben. Die Formulierung einer Tauschurkunde wie der unsrigen kann kürzer sein. Da beim Tausch das Defizit des einen den Überschuss des anderen Feldes bedeutet, braucht hier nur von der einen dieser beiden Möglichkeiten die Rede zu sein. Der Sonderfall jener Kaufurkunde aber besteht allerdings hierin, dass *Êrišu* nach Z. 6 f. nur einen Teil seines Feldbesitzes verkauft. Käufer und Verkäufer bleiben Nachbarn, und bei angrenzenden Feldern lässt sich der Ausgleich an Boden leicht durchführen. In allen anderen Fällen ist Ausgleich in Geld das Normale, da der Verkäufer oder der Käufer meist kein benachbartes Feld zur Verfügung haben.

Bei einer Tauschurkunde ist die Sache nur scheinbar einfacher. Zwar fehlt es hier beiden Parteien nicht an Grundbesitz, doch liegen die getauschten Felder wohl in vielen Fällen weit auseinander. Natürlich kann es sich bei Falschmessung meist nur um Kleinigkeiten handeln. Ergibt sich somit nachträglich das eine der beiden eingetauschten Felder als um eine Kleinigkeit zu gross, so würde der Benachteiligte wohl in Verlegenheit geraten, wenn man ihm dafür ein Stückchen seines früheren Feldes anweisen wollte, welches etwa am anderen Ende der Stadt liegt. Soll er auf diesen vielleicht nur wenigen Quadratmetern Ackerlandes selbständig pflügen und ernten ? Das dürfte sich in der Praxis nicht empfehlen.

Auch unsere Urkunde behandelt in der vorliegenden Klausel die Möglichkeit, dass sich bei einer Nachmessung bei einem der beiden getauschten Felder ein Überschuss herausstellen sollte, der einen Ausgleich erfordert. Der neue Eigentümer darf diesen Überschuss nach der Bestimmung unserer Klausel zwar behalten (wörtl. „hinwegtragen"), jedoch nur „für je ein Seah", d.h. unter der Bedingung der Vergütung von je sechs *Qâ* an den benachteiligten anderen Kontraktanten. Dies gilt für den Fall des *Erība-ilu* ; für *Bêl-ēreš* beträgt die im entsprechenden Falle zu leistende Entschädigung je drei *Qâ*, also nur die Hälfte dieses Betrages. Worauf bezieht sich das distributive „je" ? Doch jedenfalls in beiden Fällen auf dieselbe Masseinheit des *Qâ*. Diese Masseinheit nun muss bei der Berechnung des Überschusses offenbar als Flächenmass, bei der Berechnung der Vergütung dagegen als Hohlmass aufgefasst werden. Dies ist die Lösung unseres oben erwähnten Dilemmas. Jede andere Lösung scheitert an den Schwierigkeiten, die sich ihr in der Praxis entgegenstellen.

Die Meinung der bündig formulierten Klausel muss somit sein,

dass der beim Feldertausch durch Falschmessung Bevorteilte auf jede 280 Quadratmeter des ungerechtfertigten Überschusses eine Abgabe von je fünf Litern, bezw. $2\frac{1}{2}$ Litern Getreide bei der jeweiligen Ernte an den geschädigten Partner zu leisten hat. Die Felder und ihre Bestellung bleiben, wie in der Praxis kaum anders möglich, in derselben Hand. Ausgleich in Geld (wie beim Kauf) wäre vielleicht einfacher. Aber eine Zahlung kommt beim Tausch im Gegensatz zum Kauf zunächst nicht in Frage. Die entferntere Möglichkeit, dass man mit Abtretung von Grund und Boden (im ersten Falle somit des sechsfachen, im zweiten Falle des dreifachen Ausmasses der Differenz) zu tun hätte, bleibt bestehen, ist aber wenig wahrscheinlich.

Dann bleiben zwei Fragen. Warum wird nicht für jedes *Qâ* überschüssigen Flächenmasses eine Vergütung von nur je einem *Qâ* Hohlmasses erfordert ? Hier ist die Antwort nach unserer Auffassung einfach : weil man bei der Berechnung nicht nur die Saatmenge, sondern auch den Ernteertrag in Rechnung zu stellen hat. Da dieser Ertrag weit höher war als das Sechsfache oder Dreifache der Aussaat, kann diese Bestimmung sicher nicht als zu streng gelten [1]).

Doch warum sind dann die Ausgleichsbestimmungen nicht für beide Partner dieselben, da die getauschten Grundstücke doch gleichwertig sein müssen ? Der Grund muss in diesem Falle in der ungleichmässigen Verteilung der Ackerflächen liegen. Als Ganzes betrachtet, sind die Grundstücke zwar gleichwertig. Aber das Feld des *Bêl-êreš*, welches *Erība-ilu* erhält, ist zu einem Teil mit wertvollen hohen Bäumen bepflanzt, während das andere Feld wohl ganz aus Ackerland bestand. Die Gefahr einer Schädigung durch Falschmessung ist im ersteren Falle also grösser. Dies muss der Grund sein, warum der Betrag des Ausgleiches im ersteren Falle genau das Doppelte vom zweiten beträgt.

e) Z. 17 und 18 : Strafklausel für den Fall der Reklamation oder Vindikation. Auch hier befleissigt sich unsere Urkunde der Kürze auf Kosten der Deutlichkeit. Besser wäre es gewesen ebenso wie in der ersten Klausel, die beiden Möglichkeiten hintereinander aufzuzählen. Erhebt ein Dritter einen berechtigten Anspruch auf das Feld des B.-ē., welches nunmehr im Besitz des E.-i. ist, so wird der Tausch ungiltig. Das Feld muss an den Reklamanten

[1]) Vgl. zu den Ernteerträgnissen im alten Zweistromland, welche von Herodot (I, 193), Strabo usw. gewaltig übertrieben geschildert werden, die Angaben bei B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, S. 197 f.

abgetreten werden; aber auch E.-i., welcher von jenem Anspruch nichts wusste und sich betrogen achten muss, darf nun sein früheres Eigentum von B.-ē. zurückfordern. Dieser verliert somit beide Felder, sowohl sein früheres an den Reklamanten, wie auch das eingetauschte an dessen früheren Besitzer. Genau dasselbe gilt im Falle einer Reklamation des anderen der beiden getauschten Felder. Jeder der beiden Tauschpartner läuft somit Gefahr, im Falle einer Reklamation sein Feld zu verlieren.

f) Z. 19—22*a*: Namen der Zeugen und des Schreibers. Für die kleine Urkunde genügen drei Zeugen, einschliesslich des Schreibers, welcher gleichfalls als Zeuge fungiert. Der Euphrat (vgl. Z. 9) ist nahe und, wie auch die Abbildung auf unserem Relief deutlich zeigt, fischreich; so befinden sich denn auch unter den in dieser Urkunde auftretenden Personen zwei Fischer (Z. 7 und 19).

g) Ort der Ausstellung und Datum: wie in den einleitenden Erörterungen dargelegt, etwa drei Monate vor dem tragischen Ende des jungen Königs, kurz vor einem entscheidenden Wendepunkt der babylonischen Geschichte.

h) Strafklausel für den Fall des Vertragsbruches. Die grausamen Strafbestimmungen der mittelassyrischen Kontrakte lagen dem milderen Babylonien stets ferne und gehören hier vollends der Vergangenheit an. Somit bleibt für diesen Fall nur Geldstrafe übrig. Diese braucht beim Tausch nicht übertrieben hoch zu sein (beim Kauf sonst meist das Zwölffache des Preises), da im Falle der Ungiltigkeitserklärung die Tauschpartner einfach in ihre frühere Besitzungen zurückkehren würden. Eine halbe Mine ist der Durchschnittswert eines erwachsenen Sklaven.

Da der Umfang der betreffenden Felder nicht angegeben ist, lässt sich das Verhältnis ihres Wertes zur Höhe dieser Strafsumme nicht beurteilen. Zu gross wird man sich den Umfang der Felder kaum vorstellen dürfen: das folgt wohl schon aus der Klausel *d*, sowie aus der Tatsache, dass — wie Meissner bemerkt hat — im neubabylonischen Reich der Wert der in der Nähe der Grosstädte gelegenen Ländereien bedeutend gewachsen ist, sodass die Gütchen immer kleiner wurden [1]). Diese Entwicklung hat sich jedenfalls schon in unserer Periode angebahnt, wurde aber durch die politischen Ereignisse grausam unterbrochen. Auch hier ist es der dunkle geschichtliche Hintergrund, von welchem unsere bescheidene Urkunde sich abhebt, und der ihr Studium interessant macht.

[1]) Vgl. zur Grösse der Grundstücke und zum Wert der Felder: B. Meissner, a.a.O., I, S. 189 und 368 f.

ABKÜRZUNGEN:

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
Anal. Or.	Analecta Orientalia.
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan.
CḪ	Codex Ḫammurabi.
CT	Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum.
HG	J. Kohler und A. Ungnad, Ḫammurabi's Gesetz.
JEOL	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden).
JNES	Journal of Near East Studies.
KAV	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
MKNAW	Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde, Amsterdam.
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon, Rom.
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
NRVU	M. San Nicolò und A. Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Band I, Leipzig 1935.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie.
Rawl.	Sir Henry Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
šL	P. A. Deimel, šumerisches Lexikon.
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre.
TMHC	Texte und Materialien der Hilprecht Collection in Jena.
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.

(Korrekturzusatz: A. Götze, JNES III, 1944, S. 43 erwähnt noch drei unveröffentlichte Kontrakte aus dem vierten, achten und elften Regierungsjahr des Marduk-aplaiddin II, sowie je einen aus dem dritten Jahr des Aššur-nādin-šumi und des Mušēzib-Marduk in den Sammlungen der Yale University.

NIET-MAGISCHE ASPECTEN IN DE MAGIE

DOOR N. D. VAN LEEUWEN, HOLYSLOOT.

De magie is een van die levensverschijnselen, welke de menschheid in haar historischen gang tot heden toe vergezellen. Zelfs in de landen van West-Europa is zij nog constateerbaar, ofschoon op den achtergrond van het leven gedrongen. Zij rust psychologisch in het besef, dat er een metaphysische of ruimer een meta-aesthetische, een achter het materieele, het zinnelijk waarneembare, verscholen ondergrond van de reëele dingen bestaat. Zij is derhalve gefundeerd in een spiritueele wereldbeschouwing, dus in een wereldbeschouwing, die zich den oergrond der reëele dingen, de eeuwige realiteit, bewust is. Zij ziet velerlei verschijnselen in de materieele wereld als werkingen van het immaterieele, waaromtrent zij het besef heeft, dat het achter het materieele bestaat, welk besef zij met de religie gemeen heeft. De magie beschouwt die werkingen echter niet als werkingen van een abstract immaterieele wereld, doch als van persoonlijke krachten, zoowel van persoonlijkheden in de onzichtbare wereld, te weten de daemonen, als van persoonlijkheden in de zichtbare wereld, de magiërs, onder wie de heksen, van welke laatsten echter veelal wordt gedacht dat ze in vriendschappelijke relatie tot de daemonen staan.

De magie is verder van oordeel, dat ze op den immaterieelen ondergrond van het materieele invloed kan uitoefenen en zij heeft de bedoeling tegen de daemonen op te treden, die van het immaterieele uit zich in het materieele doen gelden. Zij is zich bewust, dat ze in staat is over daemonen te heerschen, echter niet zonder strijd; dat ze m.a.w. de kracht heeft met booze daemonen den strijd aan te binden en de overwinning te behalen, waarbij zij zich eveneens bewust is, dat de mogelijkheid geen succes te hebben niet is uitgesloten. Aldus is de magie een uiting van menschelijk machtsbesef, hetwelk echter van het bewustzijn dat er krachten bestaan, welke die macht beperken, en dat de mensch daarom

hulp van elders noodig heeft in den strijd tegen het kwaad, dat uit het immaterieele in het materieele werkt, vergezeld gaat.

De eeuwen door heeft de magie een belangrijke plaats in de cultuurwereld ingenomen. Groot was haar invloed op het denken en doen der menschen in de Europeesche middeleeuwen. De malleus maleficarum van de Keulsche Theologen Krämer en Sprenger en de bul van Innocentius VIII, 1484, 5 Dec., getuigen ervan hoe groot die invloed aan het begin van de nieuwe geschiedenis in het Westen was. Voor Frankrijk is interessant het bericht van Delrio. Volgens dezen deelde de Fransche geleerde Crespetus in zijn „De odio Satanae" mede, dat er tijdens Frans I meer dan 100.000 toovenaars in Frankrijk waren.

Aan het begin van onze jaartelling waren de beoefenaars der magie niet minder talrijk. De druïden in het uiterste Westen waren een geslacht van *vates* et medici ; in het Oosten gebeurde het, dat te Ephese, welke stad in de 2e helft van het 1e millennium v. Chr. een centrum van magie was, voor ± *f* 21.000 aan magische literatuur werd verbrand. En in het 1e en het 2e millennium v. Chr. waren de magiërs van de verschillende landen van Voor-Azië, inzonderheid Babylonië en Assyrië, en verder ook van Egypte, vermaard, zóó zelfs, dat er zich onder hen bevonden, die ter wille van hun practijk de grens van hun land overtrokken.

Echter werd door de eeuwen heen de magie bestreden en haar invloed op het leven der menschen tegengewerkt. Reeds vroeg in den historischen tijd kan er tegenstand tegen haar in de oud-voor-Aziatische cultuurwereld geconstateerd worden. Zooals bekend keerde zich de legitieme religie onder Israël tegen de magie, die invloed onder het volk had. Wat Babylonië betreft, Gudea, de išakkoe van Lagaš ± 2500 v. Chr., verbande althans een zeker soort magiërs uit die stad, want in den tekst van statue B, en wel r. III, 15 en IV, 4, heet het van hem: „de schrikkelijke magiërs verdreef hij uit de stad", met wie in elk geval de magiërs, die ten kwade practiseerden, bedoeld worden. Veel later was een der 10 geboden van de Manicheeërs tegen de magie gericht. En zooals in Europa heeft de mensch zich ook in Azië in de eeuwen na Christus meermalen tegen de magie gekeerd, ook de mensch in de buiten-Christelijke wereld, zelfs in Tibet, waar de magie zulk een groote plaats in het Lamaïsme inneemt. Die tegenstand in Tibet was ± 1500 n. Chr. zóó sterk, dat hij leidde tot een scheuring in het Lamaïsme; immers Tsung-Cha-pa stichtte toen de „gele kerk",

welke zich tegen de magie wendde, tegenover de oude „roode kerk", waarin de magie een overheerschenden invloed bezat en nog bezit.

Er bestaan in de magie in den loop der eeuwen en dan ook in die van het oude Voor-Azië, incluis Egypte, magische verschijnselen, doch zooals het wel zal zijn bij elk levensverschijnsel in de geschiedenis der menschheid, zoo is het ook in de magie. Zij is niet eenvoudig, simplex, maar multiplex, gecompliceerd. „Simplex" is haar „veri sigillum" niet ; het is echter de vraag of dat ooit het geval is.

Naast de zuiver magische verschijnselen vindt men in de magie, o.m. in die van de oud-Voor-Aziat. cultuurwereld, verschijnselen van niet-magischen aard. Zooals er naast de „daemonologie" een „theologie", naast de astrologie een astronomie, naast de ziektengenezende magie een van de magie onafhankelijke medische wetenschap bestond, wat uit de literatuur der ouden kan geconstateerd worden, zoo waren er ook in de magie, zooals uit de bezweringsteksten en de magische manipulaties blijkt, naast het magisch aspect verscheidene niet-magische aspecten.

Onder de niet-magische aspecten kunnen we onderscheiden *a.* een religieus-theologisch aspect, *b.* een physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect, *c.* een physisch-sexueel aspect, *d.* een psychisch-ethisch aspect, *e.* een psychisch-aesthetisch aspect.

Keeren we ons eerst tot *a*, het religieus-theologisch aspect. Dit aspect kan in de bezweringsteksten en de magische manipulaties geconstateerd worden. Wij geven hier eerst voorbeelden uit Babylonië-Assyrië. Bij een zieke, wiens krankheid aan een door hem gedane zonde werd geweten, gebeurde het wel, dat de priester-magiër een lijst van zonden voorlas. Werd de zonde, die de zieke gedaan had, in de lijst genoemd en voorgelezen, dan vergaf de bepaalde god, die in casu ertoe bevoegd was, of vergaven de goden de zonde, en hield de krankheid op. De Lamaštoe-bezwering eindigt met de woorden : „Ik bezweer u bij Anoe, uw vader, en bij Antoe, uw moeder, ik bezweer u bij Ea, den schepper van uw naam." In andere bezweringsteksten zijn het šamaš, zonnegod en god van het recht, en Girroe, de god van het vuur, of šamaš, Ea en Mardoek, de groote god van Babylon, die genoemd worden. Ook werd bezworen met de trits Ea, Mardoek en Damkina, de vrouwelijke paredros van Ea. Zij werd ook belit šipit apsi, heerscheres van de bezwering der waterdiepte, genoemd. Men vergelijke hierbij Markus

5 : 7, waar de onreine geest tot Jezus zegt: „Ik bezweer u bij God, dat gij mij niet pijnigt." In een bezweringstekst ligt in de woorden, gericht tegen een boozen daemon: „Genaak niet den mensch, *den zoon van zijn god*", een bedreiging met dien god. Verder in een bezwering tegen een boozen daemon: „Op bevel van Ea moge de mensch, de zoon van zijn god, helder, glanzend zijn", en ook „aan Šamaš, den voornaamsten der goden vertrouw (Ea) hem toe! Door Šamaš, den voornaamsten der goden, moge zijn welstand den genadigen handen der goden toevertrouwd worden." Inzonderheid had de bezweerder zelf de goddelijke hulp en bijstand noodig, want een bezwering was gevaarlijk, zoo al niet steeds, dan toch menigmaal. Van Babylonië en Assyrië gold in dit opzicht hetzelfde als van de Middeleeuwen in Europa. Benvenuto Cellini verhaalt in zijn Ricordi, dat het bij een bezwering, welke hij bijwoonde en die des nachts in het Colosseum plaatsvond, verschrikkelijk toeging wegens de booze geesten, die erbij betrokken waren, en dat bij zulk een séance terzelfder plaatse en eveneens des nachts de bezweerder dood neerviel. Van de séance, welke hij zelf bijwoonde, zegt hij: „Toen de bezwering haar hoogtepunt had bereikt en de bezweerder bij de vreeselijkste formules was aangekomen, riep hij bij hun namen een menigte van die duivelen aan, die hoofden van legioenen waren, en bezwoer ze in den naam en de macht van God, den ongeschapene, levende en eeuwige." Zooals toen de bezweerder de hulp van God noodig achtte, zoo had ook de Bab.-Ass. bezweerder, de Bab.-Ass. magiër, de hulp van goden tegen de booze daemonen noodig. Om indruk te maken op de booze daemonen en hun door zijn relatie met goden ontzag in te boezemen legitimeert de priester-magiër zich aldus: „Ik ben de man van Ea, ik ben de man van Damkina, ik ben de bode van Mardoek. Mijn tooverwoord is het woord van Ea, mijn bezwering is de bezwering van Mardoek. Het beeld van Ea houd ik in mijn hand, den tamariskestaf, het verheven wapen van Anoe, houd ik in mijn hand, den palmwaaier met de groote geboden houd ik in mijn hand. Mijn lichaam mogen ze niet genaken, voor mij mogen ze niets kwaads doen, achter mij mogen ze niet gaan." In een anderen tekst heet het: „Ik ben de opperpriester, de heilige priester van Ea, de bode van Mardoek ben ik." De priester-magiër laat het echter niet bij imponeering door legitimeering, doch roept ter zijner beveiliging somtijds rechtstreeks Šamaš, Sin en andere goden, liefst verscheidenen tegelijk aan, ja, meermalen velen tezamen, naar den regel:

„hoe meer goden des te zekerder de hulp en de bescherming". Ook komt het voor, dat hij concreet bidt : „Ea, koning der waterdiepte, *bescherm* mij, ik ben de verzoeningspriester, ben uw dienaar, ga aan mijn rechterzijde, loop beschermend aan mijn linkerzijde." Dit laatste een bede, welke uit ander motief wel eens in het kanselgebed werd gehoord in de Christelijke kerk. Opmerkelijk is, dat tegen de booze daemonen, die immers zelven gewrochten van de onderwereld, het rijk van de afzichtelijke godin Ereškigal, zijn, juist goden der onderwereld als helpers worden ingeroepen. Zoo vindt men de korte bezwering : „Bij den naam van Enzoella en van Ninzoella van de onderwereld wees bezworen" tegen een daemonisch wezen gericht. Men vergelijke hierbij Matth. 12 : 24, waar aan Jezus wordt verweten, dat Hij de daemonen niet uitwerpt dan door Beelzeboel, den ***ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων***. Wij hebben hier dus te doen met een meer algemeen oud-Voor-Aziatische idee. Magisch-homoeopathisch. Nog een paar voorbeelden van religieus-theologisch aspect uit de Bab.-Ass. literatuur : Uit de bezwering tegen den tandworm : de priester-magiër spreekt tot den worm, die bij de schepping aan šamaš had verzocht in de tanden te mogen wonen en die als voedsel te mogen gebruiken, wat hem ook blijkens de ervaring was toegestaan : „Omdat gij zulks gezegd hebt, o, worm, moge Ea u slaan met zijn sterke hand." En in een anderen tekst wordt met betrekking tot een boozen daemon gezegd : „Bij den naam van Enlil, den koning der goden, wiens verheven en vaststaand bevel onder de groote goden niet veranderd wordt, wees bezworen." Wij zien uit het bovenstaande, zooals we het ook verderop nog zullen constateeren, dat, ofschoon de magiër aanspraak maakte op het bezit van mysterieuze macht, die macht toch niet zoodanig was, dat hij over de goden heerschte, doch dat hij integendeel aan de hulp en de bescherming der goden behoefte gevoelde. Dat is niet alleen het geval, wanneer de bezwering tegen booze daemonen, maar ook wanneer zij tegen menschen gericht is, inzonderheid als het menschen zijn, die geacht worden magie ten kwade te gebruiken; ook dan is er het religieus-theologisch aspect, wordt de hulp der goden ingeroepen. Zoo bijvoorbeeld in een tekst uit de Maqlûserie, waarin het heet: „Staat op, groote goden, hoort mijn klacht, verschaft mij recht, neemt kennis van mijn toestand" en dan verderop : „Gibil (d.i. vuurgod), rechter, die boozen en vijanden vangt, vangt hem (= den magiër ten kwade), terwijl ik echter niet verdorven word." En weer verderop in den-

zelfden tekst: „Verbrand den toovenaar en de toovenares, vreet mijn vijand, verdelg mijn booswichten." Elders wordt tegen een heks aldus gefulmineerd: „Sin vernietige uw lichaam en werpe u in een kloof van water en vuur." Water en vuur zijn middelen om het kwaad te verdelgen, zoowel magisch als physisch te verdelgen.

Ook in de Egyptische magie is het religieus-theologisch aspect te constateeren. Zoo nam men bij de bezweringen (en de magische manipulaties), inzonderheid wanneer ze buiten de goden om geen resultaat opleverden, zijn toevlucht rechtstreeks tot zulke godheden, welke wegens hun magische bekwaamheid een goede reputatie genoten, zooals Thot en Isis. Men riep die goden dan om hulp aan en wanneer daarop resultaat werd gezien, b.v. de genezing van een kranke, dan bracht men hun een dankoffer of richtte zelfs een gedenkteeken voor hen op. Evenals in Babylonië en Assyrië stelt de magiër om de booze daemonen te imponeeren zich in nauwe relatie tot de goden, zoo nauw zelfs, dat hij zich met machtige en verschrikkelijke goden, voor wie de booze daemonen bevreesd zijn, identificeert, zooals blijkt uit een papyrus, die zich in het Britsch Museum bevindt.

Niet alleen bij de bezweringen, doch ook bij de magische manipulaties constateert men het religieus-theologisch aspect. Wij geven daarvan eenige specimina.

Om de booze vrouwelijke daemon Lamaštoe, die vooral voor zwangere vrouwen en voor babies gevaarlijk was, te verwijderen, volgde de magiër o.a. de volgende methode: een klein scheepje werd vervaardigd en een beeld of beeldje van Lamaštoe, dat in het scheepje werd geplaatst. Bovendien bracht men 2 witte en 2 zwarte honden stellig in effigie in het scheepje; de hond was immers benevens het zwijn het dier van de godin der onderwereld, Ereškigal, welke wereld die der daemonen was. Het scheepje werd in de zee te water gelaten. Door magische manipulaties bewerkte men, naar gemeend werd, den veiligen overtocht van Lamaštoe in effigie en daarmede, naar men oordeelde, ook realiter, naar de andere zijde der zee. Aan die zijde gekomen werd ze magisch vastgebonden met haar voeten aan een boom en om haar heen met meel een cirkel getrokken, dien ze wegens den magisch bindenden invloed van het meel niet overschrijden kon. Maar toch had de magiër niet zulk een vertrouwen in zijn manipulaties, dat hij van het werkelijk gebeuren overtuigd was en dat alles werkelijk zou plaatsvinden zonder niet-magische hulp, in casu goddelijken

bijstand. Daarom nam hij zijn toevlucht tot den hemelgod Anoe, van wien hij bad, dat hij het scheepje goed en wel aan de overzijde van de zee zou doen landen, Lamaštoe daar aan den boom binden en door den magischen cirkel insluiten zou, dus duidelijk het religieus-theologisch aspect, waarin de hulpbehoevendheid van den magiër aan het licht trad.

Dezelfde hulpbehoevendheid en hetzelfde aspect treedt aan den dag, wanneer bij de magische manipulaties, die bedoelen de sexueele impotentie weg te nemen, de niš libbi te herstellen, een gebed tot Ištar, de godin der sexueele liefde, wordt opgezonden! Had dit in Babylonië en Assyrië plaats, bij de Hettieten vindt men inzake de niš libbi hetzelfde. Bij de magische manipulaties, ten doel hebbende de niš libbi te herstellen, geschiedde bij hen o.m. het volgende: Is de patiënt een man, dan moet hij een hoorn van een stier, is het een vrouw, dan moet zij een hoorn van een koe aanraken. Stier en koe werden beschouwd als dieren van groote sexueele potentie. Vervolgens moest de patiënt een boom, met vruchten geladen, aanraken; zulk een boom bevat immers flinke voortbrengingskracht. Maar de magiër heeft dan toch nog geen zekerheid omtrent het goede resultaat van de manipulaties, die hebben plaatsgevonden. Er moet nog goddelijke hulp bijkomen. Ten eerste moet hij den genius van de rivier, aan welker oever de magische manipulaties plaats hadden, aanroepen en ten tweede bidden tot den zonnegod van het land, die vruchtbaarheid en nakomelingschap kan schenken.

Ook bij de magische manipulaties, welke door een zwangere vrouw verricht worden om de zwangerschap voorspoedig te doen verloopen, is het religieus-theologisch aspect te constateeren. Zoo moet zij voor šamaš een altaar oprichten en een wierookbekken met cypresseparfum neerzetten, fijn bier uitgieten en een bezwering reciteeren, welke naar de aanvangswoorden „šamaš, hooge heer" genoemd wordt. Zij moest telkens een ritueele handeling voor Sin en šamaš uitvoeren, welke voornamelijk bestond uit een gebed, tot die beide goden opgezonden. En zooals bij de Grieken Artemis, die immers o.a. maangodin is, als helpster fungeert bij het baren der vrouwen, zoo is het bij Babyloniërs en Assyriërs m.m. eveneens. Bij de magische manipulaties heeft men toch nog den bijstand van godheden noodig tijdens zwangerschap en barensnood en het is vooral Sin, de maangod, die helpen kan.

Uit de aanwezigheid van het religieus-theologisch aspect kunnen

we constateeren, dat de magiër, ook de priester-magiër, door zijn bezweringen en magische manipulaties niet over de goden heerschappij voert, doch integendeel bij en in die bezweringen de hulp der goden aanroept en bij die manipulaties den bijstand der goden niet kan ontberen. Hij is zich bewust, dat hij geen gezag over de goden heeft, maar hun hulp behoeft.

De magie heeft ook een physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect, wat iets anders is dan de onafhankelijke medische practijk, die in het oude Voor-Azië, incluis Egypte, de eeuwen door te constateeren is, waarop we reeds wezen. Naast de magie bestaat de medische practijk en daarom naast den magiërsstand de stand der artsen. Er zijn geen historische gronden om te bewijzen, dat de medische practijk uit de magie zou ontstaan zijn, zooals wel beweerd is, dat de astronomie uit de astrologie is ontstaan. Integendeel kan, voor zoover historisch kan worden nagegaan, de aanwezigheid van een aparten artsenstand benevens die der veeartsen in Babylonië en Assyrië worden geconstateerd. Ook van den artsenstand gold evenzeer als van dien der magiërs dat de landsgrenzen hen niet weerhielden, doch hun wetenschap internationaal was en beroemden onder hen uit hun eigen land wel naar elders trokken. Uit Chammurabi's wetten blijkt het bestaan van een aparten artsenstand. Deze koning vaardigde een wet uit, waarin het honorarium van operaties van overheidswege geregeld werd, een honorarium, dat tamelijk hoog was. Niet slechts in het antieke Rome en het moderne Europa, doch eveneens in het oude Babel werd voor chirurgisch ingrijpen een hooge prijs gevorderd, wat in deze stad tot het regelen van het honorarium door de wet leidde. Toch was de medische practijk in het oude Voor-Azië veelal meer symptomatisch dan dat tot de physische oorzaak der ziekte werd doorgedrongen, met welk feit in verband staat, dat de zieken in Babylonië naar de drukbezochte markten werden gebracht, opdat daar de marktbezoekers, wat als fatsoenlijk gold, hun oordeel over de zieken op grond van uitwendige beschouwing zouden geven, een gebruik, dat ook in Jezus' dagen in Palestina voorkwam, blijkens Mark. 6 : 56.

Wat de internationaliteit van de medische practijk naast die der magie betreft, in de verschillende landen van Voor-Azië stond de Egyptische arts in hoog aanzien. Wat geen beslissing geeft over de vraag van den oorsprong der medische wetenschap. Ebbell moge in een studie over den medischen papyrus Ebers de uitspraak

wagen : „Egypt, not Greece, must be considered the original home of the medical art", deze uitspraak is betwistbaar. Griekenland is het land van oorsprong niet, doch evenmin Egypte op zichzelf, maar Voor-Azië, incluis Egypte. Het kan verder niet beslist worden, met onze tegenwoordige gegevens, of de oorsprong in Babylonië dan wel in Egypte of elders op Voor-Aziatisch gebied ligt. Een mooi gegeven omtrent de internationaliteit van den aparten artsenstand naast die van den stand der magiërs is het geval van Muwatallis I van Hatti, ± 1295—± 1285. Deze koning immers verzocht zijn Babylonischen collega hem een magiër en ook een arts te zenden. Muwatallis stelde op den arts zoozeer prijs, dat hij, toen later Kadašman-Ellil, die Babylonische collega, hem verzocht de twee heeren terug te zenden, hij weigerde den arts te zenden ; den magiër kon hij niet meer zenden, gesteld dat hij zulks gewild had, want deze was inmiddels overleden. De Klein-Aziaten haalden wel is waar meermalen artsen uit Egypte, doch, zooals we zoo juist zagen, niet alleen uit dàt land. In den tijd van het Perzische imperium vertoonde de *Grieksche* arts zich in Voor-Azië.

Staat alzoo de medische practijk naast de magie in casu de medische magie, de zuiver medische magie als zuiver medische magie *ten goede,* komt in Babylonië en Assyrië relatief niet veel voor, zooals ook het trachten door zuiver magische manipulaties, het gebruik van poppetjes, afbeeldingen van de bedoelde personen, physisch kwaad te berokkenen, magie *ten kwade,* relatief niet veel wordt gevonden. Het physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect kan telkens en telkens weer geconstateerd worden, zoowel in de bezweringsteksten als in de magische manipulaties.

Bij de idee, dat ziekte aan daemonischen invloed geweten moet worden, kan een physisch aspect worden vastgesteld. Dat aspect wordt in Luk. 13 : 11 uitgedrukt, aldus *πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας,* geest der *krankheid,* cf. Luk. 16 : 16. Dit aspect, dat we physisch-medisch aspect noemen, vindt men in de Bab.-Assyr. literatuur telkens weer. Zoo, wanneer het heet, dat de daemon Aḫḫazoe het lichaam geel, het gelaat geel en zwart en den tongwortel zwart maakt, waaruit het aanwezig zijn van een leverziekte duidelijk is. Uit Mark. 9 : 25 blijkt, dat de stomme en doove geest (*πνεῦμα*) het kind doof en stom maakt. Het physisch-hygiënisch aspect vindt men in de Bab.-Assyr. literatuur bij de idee, dat onreinheid den mensch voor daemonen toegankelijk maakt en reinheid een afweermiddel tegen die booze geesten is, gevaar voor infectie etc. is

immers bij onreinheid aanwezig. Van Lamaštoe wordt in een bezweringstekst dit onfraaie getuigenis gegeven: „haar handen zijn vuil" en van die vuile handen wordt gezegd, dat ze „in het vleesch en bloed liggen". En dat de mensch in Babylonië en Assyrië zich niet kon losmaken van den indruk, dat althans verscheidene ziekten-verschijnselen van physischen aard waren, blijkt o.a. ook hieruit, dat er o.m. bezweringen waren rechtstreeks tegen ziekten gericht, zooals ingewandziekte, hartziekte, galziekte, tegen de tandpijn of wel den worm, welke die pijn veroorzaakte (zie boven!). In een Egyptischen bezweringstekst wordt het physisch-medisch aspect duidelijk aangeduid, want daarin komen o.m. de woorden voor: „Kom, geneesmiddel, kom, wat de dingen uit dit mijn hart, uit deze mijn leden verdrijft, de bezweringen zijn krachtig bij de geneesmiddelen". Evenzoo in een Griekschen bezweringstekst uit den vroeg-Christelijken tijd, waarin o.m. de naam van Jezus wordt genoemd, vindt men na de vermelding van een magische manipulatie de woorden „beproefd recept van Pibechis", d.i. een befaamden Egyptischen magiër. Het recept bevat een plantaardige remedie. De Bab.-Assyr. literatuur kent een serie bezweringen, gericht tegen het onrein en ziek wezen tengevolge van het aanraken van iets onreins, hetgeen op physische besmetting wijst, terwijl de Egyptische medische papyrus Edwin Smith naast de medische gegevens ook eenige tooverformules, met medische recepten verbonden, bevat. En tenslotte, voordat we overgaan tot het aanwijzen van eenige magische manipulaties, waarin het physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect aan het licht treedt, nog dit: In een Bab.-Ass. bezweringstekst heet het dat „ze (de 7 booze daemonen) hem (den kranke) als met een gewaad met ziekte bedekt hebben". De patiënt was dus onder ziekte bedolven, erg krank. Het doet ons denken aan Maria Magdalena uit welke, volgens Mark. 16 : 9 en Luk. 8 : 2 zeven *δαιμόνια* waren uitgeworpen (uitgegaan), waarbij in Luk. 8 : 2 het daemonisch (magisch) en het physisch aspect in de woorden: *„πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀσθενειῶν"* nauw zijn verbonden [1]).

In de magische manipulaties is het physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect te constateeren. Wij weten uit het N.T., dat Jezus door het woord daemonen uitwierp. Zoo lezen we in Matth. 8 : 16: „Hij wierp de geesten (*πνεύματα*) uit door het woord (*λόγῳ*) en allen, die kwalijk gesteld waren, genas hij", waarin het physisch aspect

[1]) We vertalen: „booze geesten en *tevens* krankheden".

naast het daemonisch (magisch) aspect aan den dag treedt. Maar hij verricht ook handelingen, die een magisch karakter dragen, magische manipulaties zijn, gezien bij het licht van het oud-Voor-Aziatisch cultuurmilieu. Men denke slechts aan Jezus' speeksel, dat in het Oud-Voor-Azië telkens weer in magisch gebruik vermeld wordt. De magiër echter heeft magische manipulaties noodig bij zijn medische werkzaamheid, maar die manipulaties vertoonen veelal tevens een physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect. Bij de magische manipulatie tegen de tandpijn gebruikte men een zalf, gemaakt van een zeker kruid met olie vermengd, welke zalf op den zieken tand werd gestreken. Eenige baat zal men daarbij wel gevonden hebben. Bij het cureeren van zieken in Babylonië en Assyrië gebeurde het wel, dat de zieke met reine boter en reine melk werd ingewreven om hem of haar sympathetisch-magisch rein te maken, d.i. gezond te maken. Evenwel is hierbij een physisch-medisch aspect aanwezig, want een verzachtende invloed gaat van die producten uit, die immers ook in onzen tijd voor medische, althans populair-medische, doeleinden worden gebruikt. In een Sumerischen tekst uit Boğasköi vindt men, na de vermelding der ziekte en van de magische oorzaak daarvan en na het veel voorkomende vermaarde gesprek van den god Ea met zijn zoon Mardoek, een magische manipulatie ter genezing, waarbij water, kruiden, steensoorten, water met kruiden vermengd, waaronder de veel gebruikte asafoetida, worden gebezigd; dit laatste mengsel voor inwendig gebruik.

Van het gebruik van olie in het physisch-medisch aspect van de magie vinden we een weerklank in Mark. 6 : 13: „vele *δαιμόνια* wierpen zij uit en zij zalfden met olie (*ἔλαιον*) vele kranken en genazen (hen)".

Wij treffen in de landen van het oude Voor-Azië, zooals ook het geval was in Europa, algemeen het gebruik van speeksel in de magie aan. Daarbij heerscht de idee, dat het speeksel van den goedwillenden mensch ten goede, dat van den kwaadwillende ten kwade werkte. Een physisch aspect is bij dat gebruik niet aanwezig, wanneer, volgens de Bab.-Ass. literatuur, de booze mensch op het beeldje van den persoon, dien hij kwaad wilde berokkenen, spuwde. Dit is louter magie, als ten minste de persoon, dien het gold, er geen kennis van kreeg, want anders zou het een psychische uitwerking kunnen hebben en er dus een psychisch aspect aanwezig zijn. Wanneer echter speeksel in het eten van iemand, dien

men kwaad wilde doen of zever in zijn drank werd gedaan, dan was het physische aspect aanwezig, want door besmetting kon het kwaad berokkenen, ongesteldheid veroorzaken. Wanneer gedacht werd, dat het speeksel van een, die het goede bedoelde, een ander goed deed en een zieke gezond maakte, dan had men ook met het physisch-medisch aspect te doen, omdat van een gezond lichaam invloed ten goede uitgaat, zooals omgekeerd van een ziek lichaam invloed ten kwade. De moderne mensch vindt dat gebruik terecht weerzinwekkend.

Het physisch-hygiënisch aspect constateert men bij de volgende uit de Bab.-Ass. literatuur bekende magische manipulatie: het gebeurde dat, naast andere magische manipulaties, gereedschappen, gebruiksvoorwerpen en meubelen, welke in het huis van een zieke werden aangetroffen, verbrand werden. Daardoor had een zekere ontsmetting plaats, die immers ook in onzen tijd wordt verricht. Het physisch-hygiënisch aspect vindt men eveneens, bij de Hettieten, in de reiniging van betoovering; men wierp nl. de vaste resten van hetgeen bij de reiniging gebruikt was op het open veld of in den hof van een ander dan die gereinigd was, men wierp het dus op daemonisch gebied, de steppe, of begiftigde er een ander mede, geen uiting van naastenliefde. Aldus kwam men van het vuil, dat de gezondheid kon schaden, af. Het physisch-hygiënisch aspect vindt men ook naast het ritueele aspect in de Israëlietische wet. Zoo in Mark. 7 : 1—8. Het ritueele trad daarbij echter zoozeer op den voorgrond, dat Jezus zijn discipelen verdedigen kon zonder onreinheid te vergoelijken.

Volgens de Bab.-Assyr. literatuur was het den mensch geraden geen varkensvleesch te eten, want dat trekt de daemonen aan. Het zwijn was immers, naast den hond, het dier van Ereškigal. Hierbij vertoont zich echter het physisch-hygiënisch aspect. Varkensvleesch heeft, althans op het lichaam van bepaalde personen, een minder gunstigen invloed.

Het physisch-medisch aspect kan ook geconstateerd worden bij het volgende: de dames in Babylonië en Assyrië vonden het natuurlijk onaangenaam, wanneer heur haar neiging vertoonde dunner te worden en uit te vallen. Geen wonder, dat ze haar toevlucht namen tot magische manipulaties, al of niet van bezwering vergezeld. Echter leidde het besef, dat men ook in deze zaak met een physisch verschijnsel te doen had, en de empirie, dat de magische manipulaties te kort schoten, daartoe, dat tout comme chez

nous ook haargroeimiddelen gebezigd werden, die evenals in den modernen tijd wel niet veel zullen geholpen hebben.

Uit de bovenstaande voorbeelden kan worden geconcludeerd, dat bij de magische manipulaties evenals uit de bezweringsteksten het physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect naast het louter magisch aspect kan geconstateerd worden.

Ook bij de sexueele magie, waaronder we verstaan de magie, welke het sexueele leven van den mensch in den ruimsten zin betreft, waarvan de erotische magie een onderdeel vormt, komt naast het magisch aspect ook het physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect voor den dag. De erotische magie is die magie, welke het erotische leven tracht op te wekken of uit te blusschen, de niš libbi, de sexueele potentie tracht te verzwakken of te versterken, dan wel, uitgedoofd, te herstellen. Ook daarbij worden magische manipulaties uitgevoerd, die naast het louter magisch aspect het physisch-medisch-hygiënisch aspect vertoonen. Uit de Bab.-Assyr. literatuur blijkt, dat om te trachten de niš libbi te herstellen het hart en het bloed van den iṣṣoerḫoeri, een vogel, vermaard door zijn sexueele kracht, gebruikt werd; men liet het den patiënt verorberen en, nevens het gebruik van zwachtels op den hals of nek, liet men hem een zeker mengsel drinken, waarmede hij tevens werd ingewreven. Wanneer men echter daarbij nog dat middel in bier te drinken gaf, dan kan physische invloed en dus het physisch-medisch aspect worden geconstateerd. Eveneens is zulks het geval bij de nu te noemen magische manipulatie. Het bloed van den iṣṣoerḫoeri werd met wijn vermengd, welk mengsel door den patiënt werd gedronken. Het physisch-medisch aspect is bij het wijngebruik duidelijk, doch ook bij het bloedgebruik waarschijnlijk. Het is ook waarschijnlijk in het geval, dat de patiënt werd ingewreven met een mengsel waartoe olie behoorde.

Zeer interessant is in deze materie wat in een Hettietischen tekst, welke de magische manipulaties van „de oude dame" Toennawi bevat, gevonden wordt. De magische manipulaties hierin zijn sympathetisch. Het doel is de onzuiverheid van het lichaam, die de procreatie schaadt, weg te nemen en ook de onvruchtbaarheid te genezen, bovendien te voorkomen, dat kinderen dood geboren worden en kinderen, die anders niet levensvatbaar waren, te versterken. Bij de magische manipulaties, die volgens dezen tekst uitgevoerd werden met het doel de niš libbi te herstellen, wordt plantaardig en dierlijk materiaal gebruikt, zooals hamelvet, kaas,

bier en wijn, benevens plantenzaden en koeken, van granen gefabriceerd. Het is begrijpelijk, dat deze ingrediënten een physische uitwerking hebben en er hier dus een physisch-medisch aspect aanwezig is, wat vooral duidelijk is uit het gebruik van bier en wijn. Ook het bad, dat de patiënt aan het einde van de manipulaties moest nemen, behoort tot dit aspect. Het physisch-hygiënisch aspect treedt bij deze manipulaties hierin aan het licht, dat al de voorwerpen, die met den lijder in aanraking zijn geweest en daardoor de onzuiverheid van zijn lichaam hebben aangenomen, in de rivier geworpen moesten worden: in de rivier, en dit behoort tot het magisch aspect, omdat zij in verband met de onderwereld, het rijk der daemonen, gedacht werd te staan.

Bezien we de magische manipulaties, welke de zwangere vrouw betreffen, dan bespeuren we ook daarin een physisch-medisch aspect. Zoo is het geval wanneer ze, naast het verrichten van zuiver magische manipulaties, met olie van den olieboom, lupine (?), tamariskezaad moet ingewreven worden, totdat „de maand van het baren verstreken is". Dan „zal ze de vrucht van haar lichaam niet verstooten", m.a.w. geen miskraam hebben. Het physisch-medisch aspect is hier daardoor kenbaar, dat de olie een goeden invloed op het lichaam heeft, het lichaam doortrekt, wat de zwangere vrouw ten goede komt. Daarbij past men de laatste twee maanden der zwangerschap nog het volgende middel toe, waarin wederom het physisch-medisch aspect kan geconstateerd worden: Men zalft nl. de vrouw elken dag met geneeskrachtige kruiden. Bij de bevalling zelve wordt wel is waar een of andere bepaalde bezweringstekst gereciteerd en worden magische manipulaties verricht, maar de voornaamste handelingen die daarbij verricht worden zijn die, welke door de situatie voorgeschreven worden, en dus physisch-medisch; wij hebben daarom hier het physisch-medisch aspect.

Wanneer dan na die velerlei wederwaardigheden die de Bab.-Ass. zwangere vrouw heeft doorgemaakt en na de onderscheidene magische manipulaties, die ze zelve heeft verricht of die aan haar verricht zijn, het kind goed en wel ter wereld is gekomen, zoo kan het wel eens lastig en dus hinderlijk voor de ouders, inzonderheid voor de moeder wezen, die daardoor in haar dagelijksche bezigheden belemmerd wordt. Zooals in Vlaanderen wordt aangetroffen, hetgeen echter op religieus terrein ligt, dat men, als een baby in de wieg of het bed woelig is en veel schreit, zijn toevlucht

neemt tot een gebed, dat tot St. Jan den Grijzer of wel den Krijter of tot O.L. V. ter ruste opgezonden wordt, alzoo wendde in Babylonië en Assyrië de moeder van een kind, dat onrustig was en veel schreide, zich tot den priester-magiër, opdat deze door bezwering en magische manipulaties den kleine tot rust zou brengen. Zooals deze priester-magiër, de mašmaššoe, bij zwangerschap en moeilijke bevalling zijn bijstand verleende, alzoo was hij tevens bereid van dienst te wezen in het geval van een onrustige en veel schreiende baby. Hij bezorgde daardoor aan de ouders rustige nachten en aan de moeder rustige dagen; maakte zich dus zeer verdienstelijk. Hij gebruikte tot dat doel een bezwering en een magische manipulatie, welke, naast het louter magisch aspect, een physisch-medisch aspect vertoonde. In den bezweringstekst, dien de magiër gebruikt, gaat een hieros logos voorop, waarin verhaald wordt, dat lang geleden een klein kind voortdurend schreide en de godin Antoe dan door het uitspreken van een bezwering met goed gevolg heeft ingegrepen. De mašmaššoe moet nu hetzelfde doen en het resultaat is verzekerd of liever zou verzekerd zijn, als hij een godheid ware, zooals Antoe immers een godin is. De mašmaššoe is echter slechts mensch, daarom is zijn woord niet voldoende; er moet magische manipulatie bij, wat dan ook op de volgende wijze plaats heeft, waarbij het physisch-medisch aspect geconstateerd kan worden. Hij neemt een stuk brood, dat natuurlijk van meel is gebakken, wijl meel immers, naar men meende, de kracht bezit daemonen te weren, te verdrijven en te binden, wrijft daarmede stevig over het geheele lichaam van het kind, totdat het in slaap valt, wat na zulk een behandeling niet verwonderlijk is. Behalve dat het meel anti-daemonische kracht wordt geacht te bezitten is de gedachte bij die magische manipulatie deze, dat het brood door de bezwering geschikt wordt, wat het echter reeds zonder de bezwering in zekere mate is, het vuil van het lichaam van het kind te verwijderen en daardoor het kind van daemonischen invloed te bevrijden; vuil trekt immers daemonen aan. Maar we hebben hierbij het physisch-medisch aspect, inzooverre door het reinigen het kind tegen physische invloeden, die het onrustig maken en veel doen schreien, wordt beschermd.

Er kan ook in de Bab.-Assyr. magie een psychisch-ethisch aspect geconstateerd worden. Zoo bij het booze oog, de booze tong, den boozen vinger, het booze woord en den boozen vloek en daartegenover bij het goede oog, de goede tong, den goeden vinger, het

goede woord. Wanneer de hier bedoelde magische manipulaties verricht worden bij afwezigheid van den persoon, op wien ze gericht zijn of zonder dat ze ter kennis van hem komen, dan zijn ze zuiver magisch, evenzeer als wanneer magische manipulaties verricht worden aan beeldjes van personen, zonder dat de betrokkenen er kennis van bekomen. Geschieden ze echter bij aanwezigheid van dengene, op wien ze gericht zijn, dan voegt zich bij het louter magisch het psychisch-ethisch aspect; eveneens gebeurt dit als ze ter zijner kennis komen.

Het psychisch-ethisch aspect bevindt zich ook in de zinlooze formules, die in de Babylonisch-Assyrische literatuur worden aangetroffen. Zooals in den Hellenistischen tijd zulke formules als abracadabra en ablanathanalba worden gevonden, aldus komen er ook in de Bab.-Ass. teksten voor. Men treft hierin de korte magische formules arapoera en arabapoera, arašera en arabašera aan. En zooals de Romeinen de langgerekte magische formule „hanat hanat hanat ista pista sista damia bodannaustra" ter beschikking hadden, zoo hadden de Babyloniërs en Assyriërs de nog langere „ki rišti libiki rišti la libbiki la libi piš pišti ša anzišti ša anziš šoe anziš anziš" tot hun dienst. Ofschoon in deze formule, evenals in het middeleeuwsche „hax pax max deus adimax" e.a. woorden voorkomen, die zin hebben, het geheel als zoodanig is zinloos. Door het mysterieuze, dat in die formules ligt, hebben ze op vatbare personen een psychischen invloed, die door den invloed van de ziel op het lichaam ook physisch gevolg kan hebben en dus ook een physisch-medisch aspect kan vertoonen. Zoo bezien is het niet ongerijmd wanneer in het Hellenistische Egypte het abracadabra als een middel tegen koorts werd beschouwd. Het medewerken van den zieke door wil en opgewektheid is immers belangrijk voor de genezing. En in hetzelfde licht bezien is het niet zoo erg vreemd als volgens een Bab.-Assyr. tekst door den „boozen vloek", die immers in bepaalde omstandigheden een psychisch-ethisch aspect heeft (zie boven!), ook physische invloed wordt uitgeoefend en dus een physisch naast een psychisch-ethisch aspect wordt vertoond, gelijk het heet: „een booze vloek heeft gelijk een daemon een mensch overvallen, jammer, smart heeft hem overvallen, ellendige jammer heeft hem overvallen, een booze vloek, ban, kwaal. Dien mensch slachtte de booze vloek als een lam."

De magische manipulaties met het speeksel vertoonen eveneens het psychisch-ethisch aspect, inzonderheid bij het in Babylonië

en Assyrië voorkomende gebruik tegen iemand aan te spuwen. Geschiedde dit door iemand, die kwaad bedoelde en wist de betrokken persoon dit, dan had zulks psychisch-ethischen invloed op hem; hetzelfde is het geval wanneer degene die spuwde, goedwillend was.

Naast het louter magisch aspect constateeren we een psychisch-aesthetisch aspect in het volgende : bij het erotisch tot zich trekken van mannen door vrouwen treft men in de Bab.-Ass. literatuur een vorm van bindingsmagie aan, welke bestaat in het vlechten van het haar. Dit vertoont een psychisch-aesthetisch aspect. Een snoer met knoopen, wat immers in algemeenen zin ook de haarstrengel is, heeft, naar gedacht werd, magisch bindende kracht, zooals het losmaken van zulk een snoer magisch ontbindt. Maar bij de haarvlechting is het aesthetische niet te ontkennen. Of in 1 Tim. 2 : 9 het magisch aspect aanwezig is, kan, naar het mij voorkomt, niet beslist worden, in elk geval is daar wel het psychisch-aesthetisch aspect te constateeren.

Gelijk in de Europeesche Middeleeuwen de magie haar invloed op het cultuurleven doet gelden en zij in het Europa van den modernen tijd niet verdwenen is, ofschoon ze in ons land op den achtergrond van het leven werd gedrongen, blijkt aan de andere zijde uit hetgeen we boven bespraken, dat in de oud-Voor-Aziatische cultuur, incluis Egypte, de niet-magische kennis geenszins ontbreekt, doch haar invloed in die mate kan geconstateerd worden, dat in de bezweringsteksten en de magische manipulaties niet-magische aspecten van verscheidene gebieden van kennis kunnen worden aangewezen. Hieruit blijkt, zooals we bedoelden aan te toonen, dat er in de cultuurgeschiedenis van het oude Voor-Azië, incluis Egypte, geen magische periode aanwezig is in dezen zin, dat de magie de cultuur beheerschte ; er waren nog andere cultuurfactoren, nl. zulke van kennis en kunst, welke eveneens een min of meer bepalenden invloed uitoefenden en die tevens in de magie zelve zich deden gelden. Aldus is het dan ook niet juist in de cultuurhistorie, voorzoover althans deze, met uitsluiting van de toch nog maar sober gekende Voor-Aziatische en Egyptische praehistorie, uit de litteraire gegevens van het oude Voor-Azië en Egypte bekend is, een magische periode te postuleeren. Wij bedoelen met dit artikel, waarin voorbeelden, die zich vermeerderen laten, van niet-magische aspecten in de magie gegeven zijn, zulks eenigermate aan te toonen.

RÉSUMÉ

Les aspects non-magiques de la magie.

La magie a de tout temps accompagné l'humanité au cours de l'histoire. Elle n'est pas un phénomène simple mais complexe et elle possède plusieurs aspects, l'aspect magique et les aspects non-magiques. Dans la magie des Babyloniens, des Assyriens et des Égyptiens ces aspects sont, pour autant que nous les connaissons par les textes et les opérations magiques, les suivants : 1) l'aspect religieux-théologique, 2) l'aspect physique-médicinal, 3) l'aspect physique-sexuel, 4) l'aspect psychique-éthique, 5) l'aspect psychique-esthétique. L'aspect religieux-théologique se manifeste pendant l'invocation des dieux pendant les opérations magiques. L'aspect physique-médicinal-hygiénique se montre dans les procédés médicinaux et hygiéniques qui accompagnent les manipulations purement magiques. L'aspect physique-sexuel peut être démontré dans les procédés médicinaux qui se mêlent aux opérations magiques ayant le but de guérir l'impuissance sexuelle ; également celles qui ont rapport à la grossesse des femmes, la naissance des enfants et au traitement des enfants turbulents. L'aspect psychique-éthique se dévoile dans les paroles et les manipulations magiques elles-mêmes pour autant qu'elles exercent certaines influences sur l'âme et la morale des personnes visées par les pratiques appliquées. L'aspect psychique-esthétique enfin se présente dans les cas où le rituel magique impressionne l'âme et les qualités réceptives esthétiques des personnes impliquées.

Comme au moyen-âge en Europe, et même aux temps modernes, la magie n'a jamais perdu entièrement sa prise sur la vie humaine, d'autre part on peut constater que les connaissances scientifiques ne sont jamais sans influencer les pratiques magiques. La magie et la science continuent à exister l'une à côté de l'autre, ce qui peut s'observer déjà dans l'ancien Orient. On en peut tirer la conclusion qu'il est impossible de discerner une période purement magique dans l'histoire de la civilisation, du moins en tant que celle-ci est connue par la littérature orientale ancienne.

AZAZEL

BY W. H. GISPEN, AMSTERDAM

The word עזאזל occurs in the Old Testament only in Lev. XVI 8. 10. 26. Lev. XVI is the chapter containing regulations for the day of atonement. Cp. Exod. XXX 10, Lev. XXIII 27—32, XXV 9, Num. XXIX 7—11. It is not necessary to dwell on the division of Lev. XVI into sources by modern critics, e.g. Benzinger and Stade, for it is our purpose to make a few comments on the meaning of the word עזאזל. And this meaning does not depend on the critical analysis of this chapter.

In v. 5 we read that Aaron shall take of the congregation of the children of Israel two goats for a sin offering and one ram for a burnt offering. In Hebrew: וּמֵאֵת עֲדַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִקַּח שְׁנֵי שְׂעִירֵי עִזִּים לְחַטָּאת etc. שָׂעִיר (cp. שׂער): "hairy"; שְׂעִיר עִזִּים "a hairy goat". The two he-goats together were one sin-offering. "Es galt hier nämlich, wie bemerkt, die allgemeinste d.h. die umfassendste, vollständigste, höchste Sühne, über die hinaus keine weitere mehr für Israel denkbar war; sie als solche auch möglichst darzustellen und zu versinnlichen lag recht eigentlich im Wesen und in der Bestimmung unseres Textes. Daher sollen denn, nachdem bereits durch Blutsprengung die Sühne „geendigt" war (v. 20), die Sünden noch ausserdem in die Wüste fortgetragen werden" (K. C. W. F. Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus* II, Heidelberg 1839 S. 679, 680). In v. 3 the offerings for Aaron himself were mentioned. In v. 5 we have the offerings for the congregation of the Israelites. לְחַטָּאת can be translated: "for a sin offering". Dillmann and Ryssel in their commentary (*Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*[3], Leipzig 1897) say: "da nur einer der beiden Böcke wirklich als Sündopfer geopfert wurde, so ist für die Sünde hier vielmehr: für die Beseitigung der Sünde". Bähr also suggests the possibility of translating the expression with LXX: *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* "um der Sünde willen, d.h. zur Tilgung der Sünde". But the

translation "for a sin offering" can be maintained. The view of Bähr and Dillmann-Ryssel is also that we have to do with the removal of sin. And this was the purpose of the sin offering.

In the *Revised Version* Lev. XVI 7—10 reads like this: "And he shall take the two goats and set them before the LORD at the door of the tent of meeting. And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats, one lot for the LORD, and the other lot for Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot fell for the LORD, and offer him for a sin offering. But the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be set alive before the LORD, to make atonement for him, to send him away for Azazel in the wilderness." In Lev. XVI 20—22 we read more about the goat for Azazel: "And when he has made an end of atoning for the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar, he shall present the live goat: and Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, even all their sins; and he shall send him away by the hand of a man that is in readiness into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities into a solitary land: and he shall let go the goat into the wilderness." And in Lev. XVI 26: "And he that letteth go the goat for Azazel shall wash his clothes and bathe his flesh in water, and afterwards he shall come into the camp."

In vv. 8, 10, 26 the Hebrew text has לַעֲזָאזֵל LXX: *τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ* (v. 8); *ὁ κλῆρος τοῦ ἀποπομπαίου ὥστε ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν* (v. 10); *τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεσιν* (v. 26). Vulg.: et alteram capro emissario (v. 8); cuius autem in caprum emissarium (v. 10); caprum emissarium (v. 26).

What is the meaning of this לַעֲזָאזֵל?

Bochart in his *Hierozoicon* has written a very interesting chapter "de hirco Azazel qui vulgo emissarius dicitur". What he says there we can repeat nowadays: "in iis locis quid proprie sit Azazel magno molimine quaerunt interpretes neque dum id constat satis" (*Hierozoicon*, editio tertia, Lugduni Batavorum MDCLXXXXII, I p. 650). Winer in his *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (Lipsiae 1828) makes a remark of the same kind, for he writes s.v. עֲזָאזֵל: ". . . . vocab. perobscurum in quo interpretando mirifice fluctuant viri docti. Multi conflatum putant ex עַז et אֵזֶל ut significetur *hircus abiens;* LXX: *ἀποπομπαῖος*, Vulg. emissarius,

Symmach. ***ἀπερχόμενος, ἀπολελυμένος***. Sic verba v. 10 לְשַׁלַּח אֹתוֹ לַעֲזָאזֵל ita interpretaberis dimittere eum tanquam hircum emissarium. Nec id asperius dictum existimaverim (cf. form. יָצָא לְחָפְשִׁי). Sed עֵז constat *capram* non *hircum* denotare."

The first opinion is therefore that עֲזָאזֵל is the name of the he-goat himself. So the Dutch translation (*Statenvertaling*): "den weggaanden bok" (v. 8); „eenen weggaanden bok" (v. 10); „een weggaande bok" (v. 26), comp. Aquila (***ἀπερχόμενος***), Symm., Vulg.

Although עֲזָאזֵל contains all the consonants of עֵז and אָזַל (to go away, comp. lexica s.v.), this interpretation is not probable. The argument of Winer and others that עֵז is *capra* is true. And the Hebrew text reads in v. 8: ליהוה in parallelism with לעזאזל. V. 26 also would offer great difficulty as to finding a suitable translation, for there we read: וְהַמְשַׁלֵּחַ אֶת הַשָּׂעִיר לַעֲזָאזֵל. *Statenvertaling* has here: "en die den bok, welke een weggaande bok was, zal uitgelaten hebben", but this is not an accurate translation, for that would be consistent with the opinion that עזאזל should mean the goat which is going away: "and he that letteth go the he-goat to the goat which is going away", which is nonsense. Therefore we can understand the reading of *Statenvertaling* and also that of Vulg.: "ille vero qui dimiserit caprum emissarium". The only possible meaning of v. 26 for those who adhere to this first opinion might be that אֶת הַשָּׂעִיר לַעֲזָאזֵל in this v. means: "the goat which has got the lot, for Azazel". But this would be an uncommon description.

The second opinion does not assume עזאזל to be the name of the he-goat himself, but sees in it a nomen abstractum. עֲזָאזֵל is the same as עֲזָלְזֵל. Gesenius-Kautzsch (*Hebräische Grammatik*[28], § 30 n) mentions this derivation as a possibility, but Stade (*Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik* I § 234, 235) and Olshausen (Lehrb. der Hebräischen Sprache § 188a) are of this opinion. עזאזל is nomen abstractum: qetaltal with the vocalisation qetaltil. In Hebrew the verb עזל is unknown. But in Arabic we have the verb عزل "to remove". Pealal or qetaltal means the quick repetition of an action. Van Katwijk in a very instructive article about Azazel (*Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift* 1913, p. 79—87) translates "snel weggaan, vlugge verwijdering". Bähr—who cites Tholuck—: "zu völliger Hinwegschaffung". F. M. Th. Böhl: "om te verwijderen" (namely to remove the sin and the

impurity; see *Bijbelsch-Kerkelijk Woordenboek* I p. 34). De Wilde (*Tekst en Uitleg, Leviticus*): "en een lot: om weg te dragen" (v. 8). Buber—Rosenzweig: "ein Los: Für Räumaus". In v. 10 De Wilde has: "en de bok, waarop het lot: ‚om weg te dragen' gevallen is"; Buber—Rosenzweig: "der Bock aber, auf den das Los heraufkam: Für Räumaus"; in v. 26 De Wilde reads: "degene, die nu den bok ‚om weg te dragen' weggebracht heeft"; Buber—Rosenzweig: "Der aber den Bock zu Räumaus losliess".

Now the derivation of עֲזָאזֵל from a verb עזל, which we have not found in Hebrew, is very uncertain. König remarks in his *Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache* II p. 417: "in keinem andern Reduplicationsstamm ist der sich dissimilierende Consonant durch א ersetzt (auch ist *â* sehr selten gegenüber ô)" And in the translation of Buber—Rosenzweig (*Das Buch Er rief*, Berlin, Schocken Verlag) "Räumaus" is written as a proper name. And indeed in v. 8 the name יהוה ought to have a pendant in the name עֲזָאזֵל.

The third opinion is that עֲזָאזֵל is the name of a place. So Rashi: עזאזל הוא הַר עַז וְקָשֶׁה צוּק גָּבוֹהַּ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה חֲתוּכָה "Azazel; this is a firm and hard mountain, a steep rock, for it is said (v. 22): a land that is cut off". Bochart also thinks of a place: "Ita hircorum unus recte dicetur Domino fuisse servatus, nempe ut super altare mactatus illi esset in cibum, quod de victimis legitur." Lev. 21 v. 6 et passim. "Alter servatus לעזאזל ad azazel, *πρὸς ἀναχωρήσεις*, id est ut in locum deserti remotum et separatum deducatur qui vocatur versu vigesimo secundo ארץ גזרה, terra excisa aut divulsa" (l.c. I p. 655). Cp. also *Yōma* 67b, Lundius (*Heiligdommen* II p. 760: a place or a mountain in the desert). But Winer is right when he says: "at vero sic in verbis v. 10 לַעֲזָאזֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה fugida inesset tautologia".

Yet Azazel is a name, but not the name of a place. "From the direction in v. 8 about casting lots: 'one lot for the LORD and the other for Azazel' it seems clear that some personality distinct from the Divine Being is denoted, and this interpretation of the word is accepted by most modern, and some ancient writers" (Chapman—Streane, *The Book of Leviticus*, Cambridge 1914 p. 185). Azazel is a demon of the desert. In the deserts the demons are living, cp. Is. XIII 21, XXXIV 14, Mt. XII 43; Lk. XI 24; Rev. XVIII 2. It is here not a sacrifice to this demon (such sacrifices were forbidden, cp. XVII 7), no, this deed of sending the he-goat

with all the iniquities and all the transgressions and all the sins of the children of Israel to Azazel is a scorn of that evil spirit. This is the second part of the sin offering to the Lord and this part expresses the idea that the sin has its place in the neighbourhood of the demon of the desert, cp. Zach. V 5—11. Scripture (cp. the places mentioned above) and tradition are a proof of this interpretation, which is accepted by Mandelkern (daemon deserticola), Keil, Baentsch, Heinisch, Noordtzij, König, Robertson Smith, Chapman—Streane and others. In the Book of Enoch, Azazel appears as a demon or fallen angel, cp. VI 6, VIII 1—3, X 4, 8, XIII, 1, LIV 5, LV 4, LXXXVIII 1. The Greek form of the name in VI 6 is **Ἀξαλξήλ**, in VIII 1—3, X 4, 8 **Ἀξαήλ**. In X 4 the Lord speaks to Rafael: "Bind Azazel hand and foot and place him in the darkness; make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and place him therein"; and in X 6: "And on the great day of judgment he shall be cast into the fire". Charles, whose translation I was giving, makes the remark: "the preliminary punishment of Azazel is described in vv. 4, 5; the final one in v.6. Azazel was conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scape-goat was led. The Jerusalem Targum (Ps. Jonathan) on Leviticus says that 'the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, i.e. Beth Chaduda'. This Beth Chaduda was three miles, or according to another account, twelve miles from Jerusalem. This is clearly the Dudael mentioned in this verse, and it is thus a definite locality in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem". (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford 1893 p. 72). Also in the Book Sohar (סִפְרָ הַזֹּהַר) Azazel appears as a fallen angel. Now the value of this Jewish tradition is not so great as that of Scripture. But in view of these facts it is not necessary to end with a 'non liquet'.

Another question is: what is the meaning of the word? It is possible that עזאזל was the name of an old heathen deity and that this name has become that of the satan as is the case with בַּעַל זְבוּב. Jirku thinks it possible that עזאזל originally was עזאל. And עז was then the same as עזז, a deity known by Aramaic inscriptions, but that is not very probable. König refers to Spencer and others, who translate: "fortis (princeps) decedens" (*Lehrgebäude* II p. 417). Ewald remarks: "עזאזל ist seinem Ursprunge nach (vgl. אזל weggehen) völlig soviel wie **ἀποπομπαῖος** (wie auch die LXX übersetzen), averruncus, ein Unhold, ein Dämon,

den man weit von sich weist" (*Altertümer* p. 479). But against this opinion cp. van Katwijk l.c. p. 84. See also other explanations of the name quoted by Volck in his article *Azazel* (*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*[3] II p. 321, 322).

עזאזל remains a crux interpretum. Perhaps excavations in the future will solve this problem. Meanwhile the best rendering of the word is: Azazel. So in the Dutch translation of Kuenen, Hooykaas, Kosters and Oort (*Leidsche Vertaling*). And the new translation of the Dutch Bible Society (Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap) will also read: Azazel.

The 3rd of January 1946.

SOME REMARKS ON EXODUS XXI 7—11

The Hebrew Female Slave

BY P. A. H. DE BOER, LEIDEN

The beginning of Ex. xxi regulates the privileges which the Hebrew slave enjoyed above those enjoyed by the slave of foreign origin. Privileges which are shown in the possibility of freedom after a certain fixed time. What now follows deals with the position of the female Hebrew slave with regard to these privileges. For her other rules must be followed as her position differed from that of the male slave. The female slave is not only a worker for her master, but as a woman she is also his property. The master can take her as his wife, vv. 8 and 10; he can also give her in marriage to his son, vs. 9; or to one of his slaves, without thereby losing his rights of property, vs. 4.

As a Hebrew the female slave possesses certain fixed rights. These are enumerated in Ex. xxi 8—11. They consist of two ways in which the slave can become free, by payment of a ransom and by non payment of a ransom ; and of a regulation of the treatment of the slave who has been used as a wife.

Whenever the slave ceases to find favour in the eyes of her master, he can sell her. But if the slave is a Hebrew, he does not possess unlimited freedom in this respect. He is bound to sell her to her family. The use here, vs. 8, of the verb פדה, to redeem, is very clear. The girl returns to her family as the result of payment ; either the father pays the ransom or a ransomer. This is emphasized very clearly in the second part of the 8th verse. In the events here discussed the master of the slave may not sell her to a strange family. In my opinion עם means here, as we often find, family, *gens*. The Targumim translate and explain עם נכרי by גבר אוחרן.

In the tenth and eleventh verses the second possibility of gaining her freedom is discussed. If after some time the master

takes a second wife, the Hebrew slave who has been used as wife must continue to share the privileges of the wives. And as secondary wife she keeps her rights to food, clothing (shelter), and ענה, rights which are specially mentioned. ענה is a *hapax legomenon*. Neither etymology nor synonym gives an accurate translation of this word. Following up the ancient versions the usual translation is sexual intercourse, conjugal rights. The stem ענה, to mind, meddle with, is supposed here. The observation in Gesenius—Buhl's Dictionary, that in thus translating it we are rather deriving it from the stem ענה in the Pi., "forcing a marriage upon", is not quite clear. From the meaning "forcibly dishonoured" to "conjugal rights" is more than one step. Albert Schultens' conjectures on this passage, in his *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca Veteris Testamenti* 1709, are still fascinating. Schultens points to the Arabic stem عون which means, to help; and on this ground he translates ענה by *auxilium*. And he adds that in this sense it is often used in Arabic to indicate at the same time conjugal duty. He refers to עזר כנגדו, Gen. ii 18 and 20. Schultens reads as the Onkelos' Targum עונתה, *plenum*.

If the master does not give the slave her full rights, no duty rests on her family to pay the ransom. This also holds good for the ransomer, so that she can return to her home without any payment being made.

We have seen thus how the Hebrew girl has to be treated when she is at the same time the wife of her master. She has also the right to a fixed favourable treatment when she has been given in marriage by him to his son. By this arrangement of her master she shares the rights of a daughter and in this case too strict account is taken of the fact that she is a Hebrew.

The translation and explanation of the 8th verse, that treats of the ransoming of the female slave, are more difficult than the above would lead to believe. The Masoretic text runs as follows אם־רעה בעיני אדניה אשר־לא יעדה והפדה לעם נכרי לא־ימשל למכרה בבגדו־בה

Many scholars are of opinion that the denial לא before יעדה should be altered to לו, so the Greek and Aramaic translations, and they translate the parenthetic clause אשר־לו יעדה by "who has set her aside for himself". Others make a radical alteration by reading the verb ידע instead of the verb יעד, Budde in ZAW 1891, and many others after him. Still others find it necessary to

leave out the negative too, Robertson Smith in ZAW 1892, and others after him. We have not found any text-critical foundation for these alterations.

Scholars consequently argue over the original reading with the supposed meaning of the sentence as foundation. At the end of the verse one uses to say that a moral judgement is pronounced on the behaviour of the master of the slave in the words בבגדו־בה. The above expression is causally translated, "since he has been unfaithful to her". Here we have the starting point for various suppositions regarding the moral behaviour of the slaveholder which would be criticised in our text. These suppositions are the base of the alterations in the text. Such a starting point allows various views!

The liberation of the Hebrew male slave in the preceding pericope, however, does not depend on the moral behaviour of the master. Besides the difficulty of deciding which criteria must be applied by the judging of this behaviour, it does not seem to me necessary that we should explain our text in this moral way. Our chapter judges neither the keeping of slaves, nor the taking of a slave as wife, nor the giving of her as wife to another member of the household. And so far as I can see neither does it judge the case in which a master repudiates his slave wife. It only decides how in such a case a slave who is a Hebrew girl must be treated.

If these presumptions are correct, it would be useful to restudy the above text. The verb יעד means "to keep in doing something", "to appoint", "to assign", "to declare indissoluble". 2 Sam. xx 5 informs us that Amasa has not been successful in mobilizing Juda within the fixed time, וייחר מן־המועד אשר יעדו. JHWH's sword, according to Jer. xlvii 7, does not rest but remains by the orders of him, aimed at, or in—cp. Numb. x 3 and 4, and Neh. vi 10—, the city Askelon and the coast. So JHWH's rod remains in the city for the judgement, Mic. vi 9. Corresponding with this meaning the Nif. means "to show itself somewhere", "to appear in public", "to reveal", Ex. xxv 22, a.o.; said of many, "to come together", Josh. xi 5, a.o. And in the Hif. it means, "to make fixed regulations with regard to", Jer. xlix 19 = l 44 מי כמוני ומי יעידני," Who is like unto me and who makes fixed regulations with regard to me ?"; and Job ix 19, where, as if

to make it more clear, has been added למשפט. Ex. xxi 9 uses the same verb to express the arrangement of the master with regard to the slave destined as a wife for his son.

The first part of our verse can thus be paraphrased as follows: If she ceases to please her master, who therefore does not keep her, then he must see that she is ransomed.

The subordinate clause אשר־לא יעדה explains what the result is of the main verb. The master finds her no longer pleasing and so keeps her no longer. The displeasure is of such a nature that he keeps her no longer in his house. Both verbs are necessary to explain the situation. The master puts away his slave. But because she is a Hebrew, he cannot sell her to all and sundry, he can only cause her to be ransomed. He must see that she returns to her fathers house in payment of a ransom.

אִם וג׳־וְהִפְדָּה, I render with: If ..., then ..., cp. vs. 3, If he is a married man, then goes his wife with him, אִם־יֹצֵאָה; and vs. 11, And if he denies her ..., then she shall be free, וְאִם־יֹצֵאָה.

The second part of the verse gives us no new ideas on the subject but only stresses the first. The last words בִּבְגֹדוֹ־בָהּ do not lead our thoughts to a new chapter, the moral behaviour of the master of the slave, but keep to the subject of our and the previous pericope, that of the liberation of the Hebrew slaves. The expression, in my opinion, has no causal meaning. ב before the Infinitive has, as usual, a temporary meaning. The verb בגד means, "to break a contract", "to dissolve", "not to keep in doing something". Naturally the breaking of a contract is usually condemned. But the verb בגד itself has not always such a condemnatory meaning. In Judg. ix 23 it is *'elohim* who sends a spirit of calamity, a "bad" spirit, to bring about a rupture. Perhaps in Hab. ii 5 we find the literal meaning, חַיִּין בּוֹגֵד גֶּבֶר יָהִיר וְלֹא יָנוֹחַ, "The wine makes the reckless man unsteady and he does not reach his goal". I think the word בגד, "dress", "mantle", the covering which is changeable and covering, is connected with the same stem. The meaning "to deceive" is closely connected with this.

The verb בגד expresses, in my opinion, in our text the same meaning as לא יעד, "to break the bond", "not to keep it up". A connection, a contract is broken. In our text the master breaks the contract with his female slave. No mention is here made about his right to do so. His right to do so is admitted without

comment. What is fixed is what he must take care for, when he ends the contract in this way, especially when the girl is a Hebrew. For this reason I think the end of the 8th verse must be translated thus : when he breaks the contract with her, *id est* when he puts her away.

This second part of our verse codifies emphatically the right of the Hebrew female slave : the purchased girl remains under the *potestas* of her own father, the master was forbidden from selling her to a strange family.

Here follows a translation of our passage, on the base of the preceding remarks.

7 And if a man sells his daughter as a slave, she cannot be liberated as the male slaves can.
8 If she ceases to please to her master, who does not keep her, then he must see that she is ransomed.
To a strange family he may not sell her, when he breaks his contract with her.
9 And if he decides to marry her to his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.
10 If he takes a second wife, he may not diminish her food, her clothes and her conjugal rights (?).
11 And if he denies her these three, then she shall be free, without ransom, without payment.

April 1946

DE COMPOSITIE VAN DE SAMUËL-BOEKEN

DOOR TH. C. VRIEZEN, GRONINGEN

Een bestudeering van het probleem van de compositie der boeken Samuël is zeer interessant, boeiend als een legpuzzle voor puzzelaars. Er is dan ook heel wat gepast en gemeten, losgemaakt en verzet in deze boeken. O. Eissfeldt doet in zijn *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* daarover een heel verhaal en eindigt dit (blz. 306) met de woorden: „Man sieht: der Chor der Stimmen, die sich zur Komposition unserer Bücher geäussert haben, ist recht bunt, und es wird nicht leicht sein, den eben wirklich vieldeutigen Tatbestand wenigstens einigermassen einleuchtend zu erklären." Wij willen geen overzicht geven over de vele meeningen, die te berde zijn gebracht, maar verwijzen daarvoor naar Eissfeldt's e.a. inleidingen.

De groote fout, die men bij het onderzoek vaak heeft gemaakt, is o.i., dat men uitgegaan is van de Pentateuch-kritiek en de bronnen J. en E. heeft willen terugvinden in de Samuëlboeken, al is het begrijpelijk, dat men daartoe kwam; immers, de eerste helft van 1 Samuël is evenals de Pentateuch een conglomeraat van bronnen, en ook komen in de latere Davidsvertellingen verschillende doubletten voor, die tot bronnensplitsing recht schijnen te geven. Met dit al benaderde men de Samuëlboeken met een theorie, die oorspronkelijk niet aan het geschrift zelf was ontleend.

Wij moeten, om een oplossing te vinden, uitgaan van de Davidsgeschiedenis en wel allereerst van de beroemde historie van den strijd om den troon, 2 Sam. 11 (10)—20 en 1 Kon. 1 en 2, die men reeds lang als eenheid heeft erkend en waarin men terecht een politieke historiebeschrijving heeft gezien. Dit stuk dynastiegeschiedenis heeft een doel, nl. het recht van Salomo op den troon te bevestigen [1]). Het is geschreven door een man van een diep

[1]) Zie b.v. A. Bentzen: *Det israelitiske historiesyn*, Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift 1944, 155 v.

religieuzen geest, die nauw met Salomo verbonden was, en met de intieme historie van het koningshuis van zeer nabij bekend is geweest: hier wordt openbaar, wat er zich tusschen Natan en David heeft afgespeeld op enkele beslissende momenten van zijn leven. De figuur van Natan treedt in 2 Sam. 11 en 1 Kon. 1 zeer sterk op den voorgrond. Het is niet uitgesloten, dat wij in 1 Kron. 29 : 29 deze verhalen aangeduid vinden als de geschiedenissen van den profeet Natan; zij zouden dan op Natan zelf worden teruggevoerd. Dit laatste moet — indien deze verhalen inderdaad contemporaine geschiedenis zijn, waaraan men o.i. niet kan twijfelen — waar zijn. Dit beteekent nog niet dat zij in den vorm, waarin wij ze hebben, door den profeet zelf geschreven moeten zijn, omdat Natan immers in den 3den persoon wordt ingevoerd. De man, die beschikte over de mémoires van Natan, is met de grootst mogelijke waarschijnlijkheid aan te wijzen, nl. zijn zoon, die in 1 Kon. 4 : 5 wordt genoemd: Zabud; zijn naam komt voor onder de hofdignitarissen van Salomo; van hem wordt gezegd, dat hij was priester en vriend des konings. Alle drie gegevens, die wij van hem hebben, maken hem tot de meest geschikte figuur, die aan te wijzen is als eventueel schrijver van deze geschiedenis: als auteur verwacht men iemand, die de persoonlijke rol, die Natan heeft gespeeld als hofprofeet, volkomen heeft gekend; bovendien iemand, die nauw met Salomo was verbonden en ten slotte tot de geleerdenstand (priesters) heeft behoord: welnu, Zabud, Natans zoon, droeg den bijzonderen titel van vriend des konings, een titel, die overigens alleen voor de aan David verknochte figuur Husai wordt gebruikt (2 Sam. 15 : 37; 16 : 17). Deze titel is waarschijnlijk naar Egyptisch voorbeeld in het Israëlietische hofleven overgenomen (zie Erman—Ranke: *Aegypten* 1923, blz. 84). Ten slotte was Zabud priester en kan men van hem litterair werk verwachten. Zoodat onder alle bekende personen uit Salomo's of Davids omgeving hij het allereerst in aanmerking komt als schrijver der welsprekende, op Natans herinneringen gegronde, verdediging van Salomo's koningschap. Hiermee *exit* Abjatar, die trouwens ook op andere gronden (vooral zijn tegenstand tegen Salomo's candidatuur), zooals reeds door velen is ingezien, onmogelijk als schrijver dezer verhalen kan gelden.

Nu is de troonsopvolgingsgeschiedenis met talrijke draden verweven met de voorgeschiedenis van David; het optreden van Mefiboset in 2 Sam. 16 en 19 vereischt, dat men in de troonsopvol-

gingsgeschiedenis opneemt 2 Sam. 9. Maar dit hoofdstuk kan niet de inleiding zijn geweest tot de capita 10—20; immers 9 : 1 introduceert de figuur van Jonatan en het huis van Saul. Hiermee komt een geheel nieuwe verhalenreeks, die door den schrijver van de capita 9—20 wordt vooröndersteld, naar voren; er is geen andere verklaring voor dan deze, dat de troonsopvolgingsgeschiedenis deel uitmaakte van een grooter geheel, waarin Mefiboset en met hem Jonatan en Saul passen; m.a.w. het geheele Saul-David-Jonatan-complex, dat voorafgaat (van 1 Sam. 16 : 14 af), moet tot de geschiedenis hebben behoord. Zoo wordt ook het optreden van Simeï in 2 Sam. 16; 19 en 1 Kon. 2 ongedwongen verklaard. Het is zelfs zoo, dat met den dood van Simeï het verhaal eindigt en de schrijver besluit met de woorden: Alzoo is het koninkrijk bevestigd in de hand van Salomo. De familiegeschiedenis van David, die uitloopt op de troonsbestijging van Salomo, maakt daarmee deel uit van een groot politiek-historisch werk, dat het recht van Davids geslacht op den troon van Israël als opvolger van Saul beschrijft en verdedigt.

In dit werk wordt aangetoond, dat David nooit den troon heeft begeerd, maar altijd Saul heeft erkend als den Gezalfde van Jahwe, hem daarom tot tweemaal toe heeft gespaard en zelfs den boodschapper, die zich beroemde Saul te hebben gedood, heeft laten neerhouwen; van David kan getuigd worden hetzelfde waarmee ons Wilhelmus begint en eindigt:

Voor Godt wil ick belijden
End Zijner grooter Macht,
Dat ick tot gheenen tijden
Den Coninck heb veracht.

David is niet door eigen wil op den troon gekomen, maar door God daarop gebracht; Hij heeft het zoo geleid, dat hem het koningschap is toegevallen. Ook Jonatan, Saul's rechtmatige erfopvolger, heeft hem erkend als den man, wien de troon toekwam (1 Sam. 23 : 16 v.v.). David heeft zelfs later den dood van Isboset gewroken en aan het huis Sauls welgedaan (2 Sam. 9); de terechtstelling van zeven zonen van Saul geschiedde op bijzondere aanwijzing van Jahwe en David heeft zelfs hun lijken na hun dood een eerlijke begrafenis gegeven, zooals hij ook zorgde voor de bijzetting van de overblijfselen van Saul en Jonatan (2 Sam. 21).

Daarentegen trachtte Sauls familie (en de Benjaminieten: 2 Sam.

20) nog steeds tegen David te stoken (Simeï) en heeft zelfs de ongelukkige Mefiboset een dubbelzinnige rol gespeeld (2 Sam. 16 ; 19). De verbondenheid van David aan de familie van Saul wordt vooral in zijn liefde tot Jonatan en Michal geteekend. Waarom dan toch niet een zoon uit dit huwelijk, die voor het geheele Israëlietische volk aannemelijk was geweest, op den troon kwam, vertelt 2 Sam. 6, dat in dezen samenhang beslist thuis hoort en niet zooals men vaak wil in verband met de arkgeschiedenis van 1 Sam. 4—6 moet worden gebracht ; het verhaal vertelt ons, hoe de trots van de koningsdochter David in zijn vroomheid ten diepste kwetst en zulk een verwijdering veroorzaakt, dat zij als geliefde vrouw werd verstooten en haar plaats moest afstaan aan Batseba. De historie van Davids vrouwen hoort in deze heele dynastiegeschiedenis thuis.

En deze geschiedenis is in haar geheel een verdediging van de rechten van het Davidische huis. Ze is een apologie in denzelfden diepen, zedelijken en geestelijken zin als het Wilhelmus een apologie was voor Willem van Oranje, den grondlegger van de Nederlandsche vrijheid — en daardoor geworden is de kanonieke volkspsalm en het vrijheidslied van het Nederlandsche volk. Wij kunnen van hieruit begrijpen, hoe het boek Samuël zelfs tot een stuk der heilige Schrift van het Judeesche volk kon worden ; het Davidshuis werd in deze historie gezien als een gave Gods en dit bleef het beheerschende gezichtspunt der Judeesche geschied- en geloofsbeschouwing, dat immers aan het Davidshuis verbond de verwachting van zijn heilskoning der toekomst, den Messias bij uitnemendheid.

Het apologetisch karakter blijkt duidelijk uit het feit, dat allerlei belangrijke historische mededeelingen pas later werden toegevoegd en dus in het oorspronkelijke werk niet aanwezig waren ; Davids veroveringen (2 Sam. 8), zelfs Davids dood (1 Kon. 2 : 10—12) zijn mededeelingen, die door latere hand werden ingelascht ; m.a.w. het oorspronkelijke werk is niet een gewoon algemeen historiewerk geweest, maar heeft een zeer bepaald doel gediend, de apologie van het Davidshuis [1]).

Nu komt het moeilijke litteraire probleem : kan men deze verdediging van Davids dynastieke recht ook litterair afronden ?

[1]) Apologieën waren in de oud-oostersche geschiedenis niet vreemd, zij het dat ze onder andere vormen voorkomen ; men denke aan de afstammingslijsten van den usurpator Sargon II en Sanherib, zie Meissner : *Könige Bab. u. Ass.*, blz. 174.

Sommigen hebben gemeend daarvan te moeten afzien, zooals Rost en vooral Weiser. Eissfeldt, a.w. blz. 149, wijst er op, dat het „offenbar unmöglich" is het begin van het geschrift, als welks kern men eenstemmig 2 Sam. 11—20 en 2 Kon. 1, 2 beschouwt, nauwkeurig te bepalen ; hij verklaart dit uit het feit, dat de auteur staat op de schouders van vroegere verhalers, die de, in zichzelf gesloten, aparte verhalen hebben gegeven. Op deze wijze lost Eissfeldt de eenheid van het boek principieel op en heeft geen plaats meer voor een werkelijken auteur ; de Samuëlboeken worden voor hem even verbrokkeld als de Pentateuch, uitgezonderd dan de troonopvolgingsgeschiedenis zelf ; zij zijn niet veel anders dan een verzamelwerk van redactoren, die de bestaande verhalen aaneenrijgen. Deze beschouwing doet beslist te kort aan de eenheid, die aan het boek (uitgezonderd de eerste hoofdstukken) ten grondslag ligt ; en rekent bovendien te weinig met het karakter van de Hebreeuwsche geschiedbeschrijving. De schrijvers geven hun beschouwingen in opeenvolgende verhalen weer, zooals Jezus later zijn „leer" in gelijkenissen geeft. Deze verhalen bevatten niet alleen vertellingen, die uit lust tot vertellen zijn gegeven, maar tevens zijn zij gezamenlijk dragers van een gedachte ; in de opeenvolgende beelden, die zij ontwerpen, zetten zij het betoog voort. Het is deze eigenschap der Hebreeuwsche geschiedbeschrijving, die het moeilijk maakt, bij dooreenwerking van verschillende bronnen, zooals in de Pentateuch en elders het geval is, de oorspronkelijke draden, die de aparte geschiedenissen verbinden, weer terug te vinden. Dat is ook de moeilijkheid bij het begrijpen en reconstrueeren van de Davidsgeschiedenis. Heeft men echter den draad gepakt, dan kan men hem ook volgen.

Het is ons duidelijk geworden, dat er van de troonsopvolgingsgeschiedenis een lijn loopt naar de geschiedenis van Saul en David, die begint in 1 Sam. 16 : 14. Echter kan deze pericoop niet den aanvang vormen van het geheele verhaal. Want cap. 16 : 14 v.v. veronderstelt op zijn beurt weer de Saulsgeschiedenis. Waar begint nu het verhaal ? Want de Saulsgeschiedenis is weer met die van Samuël verweven. Het begin van de Saulsgeschiedenis terug te vinden, is het groote vraagstuk, want in de Saulsverhalen loopen verschillende draden der historiebeschrijving samen.

Behalve de moeilijkheid der ontleding van de verhalen over Saul is er nog een tweede, nl. het voorkomen van bepaalde parallelverhalen in het begin van de Davidsgeschiedenis zelf, waarbij

ten minste één geval is, dat zulk een innerlijke tegenstrijdigheid bevat, dat het niet als twee parallelverhalen uit één pen kan zijn gevloeid, nl. de historie van Davids eerste ontmoeting met Saul (1 Sam. 16 : 14 v.v. en 1 Sam. 17). Op deze kwestie komen wij straks terug.

Eerst willen wij trachten het begin van de geschiedenis van David terug te vinden. Voortgaande op de lijn, die wij tot nu toe hebben gevolgd, moeten wij tot het groote politieke historiewerk rekenen 1 Sam. 16 : 14—2 Sam. 6; (7); 9—21; 1 Kon. 1, 2. Maar aan 1 Sam. 16 : 14 moet het verhaal van Sauls koningschap zijn voorafgegaan.

Nu is juist het begin van de Saulsgeschiedenis vol parallellen en tegenspraken. Als men echter de verschillende verhalen nauwkeurig nagaat, is er een duidelijke weg uit dezen doolhof. Driemaal wordt de oorsprong van Sauls koningschap verteld (1 Sam. 9; 10 : 17 v.v.; 11) en tweemaal zijn verwerping (13 : 13 v.; 15 : 26 v.v.). Dit geeft dus te denken, en brengt vanzelf tot de veronderstelling, dat één der drie verhalen (nl. die welke géén voortzetting vindt in het verhaal van de verwerping) thuis moet hooren in de groote Saul-David-geschiedenis. Wij merken reeds hier op, dat het Saul-David-complex van een verwerping van Saul niets weet (behalve 1 Sam. 28 : 17 v.; òf deze verzen, òf het geheele verhaal van Saul in Endor behoort in den samenhang van het groote werk dus niet thuis); immers David (en dus daarmee ook de auteur van het werk) erkent Saul tot het laatste toe als den Gezalfde van Jahwe; dit maakt het ook zeker, dat niet alleen de verhalen van de verwerping van Saul (1 Sam. 13 midden; en 15), maar ook de zalving van David (1 Sam. 16 : 1—13) aan de oorspronkelijke politieke Davidsgeschiedenis heeft ontbroken. De schrijver zegt alleen (16 : 14 v.v.; 18 : 10), dat de Geest van Jahwe van Saul week. Dit is voor den auteur van de Davidsgeschiedenis de oplossing van Sauls tragischen levensgang. Daarentegen was Jahwe met David (18 : 14), waardoor hem alles gelukt en hij steeds wordt gespaard. Een directe oorzaak voor Sauls verwerping heeft de oorspronkelijke geschiedenis dus niet aangewezen, Saul is hierin meer een tragische dan een schuldige figuur. Wel heeft het oorspronkelijke verhaal de opkomst van Saul bevat; hierin moet ook de figuur van Jonatan, die in het verdere verloop (cap. 18 v.v.) zulk een groote rol speelt, reeds een plaats innemen. Daardoor kunnen wij bij het Saul-David-complex rekenen 1 Sam. 13 : 2—

14 : 46, benevens het verhaal van Sauls uitroeping tot koning[1]). Dit wordt gegeven in 1 Sam. 11 : 15, waar Saul bij het heiligdom te Gilgal door het volk tot koning wordt uitgeroepen, nadat hij Nahas heeft verslagen (bijeen behooren 11 : 1—11, 15). In dit caput wordt verteld, hoe Saul gegrepen wordt door den geest Gods en Israël te wapen roept, Jabes redt en daarna door het volk koning wordt gemaakt. De Jabesgeschiedenis behoort zeker in de Saul-David-historie thuis ; aan het eind van Sauls tragische levensverhaal keert Jabes nog eens terug, doordat verteld wordt, hoe de Jabesieten Sauls gebeente weghalen van de muren van Beth-Sean. Begin en einde van Sauls geschiedenis zijn met deze stad verbonden, de ring der feiten is zoo gesloten. In 1 Sam. 11 : 1 mogen wij dus zeker het begin van de Saulsgeschiedenis zien. Zijn roeping geschiedt, evenals in de historie van de Richteren, door den goddelijken Geest, die zich van hem meester maakt (11 : 6). Later wordt het zijn ondergang, dat deze zelfde Geest hem verlaat (16 : 14).

In deze oorspronkelijke Saulsgeschiedenis speelt Samuël nog geen rol, zoodat enkele verhalen als 1 Sam. 19 : 18 v.v. en misschien 1 Sam. 28 (althans vs. 17 v.) er niet in thuis hooren ; 1 Sam. 19 : 18 v.v. past geheel in het kader van 1 Sam. 9 (zie beneden). Dit behoeft niet te beteekenen, dat Samuël niet leefde in Sauls tijd, noch dat de latere verhalen ongelijk hebben, als ze Saul en Samuël met elkaar in verband brengen, want het is ons reeds uit andere gegevens gebleken, dat het oorspronkelijke Saul-David-complex als historiewerk geenszins de volledigheid nastreefde.

De eenige moeilijkheid, die nog onder het oog moet worden gezien, is 1 Sam. 17, een episch stuk, dat door zijn stijl afwijkt van de overige verhalen (het komt in de Septuaginta in korteren vorm voor). Dit heeft, indien het al historisch is (zie 2 Sam. 21 : 19) in dezen vorm zeker niet in de oorspronkelijke geschiedenis gestaan ; het is zelfs waarschijnlijk, dat het heelemaal ontbrak en dat wij in 18 : 1b v.v. de voortzetting hebben van 16 : 23. Het lied der vrouwen wordt voldoende verklaard door 18 : 5 v. Zoo is tevens

[1]) 1 Sam. 13 : 1 behoort, evenals 2 Sam. 5 : 4 v., tot de deuteronomistische bewerking van het boek, welke een volledig chronologisch schema toepast op de geschiedenis van Mozes tot de ondergang van Jeruzalem. De tekst in 1 Sam. 13 : 1 is corrupt. Na *ben* moet het jaartal zijn gevolgd, door haplographie kan de *nun* zijn weggevallen ; deze leeftijd van 50 jaar past heel goed bij het verhaal, dat Jonatan reeds dadelijk na de regeeringsaanvaarding voorstelt als een man in de kracht van zijn leven. Het tweede getal moet waarschijnlijk zijn 20, vgl. de hypothese in Kittel : B.H.[3], t.p.

de steen des aanstoots, de meest hinderlijke doublure (van 17 : 58 en 16 : 22 v.), opgelost. Wij kunnen dus als oorspronkelijke Saul-David-Salomo-geschiedenis beschouwen 1 Sam. 11 : 1—11, 15; 13 : 2—14 : 46; 16 : 14—23; 18 : 2—2 Sam. 6; (7); 9—21 : 14; 1 Kon. 1, 2 (waarvan dan nog volgende korte invoegsels moeten worden afgetrokken: 13 : 6—15; 19 : 18b—20 : 1a; 25 : 1a; 28 : 17 v.; 30 : 27 v.v.; 2 Sam. 3 : 2—5; 5 : 4 v., 8—16; 1 Kon. 2 : 2—4, 10—12).

Deze geschiedenis is een éénheid; ze moge eenige doublures bevatten, zooals het driemaal herhaalde verbond met Jonatan (18 : 3 v.; 20 : 16; 23 : 18), en het dubbele verhaal van het sparen van Saul door David (24; 26), deze zijn echter te beschouwen als bewust door den auteur opgenomen; de tijdgenoot van Salomo, die de geschiedenis schreef, kende de historie alleen uit de overlevering, welke bepaalde feiten al wel reeds in dubbelen vorm kan hebben weergegeven. Men denke maar eens aan allerlei legenden, die zich reeds in Luthers Tischreden hebben gevormd. Bovendien hebben deze doubletten een doel in het verhaal, nl. de houding van trouw van David tegenover Saul nadrukkelijk te laten uitkomen. Men behoeft achter deze doubluren geenszins een dubbele bron te zoeken.

Wij staan na deze afronding voor nog één moeilijkheid, d.i. de kwestie van de verhouding van het arkverhaal in 2 Sam. 6 en 1 Sam. 4—6. Meestal worden beide verhalen beschouwd als behoorende tot één cyclus van arkverhalen; dan zou 2 Sam. 6 oorspronkelijk niet in het verband van de Saul-David-Salomo-geschiedenis thuishooren (vgl. Eissfeldt, blz. 148 tegenover Rost; vgl. ook de Einleitung van Weiser). Eissfeldt meent, dat wanneer men 2 Sam. 6 opneemt in de troonsopvolgingsgeschiedenis, men ook de arkgeschiedenis van 1 Sam. 4—6 zou moeten opnemen en dan ook zelfs de Eli-geschiedenis van 1 Sam. 1—3. Dit is naar onze meening *niet* het geval; noch 1 Sam. 4—6, noch 1 Sam. 1—3 behooren tot de oorspronkelijke Saul-David-geschiedenis. 2 Sam. 6 vormt nl. niet het vervolg op 1 Sam. 4—6; men moet eerder andersom 1 Sam. 4—6 afleiden van 2 Sam. 6. Wij hebben reeds boven gezegd, dat 2 Sam. 6 in het kader van de Davidstroonsopvolgingsgeschiedenis thuis behoort; het verhaal heeft blijkens het slot (vs. 23; het slot van het verhaal geeft vaak gepointeerd het doel er van aan) het doel aan te toonen, waarom Michal geen kinderen had. Terwijl 1 Sam. 4—6 wil bewijzen, dat de ark, die door David

in Jeruzalem was geplaatst, dezelfde was als de oude ark uit Silo ; m.a.w. de geschiedenis van 1 Sam. 4—6 is jonger en van andere hand dan het Saul-David-verhaal ; vgl. dat in de arkgeschiedenis van 1 Sam. 4—6 de priesters en Levieten de menschen zijn, die alleen met de ark kunnen omgaan ; de menschen in Beth-Semes worden gedood, omdat zij de ark alleen maar goed bekeken hadden (1 Sam. 6 : 19) ; de ark is hier een wonderdoend ding, dat groote slagen bewerkt onder Filistijnen en Israëlieten. Alles aan de ark is grotesk. Dit is niet het geval in 2 Sam. 6 ! Zeker, daar sterft Uzza na de aanraking met de ark, maar dit behoeft allerminst een legende te zijn, zooals de verhalen van 1 Sam. 4—6 sterk legendarisch aandoen. Er is niet die wondermacht rondom de ark, waarvan 1 Sam. 4—6 getuigt. Er wordt een nieuwe wagen gebruikt voor het vervoer ervan (een trek, die ook in 1 Sam. 4—6 terugkeert), en er zijn twee dienaars van de ark aanwezig, maar er wordt niet van priesters en Levieten gesproken ; wel is het heele volk tegenwoordig. Een klein onderscheid is er nog tusschen de verhalen, wat de benaming betreft van de plaats waar de ark vandaan wordt gehaald. 2 Sam. 6 spreekt van Baälim Juda, wat een oude naam blijkt te zijn (vgl. 1 Kron. 13 : 6) voor Kirjat-Jearim (de jongere naam, die in 1 Sam. 6 : 21 ; 7 : 1 wordt gebruikt) ; ook kent 2 Sam. 6 andere namen voor de bewakers van de ark dan 1 Sam. 7 : 1. In allerlei opzichten blijkt 2 Sam. 6 een veel meer historisch karakter te dragen dan 1 Sam. 4—6, dat sterk legendarisch is : het verhaal van den dood van Uzza staat zeker niet op één lijn met dat van het sterven van 70 man (50.000 mannen !, volgens een nog latere traditie) in Beth-Semes. Men mag dus de arkgeschiedenis van 2 Sam. 6, die duidelijk met de Michal-episode in verband staat, niet onverbrekelijk vastkoppelen aan die van 1 Sam. 4—6.

Aldus meenen wij gerechtigd te zijn, ondanks de tegenwerpingen van Eissfeldt, de afronding der historie, zooals wij die boven hebben gegeven, te handhaven.

Na het oorspronkelijke hoofdverhaal te hebben uitgepeld uit het geheel van de Samuëlboeken, moeten wij terugkomen op de samenstelling van 1 Sam. 1—16 ; en daarbij richten wij het eerst de aandacht op de geschiedenissen van Sauls zalving en verwerping. Wij zagen reeds, dat er, behalve de in cap. 11 : 1—11, 15 verhaalde uitroeping van Saul tot koning door het volk, nog twee andere zijn ;

en dat ieder dezer in verband staat met een verwerping van Saul.

Het is geen wonder, dat de tragische geschiedenis van Saul een onderwerp van godsdienstige reflexie in Israël bleef, en men zich niet tevreden heeft gesteld met de min of meer tragische beschrijving in de oorspronkelijke Saul-David-geschiedenis. De Israëlietische religieus-ethische levensbeschouwing verdraagt het begrip tragisch niet [1]; daarom moet zij verwachten, dat achter Sauls leven een zonde schuilt; eerst wanneer de Israëliet deze heeft gezien, kan hij zich bevredigd achten door den loop der gebeurtenissen. Het boek Job is nog niet geschreven, nog minder het boek Prediker. De twee verhalen van Sauls verwerping kunnen wij lezen in 1 Sam. 13 en 1 Sam. 15. Het eerste (cap. 13 : 3^b, 4^b, 6—15^a) hangt blijkens 13 : 8 nauw samen met 10 : 8, dus met cap. 9—10 : 16. Deze prachtig geschreven capita (met name cap. 9) vertellen, hoe Saul door Samuël is gezalfd, nadat Jahwe (9 : 15 v.) Samuël had bevolen een *nagid* aan te stellen, om het volk te verlossen uit de macht der Filistijnen. Dit verhaal is doortrokken van de idee van Gods leiding, waardoor Saul bij Samuël wordt gebracht. Aan den eerste wordt in 10 : 7 v. gezegd, dat hij moet doen, wat hij kan, maar tevens, dat hij naar Gilgal moet gaan en aldaar wachten op Samuël, die na 7 dagen komen zal. Saul roept de Israëlieten samen, 13 : 3b, 4b, 6 (7)—15 en wacht 7 dagen op Samuël, maar brengt dan zelf de offers, die Samuël beloofd had te zullen brengen. Hierin toont hij zijn ongehoorzaamheid (niet de idee, dat een koning geen offers mag brengen is hier in het geding) en daarom kan hij niet gebruikt worden door Jahwe (13 : 13 v.). Het is niet onwaarschijnlijk, dat 1 Sam. 15 : 35—16 : 13 een voortzetting van dit verhaal is [2]. Deze geheele Samuël-Saul-geschiedenis is in profetischen geest geschreven en het meest verwant aan den schrijver E. van den Pentateuch, dien wij meenen te moeten zien als den heruitgever en bewerker van J. Deze geschiedenis staat veel verder af van de werkelijkheid dan het oorspronkelijke Saul-David-Salomo-complex; het gaat in deze historie om een zedelijk-religieus moment, nl. te prediken, dat het koningschap alleen zal bestaan bij de gehoorzaamheid van den vorst aan het Godswoord; de, door Jahwe geroepen, sympathieke eerste koning wordt verworpen om zijn ongehoorzaamheid.

[1]) Zie daarover een bijdrage van mijn hand in het spoedig te verwachten gedenkboek van Ex Oriente Lux: Kernmomenten der antieke beschaving (verschenen in 1947, Brill, Leiden).

[2]) Vgl. het motief der zalving in 9 en 16; en de geesteswerking 10 : 10; 16 : 13.

Het tweede verhaal is niet alleen maar een vertelling met een religieuze strekking, maar steunt op zelfstandige historische berichten ; het geeft niet alleen de geschiedenis van Sauls verwerping, maar verbindt deze aan Sauls tocht tegen de Amalekieten (waarvan ook in de „annalen" 1 Sam. 14 : 48 sprake is). Er is alle reden om cap. 15 (zij het omgewerkt of niet, wij gaan daarop niet nader in) in verband te brengen met 11 : 12—14 en 10 : 17—27 (dus het overblijvende verhaal van de verwerping brengen wij in verband met de overblijvende geschiedenis van Sauls zalving) ; men vergelijke 11 : 14, waar het koningschap in Gilgal wordt vernieuwd, met 15 : 12, waar Saul ook naar Gilgal gaat[1]) ; 11 : 12 hangt zeker direct samen met 10 : 27 ; de formule in 11 : 14 over het *vernieuwen* van het koningschap kan alleen verklaard worden door den samenhang met de Mizpa-traditie van 10 : 17—27 ; zoo is er dus onderling verband tusschen 15 ; 11 : 12—14, en 10 : 17—27, terwijl dit laatste weer verbonden is met 8 : 6—22. In dit verhaal wordt van Filistijnen niet gerept, zoodat het in dit opzicht aansluit bij cap. 7, volgens hetwelk de Filistijnen waren overwonnen door Samuël (hierbij moet opgemerkt worden, dat het laatstgenoemde hoofdstuk een duidelijk deuteronomistisch stempel draagt). Merkwaardig is, dat in 8 ; 10 : 17 v.v. ; 11 : 12 v.v. niet gesproken wordt van een offerhandeling, terwijl in 15 de gehoorzaamheid boven het offer wordt verheven. Samuël is in deze hoofdstukken een profetische richterfiguur. Het meest kenmerkend voor deze pericopen is, dat zij met nadruk het probleem van het koningschap stellen ; men moet echter de intentie van den schrijver niet te eenzijdig voorstellen. Hij ziet het koningschap eenerzijds als in strijd met het Jahwistische theocratische ideaal, maar aanvaardt anderzijds, dat Jahwe aan Samuël het bevel gaf aan den wensch van het volk te voldoen ; of de schrijver zelf een zeker *recht* van het volk daarop heeft erkend, is niet meer uit te maken ; men zou dit in 8 : 1—5 kunnen lezen, maar 8 : 5 en 6 v.v. passen niet zuiver op elkaar, zoodat de eerste verzen misschien als een latere invoeging zullen moeten worden beschouwd. In elk geval is de schrijver geen antimonarchaal man, die het koningschap absoluut afwijst ; wel stelt hij vast dat de instelling geen ideaal is ; alleen door Gods toelating is het aanvaardbaar en dan op voorwaarde, dat de koning Gods wil volstrekt volbrengt. Ten opzichte van het koningschap neemt deze auteur dus een geheel ander standpunt in dan de

[1]) En vooral 15 : 17 met 10 : 21 vv.

verhaler van het Saul-David-complex en die van de vertelling van 1 Sam. 9 v.v., welke beiden zonder reserve monarchaal gezind zijn.

Er zijn dus twee auteurs, die Samuël en Saul met elkander in verbinding brengen, tegenover den oudsten geschiedschrijver, die van deze verhouding nog niets zegt. Het is niet met zekerheid uit te maken, of er een historische band was tusschen profeet en koning, maar men zal de mogelijkheid ervan moeten erkennen. De Samuëlfiguur blijft, ondanks dat zij zeker als een historische moet worden beschouwd, min of meer ongrijpbaar ; zij staat op den rand van den werkelijk historischen tijd van Israël en is alleen in jongere berichten en legenden breedvoerig geteekend. Het meest voor de hand ligt het vermoeden, dat Samuël eer een profetisch dan een richtertype is geweest ; zooals trouwens ook Jeremia 15 : 1 hem als profetisch voorbidder kent. Nadrukkelijk stelt Pedersen : *Israël III-IV*, blz. 122 vv., het profetische type in Samuël als het meest oorspronkelijke.

Tegenover het koningschap staan beiden in één opzicht verschillend; beiden zijn zij het eens wat betreft den eisch, dat de koning gehoorzaamheid schuldig is aan het Godswoord, maar de eerste (cap. 9 v.) ziet het koningschap als goddelijke instelling, de tweede (cap. 8 ; 10 : 17 v.v.) ziet het critisch, als een instituut, overgenomen uit de heidenwereld (8 : 5).

Is het standpunt van den eersten schrijver hetzelfde als dat van de groote profeten, die nergens meer het koningschap bestrijden, maar alleen den koning zien als dienaar van Jahwe, zoo is de opvatting van den tweeden auteur blijkbaar ouder : hij leeft in een periode en in kringen des volks, die het koningschap zien als een problematische grootheid. Wij mogen dus als het meest waarschijnlijke aannemen, dat deze auteur heeft geleefd in den tijd na Salomo, wiens regeering het volk ten diepste heeft teleurgesteld of in den tijd der Omriden, toen de Jahwistische kringen het gevaar van het koningschap sterk beseften; deze tweede verhalencyclus is dus waarschijnlijk te dateeren in de 10de of 9de eeuw, toen het koningschap nog altijd als een nieuwe instelling werd gevoeld, en de kritiek, die men bij een oorspronkelijk half-nomaden-, half-boerenvolk als Israël sociologisch kan verwachten [1]), nog voortleefde. Ditzelfde standpunt vinden wij in een bepaalde groep Richterverhalen (het slot van de Gideon- en de Abimelech-geschiedenis), welke ook het best in de 9de eeuw kan worden gedateerd.

[1]) Zie P. A. H. de Boer : Het Koningschap in Israël, 1938.

Ten slotte staan wij voor de analyse van 1 Sam. 1—7 : 1 ; hierbij stellen wij voornamelijk de vraag van den samenhang van deze verhalen met een der Samuël-Saul-verhalen. Vooraf echter de kwestie der bronnensplitsing. Het is zeker, dat in de eerste 7 capita van 1 Sam. zich twee cycli laten onderscheiden :

a) het verhaal van de ark, 1 Sam. 4 : 1^b—cap. 7 : 1, dat met de Eligeschiedenis, 1 Sam. 2 : 12—17 ; 22—25 ; 27—34, is verbonden ;

b) de Samuëlverhalen, cap. 1 ; 2 : 11, 18—21, 26 ; 3. Deze zijn, hoewel in de Eligeschiedenis verwerkt, niet oorspronkelijk daarmee verbonden geweest.

De jongste dezer beide cycli is het Samuëlverhaal *b*), dat minder de historie dan de religieuze stichting wil dienen, en waarvan men duidelijk kan opmerken, dat het later om en in de Eli-arkgeschiedenis is gevlochten. Dit jeugdverhaal van Samuël past, wat den geest betreft, voortreffelijk bij de eerste Samuël-Saul-cyclus (cap. 9 v., 13) ; duidelijk laat zich hierin herkennen de jongere profetische geschiedbeschrijving : het brengt het profetisch ideaal van den volstrekt aan God gewijden mensch prachtig naar voren. De teekening van den profeet in cap. 10 (en 19 slot) doet ons het meest denken aan de sfeer van de Eliza-verhalen. Blijkbaar is Samuël in bepaalde profetenscholen in midden-Palestina gezien als stichter van de profetenkringen. Het is dezelfde sfeer, waaraan de schrijver E. van den Pentateuch verwant is, die wij in deze Samuëlverhalen terugvinden.

Het is opvallend, dat van Samuël, behalve de beide episoden van zijn jeugd en de verhouding met Saul, niets concreets wordt verteld. Dit wijst op twee dingen : 1e, dat de auteur alleen aanvullen wilde, en hij dus als uitgever kan worden beschouwd van reeds bestaande verhalen, die door hem werden verrijkt, en 2e, dat hij van de geschiedenissen, die hij bewerkte een geestelijk volksboek wilde maken. Deze auteur is geen historicus of politicus, maar een prediker, een profeet. Natuurlijk heeft hij zijn verhalen niet maar zelf bedacht, maar die ontleend aan tradities en legenden, die er in de profetenscholen over hun stichter Samuël voldoende liepen. De wijze, waarop hij de tradities heeft uitgekozen en verwerkt tot zijn prachtige, diep-geestelijke verhaal, toont ten volle het wezen en het doel van zijn litteraire kunst.

Indien aldus de Samuëlverhalen moeten worden gezien als aanvulling van een uitgever, verwant aan E., moet tevoren reeds het Eli-arkverhaal, waaromheen de Samuëlverhalen zijn geweven,

hebben bestaan en ook reeds zijn verbonden geweest met de groote Saul-David-geschiedenis. Wij hebben reeds eerder verdedigd, dat het Eli-arkverhaal oorspronkelijk met het laatstgenoemde complex geen verband had. Blijft nog over de belangrijke vraag of er oorspronkelijk een verband heeft bestaan tusschen den Eli-ark-cyclus en den Samuël-Saul-cyclus van cap. 8; 10 : 17 v.v. enz. De Eli-ark-cyclus is, zooals wij reeds hebben geconstateerd, zeer geïnteresseerd in de kwestie van de herkomst en de geschiedenis van de ark; deze staat in het middelpunt; wij hebben hier niet te doen met een profane, politieke of religieuze geschiedbeschouwing, maar met een stuk cultische legende; zelfs de verwoesting van Silo, die men in dit verhaal zou verwachten en waarvan Jer. 7 spreekt, wordt stilzwijgend voorbijgegaan; de belangstelling is ook niet geconcentreerd op Eli of zijn zonen, zij zijn ten slotte bijfiguren; het gaat om de ark. De opzet van het cultusverhaal is, aan te toonen, dat de ark van Jeruzalem, die blijkens het verhaal in 2 Sam. 6 daar door David heen is gebracht, de oude heilige ark van Mozes was; de Silopriesterschap wordt als afstammend van Mozes beschouwd, zooals blijkt uit de namen van Eli's zonen. In dit verhaal spreekt dus de Jeruzalemsche priesterschap, met deze legende demonstreerende, dat de tempel aldaar het legitieme heiligdom in Israël was. Zulk een verhaal kan men het best verklaren uit den tijd na de stichting van het rivaal-heiligdom in Bethel door Jerobeam I. Toen kreeg de kwestie van de authenticiteit van de ark haar actueele beteekenis; immers Bethel kan zich van zijn kant beroepen op allerlei oude tradities, ouder dan Jeruzalem, die dan ook nog volmondig in de latere aartsvaderverhalen van J.—E. worden erkend. De arkgeschiedenis is dus waarschijnlijk omstreeks of spoedig na 900 geschreven.

Daarmee is vastgesteld, dat, historisch gesproken, de verhalen van den Eli-ark-cyclus uit ongeveer denzelfden tijd zijn als de Samuël-Saul-verhalen van cap. 8; 10 : 17 v.v. enz. Echter is tevens daarmee vastgesteld, dat zij niet uit denzelfden kring zijn voortgekomen; immers de Samuël-Saul-verhalen zijn niet priesterlijk (het is toch ten hoogste onwaarschijnlijk onder de priesterlijke kringen in Jeruzalem bij het koninklijke heiligdom de kritische houding ten opzichte van het koningschap te verwachten, die het Samuël-Saul-verhaal beheerscht) en waarschijnlijk ook niet Jeruzalemsch van oorsprong.

Zoo moeten wij dus in de capita 1 Sam. 1—16 (buiten het in

1 Sam. 11 ; 13—14 voorkomende Saul-David-complex) drie traditiereeksen onderscheiden :

c) de jongste is de profetische Samuël-geschiedenis (1—3 ; 9 v. ; 13 ; 15 : 35—16 : 13) ;

b) de Samuël-Saul-historie (7 ; 8 ; 10 : 17 vv. ; 11 : 12 vv. ; 15), uit oude, streng Jahwistische kring, ± 900 ;

a) de priesterlijke Eli-arklegende (misschien de oudste der verhalen ; ± 900), zie blz. 13, sub a)

Achtereenvolgens zijn deze verhalen met het oorspronkelijke Saul-David-complex verbonden. Allereerst is dit het geval met *b*) ; dit werd verwerkt met den aanvang van het Saul-David-complex en sluit daarbij dan ook het meest aan ; cap. 7 v. ; 10 : 17 v.v., werd geplaatst voor 11 ; terwijl 11 : 12—14, dat verhaalt van de bevestiging van de uitroeping van Saul tot koning (Mizpa) in het heiligdom te Gilgal, een plaats vond vóór de oude Gilgaltraditie van het oorspronkelijke verhaal (11 : 15) ; zoo wordt op een ongedwongen wijze de opmerkelijke splitsing van de bijeenbehoorende verzen 10 : 27 en 11 : 12 v. verklaard ; het verhaal van Sauls verwerping, dat hierbij behoort, cap. 15, volgde op de natuurlijke plaats waar het behoort te staan, nl. na 14 : 46 en vóór 16 : 14. De aanvang van dit verhaal ligt in cap. 7, de geschiedenis van Israëls verlossing door Samuël, de Eben-Haëzer-traditie (welke later sterk deuteronomistisch werd omgewerkt, zoodat het oorspronkelijke verhaal niet meer met zekerheid te reconstrueeren is). Het is niet uitgesloten, dat deze aanvulling van het Saul-David-complex ten doel had de groote koningsgeschiedenis te verbinden met de Richterengeschiedenis, en dan moet toegeschreven worden aan dien uitgever van het Richterenboek, die in Richt. 8 en 9 van het theocratische ideaal uitgaat.

Voorts is de priesterlijke Eli-arklegende *a*) aan het verhaal toegevoegd. Het is niet onmogelijk, dat de vele officieele lijsten en annalen, die over het Saul-David-complex zijn uitgestrooid, aan deze oude priesterlijke uitgave te danken zijn, zooals 1 Sam. 14 : 47 v.v., 2 Sam. 3 : 2 v.v. ; 5 : (8—)13—16 ; 8 ; (20 : 23 v.v. = 8 : 16 v.v.) ; 21 : 15 v.v., 23 : 8 v.v. Ook 2 Sam. 24, het verhaal van het zoenofferaltaar, is waarschijnlijk uit dezen kring en in de priesterlijke uitgave opgenomen.

Daarna heeft een uitgever (uit den kring van E.) de specifieke Samuël-verhalen (*c*) in het boek verwerkt. Deze bewerker heeft slechts enkele verdere stukken toegevoegd, zooals in 1 Sam. 19 : 18

v.v., en eenige andere capita bewerkt of aangevuld, misschien hoofdst. 7, 12 en 2 Sam. 7 (die voornamelijk een deuteronomistischen inslag aanwijzen).

Nog één belangrijke bewerking heeft het boek daarna ondergaan, nl. de deuteronomistische; deze liet haar sporen na in 1 Sam. 7; 12; 2 Sam. 7; terwijl ook enkele opgaven (2 Ś. 5:4 v.; 1 Kon. 2:10—12) en misschien de psalmen (1 Sam. 2; 2 Sam. 22 v.) werden toegevoegd.

Wij moeten van één belangrijk hoofdstuk, nl. 2 Sam. 7, de geschiedenis nog nagaan. Het past nauwelijks in de oorspronkelijke Saul-David-geschiedenis; het is een latere verdediging van Davids tempelpolitiek. Daar het duidelijk door een profetischen geest is gedragen, kan het onmogelijk van priesterlijke afkomst zijn. Het bestaat uit twee pericopen, die naar den inhoud op elkaar zijn afgestemd, maar een geheel verschillenden oorsprong hebben. Vanaf vs. 18 hebben wij te doen met een dankgebed, dat naar aanleiding van de Natansprofetie is gedicht en aan David in den mond is gelegd. Het is moeilijk dateerbaar, evenals de hymne van Hanna (1 Sam. 2) en de Psalmen in 2 Sam. 22 v., die als koningspsalmen waarschijnlijk op David zijn gedicht.

Het gaat er dus om, dat wij 2 Sam. 7:1—17 nader bepalen. Eén ding is duidelijk, nl. dat het verhaal, zooals het nu voor ons ligt, dubbelzinnig van tendentie is. In den aanvang wordt gezegd, dat Jahwe geen huis (tempel) wil, maar dat Hij David een huis zal bouwen, een blijvend koningschap zal schenken. Daarna wordt echter in vs. 13 Salomo als bouwer aangewezen. Dit vers stoort de hoofdgedachte van het verhaal en tevens den litterairen samenhang der verzen 12 en 14; het is aan D. te danken, die dit volkomen te goeder trouw aanvulde. Afgezien van vs. 13 heeft het verhaal twee gedachten: Jahwe wil in een tent, niet in een tempel, wonen, en Jahwe geeft David een eeuwig koninkrijk. Het is zeer de vraag of beide stukken oorspronkelijk bij elkander behooren. Het is het meest waarschijnlijk, dat van cap. 7 oorspronkelijk in het Saul-David-complex de Natansprofetie heeft gestaan, die aan David een blijvend koninkrijk voorzegde. Dit kan in verband met het voorafgaande verhaal van Davids trouw aan Jahwe en zijn verwerping van Michal als geliefde vrouw in het oorspronkelijke complex hebben gestaan, zoodat de grondslag van 2 Sam. 7 dus deel heeft uitgemaakt van de Davidsgeschiedenis: een dergelijk Godswoord van Natan is in de groote historische apologie der Davidische dynastie zeker op zijn plaats.

De aanvang van het hoofdst., vs. 2—11, is jonger ; het is geboren uit het verzet, dat rees tegen Salomo's tempelbouw, een verzet dat voortkwam uit oude tradities, vgl. b.v. (met Eissfeldt) ook het verbod tot het bouwen van een steenen altaar, en nader van een altaar, gemaakt uit kunstmatig bewerkte steen (Ex. 20 : 24 v.). De tabernakeltraditie is blijkbaar eveneens zeer oud. Er waren dus oudtijds kringen in Jeruzalem e.e., die zich beslist op religieuze gronden tegen den tempelbouw keerden. Het is zeker a priori niet onmogelijk, dat ook Natan tot die kringen heeft behoord en dat het verzet zich terecht op dezen profeet heeft beroepen. Steeds worden er in het verdere verloop der geschiedenis uit de profetische kringen, ook in Jeruzalem, protesten gehoord tegen een uitgebreiden cultus ; telkens is dit verzet, naar gelang van de tijdsomstandigheden, verschillend gekleurd (vgl. b.v. Hos. 6 ; Am. 5 : 25 ; Jes. 1 en Jer. 7 : 22), maar het kan wel reeds in Davids en Salomo's dagen zijn opgekomen, zooals de traditie in 2 Sam. 7 mededeelt. Toch is voor dit gegeven in de oorspronkelijke David-apologie geen plaats ; het is van een geheel anderen zin dan dit Saul-Davidverhaal. Het kan ook geen toevoeging zijn van priesterlijke hand (zooals 1 Sam. 4—6 en 2 Sam. 24) ; het zou desnoods uit denzelfden hoek kunnen komen als het kritische Samuël-Saul-verhaal van 1 Sam. 8 ; 10 : 17 v.v. ; maar ook zou het als een secundaire toevoeging van Natans zoon, dien wij als schrijver hebben gemeend te kunnen aanwijzen, kunnen worden opgevat.

De deuteronomistische uitgever, die niet anders kon zien, dan dat de tempel een goddelijke instelling was, en daarom vs. 13 toevoegde, gaf aan het verhaal een heel andere tendentie. Dat hij echter den voorafgaanden tekst liet staan, welke zoo geheel indruischte tegen zijn eigen opvattingen, bewijst, dat deze in zijn tijd reeds als gezaghebbend werd beschouwd.

Wij hebben hiermee het eind van onze reis door het boek Samuël bereikt. Het werk behoort tot de schitterendste litteraire prestaties van Israël en van het geheele oude Oosten. De geschiedenis van het boek is ingewikkeld door den kop en den staart, die het heeft gekregen, maar het is o.i. mogelijk een bevredigend beeld van de ontwikkeling er van te verkrijgen. Deze is zelfs eenvoudiger dan men meestal aanneemt. Men rekent in de Israëlietische literatuurgeschiedenis nog te weinig met de scheppende persoonlijkheden der schrijvers en peutert daarom te veel aan de naden, die in het

schoone kleed worden gevonden ; men wil te veel een rok zonder naad. Maar den Israëlietischen auteur mogen wij zien als een kunstenaar, die niet cerebraal kunstmatig werkt. Hij weeft telkens nieuwe gobelins en hangt ze naast elkaar, om zoo de geschiedenis in haar geheel te ontwikkelen. Hij ontwerpt schetsen, die in nauw verband met elkaar staan ; zulk een schetsboek is het oorspronkelijke, meest indrukwekkende stuk proza, dat wij uit Israël hebben, nl. de Saul-David-geschiedenis ; de portretten, ook die van Saul, zijn met liefde en eerbied geteekend. Het eigenlijke werk, dat van 1 Sam. 11—2 Kon. 2 doorloopt, is de schitterendste apologie, die ooit werd geschreven [1] ; de feiten spreken en zij alleen ; moment voor moment volgen wij David, dien wij eerst ontmoeten als zanger bij den eens zoo voorspoedigen, dapperen en geestvollen, maar daarna door Jahwe losgelaten, geestelijk gekrenkten, koning Saul, wiens roemruchte historie de schrijver in den aanvang als inleiding verhaalt. De jonge begaafde David, als muzikant aan het hof geroepen om den koning verstrooiïng te brengen, sluit vriendschap met den kroonprins en is niet alleen page van den vorst, maar spoedig zijn groote steun, zoodat hij dezen als officier begeleidt en groote lauweren oogst in den voortdurenden oorlog met de Filistijnen. Wanneer echter de koning merkt, hoe David door het volk wordt geëerd, vat hij argwaan en vanaf dit oogenblik ziet zijn gekrenkte brein slechts één ding, nl. dat David van het tooneel moet verdwijnen. Heel kort wordt de aanleiding van het conflict vermeld, maar zeer breed het verdere verloop der geschiedenis. Het wantrouwen van Saul is oorzaak, dat Davids loopbaan hoe langer hoe meer omhoog gaat, dat hij zelfs Sauls dochter huwt ; maar dan breekt openlijk het conflict uit, zoodat David moet vluchten, daardoor bendehoofd wordt, om wien honderden zich verzamelen ; David blijft zijn loyaliteit tegenover Saul handhaven, en ondanks dat hij zich meer en meer moet terugtrekken, groeit zijn zelfstandigheid, zoodat hij na Saul's dood de aangewezen man is om in Hebron tot koning te worden uitgeroepen. Zelfs nu ver-

[1]) Maar tevens de strengste, die men zich denken kan. Onbarmhartig wordt de zonde van David tegenover Batseba en Uria, en van de prinsen blootgelegd. Maar tevens wordt met bewogenheid verteld, hoe over dit alles boete is gedaan (2 Sam. 12 ; 16 : 10 v.v.) en God heeft geoordeeld. De schrijver is uitgegaan van de gedachte *aux grands maux les grands remèdes*. Er waren blijkbaar in Israël niet alleen dynastieke gevoeligheden, maar ook zedelijke bezwaren tegen Davids en Salomo's koningschap. Daarom moet de schrijver deze openhartig bespreken, uitgaande van het *tout savoir c'est tout pardonner*.

grijpt David zich nog niet aan Sauls vorstenhuis. De eenige verklaring is, dat Jahwe met hem is. Zijn macht klimt, Jeruzalem valt hem toe en geheel Israël volgt hem na Isbosets dood na. Ook dan blijft David de beschermer van Sauls huis, al moet hij nog genoeg tegenkanting ervan ervaren. Met Michal brak hij, nadat hij haar eerst had opgeëischt, omdat zij hem in zijn geloofshouding bespotte; zoodat er geen zoon voortkwam uit dit huwelijk, waaruit de troonopvolger had moeten voortkomen. In dit verband heeft de Natansprofetie 7 : 12, 14 v.v. waarschijnlijk haar oorspronkelijke plaats gehad, welke hem een blijvend koningschap voorspelde in zijn nageslacht. Op dit moment komt Batseba op het tooneel als vrouw van David; op onrechtmatige wijze heeft hij haar verkregen, en in haar wordt David zwaar gestraft, maar daarom des te meer aan haar verbonden, zoodat haar tweede zoon Salomo de lieveling wordt van Jahwe en van David. De ouder wordende koning wordt diep beproefd door de onderlinge verhouding der oudste prinsen; hij aanvaardt alle beproevingen uit Gods hand (2 Sam. 16 : 11 v.v.), gedachtig aan het oordeel van Natan (12 : 10 v.v.). Als het uitbrekende conflict het offer van Absalom vereischt, is hij ontroostbaar. Wanneer voor de tweede maal de strijd om de troonsopvolging dreigt, draagt hij aan Salomo de teugels van het bewind over. Deze volvoert Davids laatste wilsbeschikking door bij de eerste gelegenheid de beste hard toe te slaan en zoo diegenen te straffen, welke de oude vorst persoonlijk niet meer had kunnen treffen: Joab, aan wien hij te veel persoonlijk te danken had, maar die te veel op zijn kerfstok had, dan dat hij vrijuit kon gaan, en Simeï, dien hij in de algemeene amnestie na Absaloms opstand had betrokken, maar dien hij innerlijk toch nooit vergiffenis had kunnen schenken.

Deze geschiedenis is het uitgangspunt en voorbeeld geworden van de Israëlietische historiografie. Het boek is door verschillende toevoegingen verrijkt, het gevolg van vier uitgaven, die het beleefde en die in hoofdzaak de figuur van Saul in een nieuw licht plaatsten. Daardoor is het werk vrij gecompliceerd geworden en zijn de oorspronkelijke opzet en bedoeling sterk verduisterd.

De tijd van het ontstaan van het oorspronkelijke werk is de Salomonische periode, of het begin ervan, toen er deining was over de troonsbestijging van Salomo, Batseba's zoon, of mogelijk aan het eind van zijn leven, of vlak na zijn dood, toen opnieuw het Davidische huis aan zware kritiek was blootgesteld. Het werk is

een krachtige steun geweest voor het Davidische koningshuis ; het is doorgloeid van een groote liefde voor het Davidshuis, dat als een goddelijke gave voor Israël wordt gezien. Hierdoor kreeg de Davidische dynastie een religieuze wijding, die een der belangrijkste factoren moet zijn geweest, waardoor de met het huis Davids onlosmakelijk verbonden messiaansche verwachting is ontstaan; op deze wijze heeft het boek niet alleen een politiek-historische waarde, maar is het ook een godsdienst-historische factor van groote beteekenis geworden ; zoodat het ons niet behoeft te verwonderen, dat het in de kanonieke geschriften werd opgenomen.

Wij willen niet eindigen zonder op den sterken waarheidszin van den schrijver te hebben gewezen ; zijn groote liefde en idealisme hebben zijn oogen niet geblinddoekt, maar integendeel gescherpt voor de groote tekortkomingen van Davids persoonlijkheid. Nergens is in de oud-oostersche litteratuur een geschrift van dit geestelijk gehalte aan te wijzen, dat met zulk een openheid en strengheid spreekt over de fouten van zijn vorst. Achter dit werk moet staan een groot vaderlander, die tevens een diep-geestelijke persoonlijkheid was. Dit boek is geïnspireerd door een waarachtig profetisch mensch. Achter dit werk rijst op de geest van een der grootsten van Israëls historie, den profeet Natan.

RÉSUMÉ

La composition des livres de Samuël.

En appliquant le système de la division des sources du Pentateuque aux Livres de Samuël on s'est égaré dans la recherche de la composition de ces livres. Ceci est causé par les doublets qu'on y trouve.

Il n'est pas juste de commencer ses recherches dans 1 Sam. 1—16, chapitres en effet très compliqués, mais il faut plutôt prendre comme point de départ la fin des Livres, qu'on a vue déjà longtemps comme une unité, c.-à-d. 2 Sam. 11 (10)—20 et 1 Rois 1 ; 2.

A bon droit on a trouvé dans ces chapitres une description d'histoire politique, ayant pour but une apologie de l'intronisation de Salomon. On appuie cette histoire sur les mémoires de Nathan (comp. 1 Chr. 29 : 29), et elle a été composée probablement par son fils Zabud (voyez 1 Rois 4 : 5), prêtre et favori du roi Salomon. Ce récit est lié indissolublement aux histoires précédentes. A cause du fait qu'on rencontre ici (2 Sam. 16 ; 19) la personne de Mephiboseth, il faut unir 2 Sam. 9 à l'histoire de l'intronisation. Ceci à son tour (2 Sam. 9 : 1) rend nécessaire d'introduire ici aussi Jonathan. En d'autres termes, l'histoire de l'intronisation fait partie d'un ensemble plus grand c.-à-d. le récit Saül-Jonathan-David (1 Sam. 16 : 14—2 Sam. 7). Cet ensemble aussi est une œuvre politique-historique qui veut démontrer que David est monté sur le trône d'une manière légitime, sans avoir pensé à une révolte contre le roi.

En même temps on ne peut pas exclure de cette apologie le récit du lever de Saül, ceci étant trop étroitement lié à ce qui suit ; ce récit de Saül commence avec 1 Sam. 11 : 1—11, 15. Tout l'ensemble comprend 1 Sam. 11 : 1—11, 15 ; 13 : 1—14 : 46 ; 16 : 14—2 Sam. 6 ; (7) ; 9—21 : 15 ; 1 Rois 1, 2. Dans cette histoire Samuël ne joue pas encore un rôle et Saül est dessiné comme une personne plutôt tragique que coupable.

Il y a quelques passages dans ces chapitres qu'on doit considérer comme ajoutés plus tard (p.e. les annales de 2 Sam. 8 et quelques

listes de noms, quelques révisions du D., qui se trouvent dans 1 Sam. 7 et 12 et 2 Sam. 7 : 13 ; 2 Rois 2 : 10—12 e.a.). Il faut encore éliminer du récit : 1 Sam. 19 : 18 et sv. qu'on peut joindre dans le cadre des récits de 1 Sam. 9 et sv. A cause du style épique on peut regarder 1 Sam. 17 comme un document séparé (comp. 2 Sam. 21 : 19).

Dans le reste on distingue encore quelques doublets (c.-à-d. 1 Sam. 18 : 3, 4; 20 : 16; 23 : 18 ; 1 Sam. 24; 26) ; mais l'auteur peut les avoir pris expressément dans la tradition orale, dont il devait se servir pour démontrer la loyauté de David vis-à-vis la maison de Saül.

On ne peut se passer de l'histoire de l'arche dans 2 Sam. 6. C'est un récit inhérent à l'histoire de David qui nous explique la stérilité de Michal et par conséquence l'impossibilité d'un successeur au trône provenant du mariage de David et Michal. 2 Sam. 6 n'est pas en relation directe avec 1 Sam. 4—6 ; ces derniers chapitres sont plutôt un cycle de légendes sacerdotales ajoutées plus tard pour prouver que l'arche de Jérusalem est la même que celle de Moïse stationnée à Silo.

La complexité de 1 Sam. 1—16 : 13 est un problème spécial. Plusieurs auteurs y commentent différemment l'origine de la royauté. Hors de 1 Sam. 11 : 1—11, 15 ; 13 ; 14, qui font partie de l'œuvre fondamentale, il y a deux récits du couronnement et du rejet de Saül :

a) Chap. 9 : 1—10 : 16 en rapport avec 13 : 3^b, 4^b, 6—15^a (comparez surtout 13 : 8 et 10 : 8) ; Saül est oint comme *nagid* par Samuël, mais bientôt rejeté par suite de sa désobéissance ; 1 Sam. 15 : 35—16 : 13 en forme la fin. L'auteur de ces récits, que nous retrouvons aussi dans les histoires de Samuël des chapitres 1—3, est pénétré du même esprit que les fils des prophètes et possède une affinité avec l'auteur du Pentateuque E.

b) Sous le second récit, qui possède une plus grande quantité d'éléments historiques on doit grouper les chapitres 7 (revisé par D.), 8 : 6—22 ; 10 : 17—27 ; 11 : 12—14 ; 15. Ce récit pose la question de la royauté de la même manière qu'un des auteurs des Juges. L'auteur accepte la royauté sous réserve, mais l'estime en principe incompatible avec la religion de Yahvé. Le roi peut être admis à condition qu'il obéisse complètement au message du prophète. Cette critique fondamentale de la royauté provient des premiers temps des rois d'Israël.

On peut distinguer aussi dans 1 Sam. 1—7 deux cycles de récits :

1) Les histoires d'Eli et l'arche 1 Sam. 2 : 12—17, 22—25, 27—34 ; 4 : 1^b—7 : 1.

2) Les récits de Samuël dans les chap. 1 ; 2 : 11, 18—21, 26 ; 3. Ceux-ci forment une unité avec les histoires de Samuël mentionnées sous *a*) (chap. 9 sv.), tandis que les premiers (histoires d'Eli et l'arche) forment une légende en elle-même. Les récits de Samuël sous 2) sont groupés autour des histoires d'Eli et l'arche. Ces dernières sont donc plus anciennes. La naissance de celles-ci s'explique le mieux en la plaçant dans le temps de l'institution cultuelle de Jéroboam ou peu de temps après.

Dans 1 Sam. 1—16 se distinguent donc quatre séries de traditions :

1) l'histoire originaire de Saül-Jonathan-David-Salomon.

2) les histoires de Samuël-Saül prenant une attitude critique vis-à-vis la royauté (7 ; 8 ; 10 : 17 svts ; 11 : 12—14 ; 15), environ 900 ou plus tard ;

3) la légende sacerdotale de l'histoire d'Eli et l'arche, environ 900 ;

4) la source la plus jeune : les histoires de Samuël (1—3 ; 9 ; 10 ; 13 ; 16), qui font penser à E.

La première rédaction unissait 2 à 1 (commencement neuvième siècle). Puis, par suite d'une réédition sacerdotale, on ajouta 3 ; les listes et annales, ainsi que 2 Sam. 24 y furent peut-être ajoutées aussi. Troisièmement on compléta l'histoire par 4 ; cette dernière rédaction peut être mise en rapport avec l'édition de E. de toute l'histoire d'Israël (8ième siècle). Finalement le rédacteur D. a laissé quelques traces sur l'ensemble (la révision de 1 Sam. 7 et 12 ; 2 Sam. 7 et quelques additions, entre autres les Psaumes de 1 Sam. 2 ; 2 Sam. 22 sv.).

La raison de la canonisation du livre s'explique par la place qu'occupe la maison de David dans la conception de foi de Juda, comme la maison royale instituée par Dieu, d'où devait sortir une fois le Messie.

La date d'origine peut être le commencement du règne de Salomon (temps agité à cause des problèmes de la succession au trône de David), ou à la fin de son règne, ou bien peu après sa mort, quand de nouveau la dynastie davidienne fut atteinte. Le livre peut être considéré comme la contribution morale la plus importante pour consolider les droits de la dynastie de David.

THE STRUCTURE AND INTERPRETATION OF JOSH. XVI—XVII

(See map on p. 198)

BY J. SIMONS, LEIDEN

A major puzzle among the many smaller ones presented by the second half of the Book of Joshua arises from the obscurity regarding the author's intention and procedure in describing the territory inherited by the Joseph-tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Generally speaking, the territorial delimitations in the Book of Joshua do not follow a universal pattern, although the reasons for certain diversities are highly obscure. The reason, however, why a unique system has been adopted in the case of Central Palestine, obviously lies in the peculiar relation existing between two tribes not or not yet perfectly dissociated. On the other hand, the exact nature of the system adopted is, at least in the present condition of the text (Josh. XVI—XVII), far from clear and has been variously explained. The results of earlier efforts [1]) have not been so satisfactory in every respect as to make a new one superfluous.

Every analysis and interpretation of Josh. XVI—XVII must, I think, proceed from the undeniable fact that in these chapters the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh are viewed in two different ways, viz. as a single block—that of the Josephites: see e.g. XVI 1—and as two distinct tribes, Ephraimites and Manassites: see e.g. XVI 4. Consequently, as Josh. XVI and XVII describe the inheritance of these tribes in Canaan, a question of paramount

[1]) Recent studies on the subject, apart from the ordinary commentaries, are by K. Elliger, *Die Grenze zwischen Ephraim und Manasse* (ZDPV 53, 1930, pp. 265 ff.); M. Noth, *Die Grenzen Manasses und Ephraims* (*ibid.*, 58, 1935, pp. 201 ff.); A. Fernandez, *Problemas de Topografía Palestinense*, 1936, pp. 45 ff.: *Efraín y Manasés*. See also W. F. Albright, The Northern Boundary of Benjamin (AASOR IV, 1924, pp. 150 ff.) and—from another angle—W. J. Pythian-Adams, The Boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh (PEF, QS, 1929, pp. 228 ff.).

importance regarding this description is whether the respective portions of Ephraim and Manasseh have been presented here as two essentially equal (though perhaps quantitatively unequal) entities, just as e.g. the territories of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. XV and XVIII), or in such a way that their territory is one and undivided, entrusted to either of the brother-tribes, while within it a certain area is marked off for the other.

Both conceptions are theoretically possible but the view actually adopted by the author is decisive for his method in describing the territory in question. In the latter case it is natural for him to outline the four frontiers of the entire common block and to complete the picture by a delimitation, if necessary on all four sides, of the special part reserved for one of the two tribes. In the former case, however, the obvious method will be to describe the entire block and to explain its division by sketching the line of demarcation between the two components, equal in rank, if not necessarily in size. The idea of the interpreter as to the author's way of approaching his subject will, of necessity, profoundly influence his exegesis of the text. In other words: a preliminary conclusion as to the author's mind and purpose is essential to a faithful interpretation of his text and for its concrete expression on the map of ancient Palestine. In the following pages this problem is being dealt with in two stages, viz. by showing that

1°. it has not been proved that Josh. XVI—XVII are based on the conception of Ephraim as a special part (*"Sonderstück"*, *"Sonderteil"*, *"Sondergebiet"*) within a larger territorial unit;

2°. the theory which denies such a peculiar conception of the territory of Ephraim is capable of discovering in Josh. XVI—XVII a clear structure and of presenting a reasonable explanation of certain obscure details of the text.

I.

The former of these propositions is of a negative character and will be sufficiently proved by a discussion of the arguments put forth in favour of Ephraim's peculiar position, mainly by M. Noth in his article *"Die Grenzen Manasses und Ephraims"* [1]). M. Noth himself qualifies his elucubrations as *mühsamen Überlegungen*

[1]) ZDPV, *loc. cit.* More briefly but not less clearly also in the same author's commentary: *"Das Buch Josua"* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament I/7), pp. 72 ff.

(*a.c.*, p. 207) but his manner of reasoning may, I think, fairly be summarized in two points and a conclusion.

Noth's starting-point, which is also the backbone of his demonstration, comes from Josh. XVI 9 relating to the dwelling of "the children of Ephraim among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh", a subject also referred to in Josh. XVII 9aβ (עָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְאֶפְרַיִם בְּתוֹךְ עָרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה).

It would seem easy to prevent that any conclusion should be drawn from XVI 9, by pointing out that this verse obviously does not go beyond stating that the territory of Ephraim, just described, *also* comprised an appendix north of its proper boundary (whatever the nature or historical explanation of such an appendix may be); but this view is forestalled by Noth's translation, which I quote from his *Kommentar:* "The separate [1]) cities belong to the Ephraimites among the inheritance of the Manassites, all the cities with their villages" [2]). In other words: "the separate cities" summarize as a new formula the territory of Ephraim outlined in the preceding verses and Josh. XVII 9aβ likewise refers to the same ephraimite province of Manasseh's territory.

Now, that such is, indeed, the meaning of XVI 9 is, according to Noth, borne out by the fact that the same idea also underlies the passage of XVII 1 ff., viz. the remarkable position or prominence (*die merkwürdige Stellung*) given to Machir in XVII 1 (whereas the proper subject is Ephraim and Manasseh!) implies that the territory between Benjamin and the Galilean tribes was not simply divided between the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, but bestowed in its entirety upon Machir. That is the reason why reference is made to Hebrew hereditary law: Machir (was) "the firstborn of Manasseh" (XVII 1). On the other hand, the "redactor" is anxious to explain also why in spite of Machir's exclusive rights the territory in question does not bear his name but that of Manasseh, the latter name taken in the sense of XVII 2, i.e. for "the other children of Manasseh" without Machir. The reason for the change of name is that Machir was also in

[1]) המבדלות may be taken as a hof'al or, in accordance with the massoretic vocalisation, as a nif'al. For Noth's translation of this word see also below p. 194, n. 2.

[2]) *Kommentar*, p. 74: "*Die abgeteilten Städte gehören den Ephraimiten inmitten des Erbbesitzes der Manassiten, alle Städte und ihre Gehöfte.*" Cp. *a.c.*, p. 204: "*Statt der naheliegenden Mitteilung, dass das Gesamtgebiet unter Manasse und Ephraim aufgeteilt wurde, wird vielmehr gesagt, dass für die Ephraimiten Städte abgeteilt wurden inmitten des Erbbesitzes der Manassiten.*"

possession of Gilead and Bashan and therefore left the cisjordanian portion claimed by his family to his brothers and sisters [1]).

Again, Noth's peculiar view regarding the position of Machir in the division of Canaan is based on his translation of the text (XVII 1—2) as we find it in his *Kommentar:* "(v. 1) Now (*Aber*), the lot fell to the tribe of Manasseh, for (*denn*) he was the firstborn of Joseph, namely (*und zwar*) to Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of 'the country of' Gilead (TM : בְּכוֹר מְנַשֶּׁה אֲבִי הַגִּלְעָד), for (*denn*) he was a man of war; but to him belonged (*es wurde ihm aber zuteil;* TM : וַיְהִי־לוֹ) 'the land of' Gilead and Bashan (v. 2). And it (i.e. Machir's lot in Cisjordania) now came to (*wurde n u n m e h r zuteil*) to the other sons of Manasseh with their families etc." [2]).

Once given Machir's privileged position in respect of the attribution of the Josephite inheritance as explained above, a fundamental conclusion can be drawn from it regarding the structure of Josh. XVI—XVII, viz. in this "ancient conception" which according to Noth's well-known panacea the sacred writer must have found in his main source, i.e. in his *Grenzfixpunktreihen,* and which evidently was not the same as the idea of two essentially equal tribes prevalent in his own days, it was but natural that the description of the territory between Benjamin and Northern Palestine took the form of a delimitation of this entire block —"Machir"—, supplemented by a sketch of Ephraim's special part within that block, as stated expressly in XVI 9 and XVII 9. It goes without saying that Noth's exegesis of both chapters is dominated throughout by this conclusion as by a guiding principal of interpretation.

The following considerations have convinced me that this line of argument is incorrect.

To begin with, nothing compels us to translate Josh. XVI 9 as has been done by M. Noth. On the contrary, it is much more natural to understand the relation between XVI 9a and XVI 8b in another way and to read : "(v. 8b) This (the territory just des-

[1]) *A.c.*, pp. 204 f. Consequently, M. Noth from now on calls the whole of Central Palestine the territory of "Machir", not of "Manasseh" (cp. *a.c.*, p. 206, n. 2).

[2]) *Kommentar*, p. 72 : "*Das Losanteil aber fiel dem Stamme Manasse zu, denn er war der Erstgeborene Josephs, und zwar dem Machir, dem Erstgeborene Manasses, dem Vater des 'Landes' Gilead ; denn er war ein Kriegsmann ; es wurde ihm aber 'das Land' Gilead und 'das Land' Bashan zuteil* (v. 2). *Und es wurde nunmehr den übrigen Söhnen Manasses mit ihren Sippen zuteil etc.*"

cribed) was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim by their families, (v. 9a) b e s i d e s the cities set apart for the children of Ephraim among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh" [1]). This translation appears even to be the only possible one in view of Josh. XVII 11, which speaks of cities of Manasseh in the territories of Issachar and of Asher or to the north of Manasseh's proper boundary. Certainly, nobody will feel inclined to extract from this verse the idea of Manasseh dwelling in the midst of Issachar and of Asher in the sense of the suggested position of Ephraim in respect of Manasseh : v. 11 means nothing more than an additional information supplementing or correcting what has been said in XVII 7 ff. regarding Manasseh's inheritance. This is the meaning of v. 11 irrespective of what may possibly be the historical explanation of such an encroachment of one tribe upon the other's territory and, in any case, it is obvious that XVI 9 and XVII 11 are to be understood, *mutatis mutandis*, in the same way. It is true that the formulae used in the two cases are somewhat different. While the cities belonging to Ephraim are said to be "set apart among (הַמִּבְדָּלוֹת בְּתוֹךְ) the inheritance of the children of Manasseh" (XVI 9) or at least lying "among (בְּתוֹךְ) the cities of Manasseh" (XVII 9), those of the Manassite extension are simply "in (בְּ) Issachar and in (בְּ) Asher" (XVII 11). I believe, however, that the different wording is caused by the fact that the northern extension of Ephraim is more in the nature of a relatively small *enclave* (somewhere above the river Kana : see below, p. 211) surrounded on three sides by manassite cities, whereas that of Manasseh takes the form of a pushing back of its northern frontier along its entire width (see below: pp. 212 f.) [2]).

The argument taken from Josh. XVII 1 ff. is also a matter of translation. In reproducing Noth's translation I have already drawn attention to some words in it which, however small and unobtrusive, are not merely of an expletive nature (*aber, und zwar, nunmehr, aber*) but materially influence the purport of this

[1]) Josh. XVII 9aβ only adds some information regarding the precise location of these cities, viz. north of the river Kana; for this interpretation see below: pp. 210 f.

[2]) I have a vague suspicion that Noth's translation of הֶעָרִים הַמִּבְדָּלוֹת in XVI 9 by "*die abgeteilten Städte*" is deliberately ambiguous. I have rendered this German formula by "the separate cities", following the Hebrew original; but is Noth's meaning perhaps: "the cities *demarcated* (above)" ? This would make his view more comprehensible but also bring it out more clearly as a forced rendering of the Hebrew.

passage. In addition, his twice repeated *denn* exaggerates in my opinion the force of the Hebrew כִּי in XVII 1 [1]). A more faithful rendering of the Hebrew text, whereby "the remarkable relief" given to Machir and the resulting contradiction between XVII 1.2 and XVI 4 fade away, is likely to be obtained by leaving out Noth's "small words", by taking לְמָכִיר as a *casus pendens* followed by a *waw apodosis* [2]) and by reducing at least the second כִּי to a considerably more modest role, i.e. by explaining it as a so-called כִּי-*affirmationis* [3]), and thus giving the whole of v. 1b quite a different meaning. The כִּי-*affirmationis* is practically equivalent to a moderate emphasis ("verily", "surely") and is sometimes used to introduce an additional statement or exclamation temporarily interrupting the main theme of the proposition [4]). Consequently, I translate vv. 1. 2: "(v. 1) The lot fell to the tribe of Manasseh, for (so provisionally, but see below, p. 196 n. 1) he was the firstborn of Joseph; to Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead—verily, he was a man of war!—: to him belonged Gilead and Bashan. (V. 2) Therefore [5]) it (i.e. the lot) came to the other children of Manasseh etc." In this literal rendering of the Hebrew text Machir not only does not get the whole of the Josephite inheritance (Noth), but nothing indeed, since his clan is already possessed of a large territory on the other side of the Jordan [6]). In other words, vv. 1 and 2 are in no way intended

[1]) The same remark applies to some official and other modern Bible-translations.

[2]) Cp. Gesenius-K., § 143d; Joüon, § 156l; § 176c.

[3]) Cp. Gesenius-K., § 148d; A. B. Davidson, Hebrew Syntax (3rd ed., 1924), § 118; König, *Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, § 351c; Joüon, § 164b. A similar meaning attaches to כִּי in conditional sentences like Is. VII 9.

[4]) Cp. 1 Sm. XVII 25; 2 Kings XXIII 22; Is. XXXII 13; Ps. LXXVII 12.

[5]) A well-known meaning of *waw inversivum*: cp. Gesenius-K., § 158a; Davidson, *o.c.*, § 147; Joüon, § 117e.

[6]) Abstractly speaking, it is possible to arrive at the same conclusion by interpreting כִּי הוּא אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה וַיְהִי־לוֹ הַגִּלְעָד וְהַבָּשָׁן in a causal sense so as to make Machir's large possessions in Transjordan the reward or the effect of his outstanding value as a warrior: "As to Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead: because he was a warlike man, he obtained Gilead and Bashan. Therefore it (i.e. the cisjordanian lot) came to the other children of Manasseh, etc." (so e.g. the well-known *Leidsche Vertaling*). The difference between this and my translation is very small, since the כִּי-clause as an interjectional exclamation often has a causal value. But I think it would be unwise to stress the connection between Machir's character as a warrior and his transjordanian possessions, because it is difficult to prove that Machir's military prowess was the reason for his getting Gilead and Bashan (cp. Nm. XXXII). On the whole, the Israelite settlement in Transjordan required far less fighting than that in Canaan proper.

to justify Machir's inheritance of Central Palestine on the ground of his birthright: on the contrary, Machir, although Manasseh's eldest son, receives nothing here and his exclusion is properly justified by his large share in the transjordanian division [1]).

What has been said so far, may suffice to prove my first and negative statement regarding Ephraim's position with respect to Manasseh in the partition of the Josephite inheritance [2]) and

[1]) Consequently, it is not true that the author's main document reckoned with "*ein Nebeneinander von Machir und Ephraim im mittleren Westjordanland*" (Noth, *Kommentar*, p. 75).

Something may be added here concerning the particle כִּי in XVII 1a, although its affirmative force is more difficult to establish and not essential to my analysis of ch. XVI—XVII.

If in Josh. XVII 1 ff. a claim is made for anybody at all on the basis of his birthright, it is not on behalf of Machir but of Manasseh, viz. to the effect that of the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, the latter receives his share in Canaan before his younger brother, "for (כִּי in the causal sense) he was the firstborn of Joseph". But this translation is hardly consistent with the text of Josh. XVI—XVII, in which Ephraim receives first attention (XVI 5 ff.) before Manasseh (XVII 1.7 ff.). Precisely for this reason K. Elliger (*a.c.*, p. 267) has proposed (see also Noth, *Komm.*, p. 73 and *a.c.*, p. 203, n. 4) to transfer XVI, 5 ff. after the passage about Manasseh (XVII 7 ff.). Leaving aside the somewhat awkward problem where, in this case, the ephraimite passage should exactly be placed, and also the more complicated question as to the effects of the proposed transposition on the structure of Josh. XVI—XVII as a whole, and while admitting that Elliger is able to quote more than one argument in support of his theory (cp. below: pp. 207 f. and p. 208, n. 1), I feel rather doubtful as to the כִּי of v. 1a providing by itself an argument of great strength. My first reason is that this כִּי, too, can be understood as a כִּי-*affirmationis*, in the same sense as that of Gen. XIII 10 e.a., without having a causal sense as strong as "for", "because" ("*denn*"). The clause would then once more be equivalent to a parenthesis: "he was the firstborn of Joseph" or, slightly stronger but perhaps less probable: "verily, he was the firstborn of Joseph". Secondly: *if* the author really intended to invoke Manasseh's birthright in order to justify his precedence before Ephraim, we would expect this fact or conclusion to be explicitly stated in the text, but not a word is said about Manasseh receiving the first share. Finally and principally: the whole of Josh. XVII 1—6, with the exception of the stereotype introductory formula in v. 1a α, is a passage almost entirely made up of fragments occurring in Nm. XXVI and XXVII (Noth himself has drawn attention to the striking similarity in contents and, to a large extent, also in wording: *a.c.*, p. 202—3) and inserted in the territorial description. Consequently, the meaning of the territorial description or of any part of it must not be extracted from this adventitious passage. It may be noted that XVII 1—6 separates two exactly parallel sections:

XVI 5—10 The territory of the children of Ephraim was etc.
XVII 7—9 The territory of the children of Manasseh was etc.

[2]) Noth himself, while interpreting the text in detail, is not completely successful in keeping to his theory. After having followed the author ("*Redaktor*") in his description of the entire block of "Machir", he goes in search of the four frontiers of Ephraim's "*Sonderstück*" but ends up by finding that the northern and southern frontiers of "*das Sondergebiet Manasses*" (!) are also mentioned, while its eastern and western frontiers are said to have been left out only because they were "*ohnehin selbstverständlich*" (*a.c.*, p. 214). Still more disastrous is

to pave the way for a fresh effort to explain the structure of Josh. XVI—XVII and many details of the text on the basis of two tribes dividing between themselves as essentially equal partners the central part of Canaan which was their common inheritance. It is my intention to prove that in this conception Josh. XVI—XVII do not show so much *Verworrenheit und Unordnung* (Noth, *a.c.*, p. 201) as is usually stated, much less "defy all efforts at interpretation" [1]).

II.

The beginning of ch. XVI is normal enough, in fact analogous with that of all territorial delimitations in the Book of Joshua: "The lot came forth for the children of Joseph" [2]). The lot in question, now to be described, is the territory of Central Palestine, bordering in the South on that of Benjamin and in the North on that of the Galilean tribes of Asher and Issachar [3]).

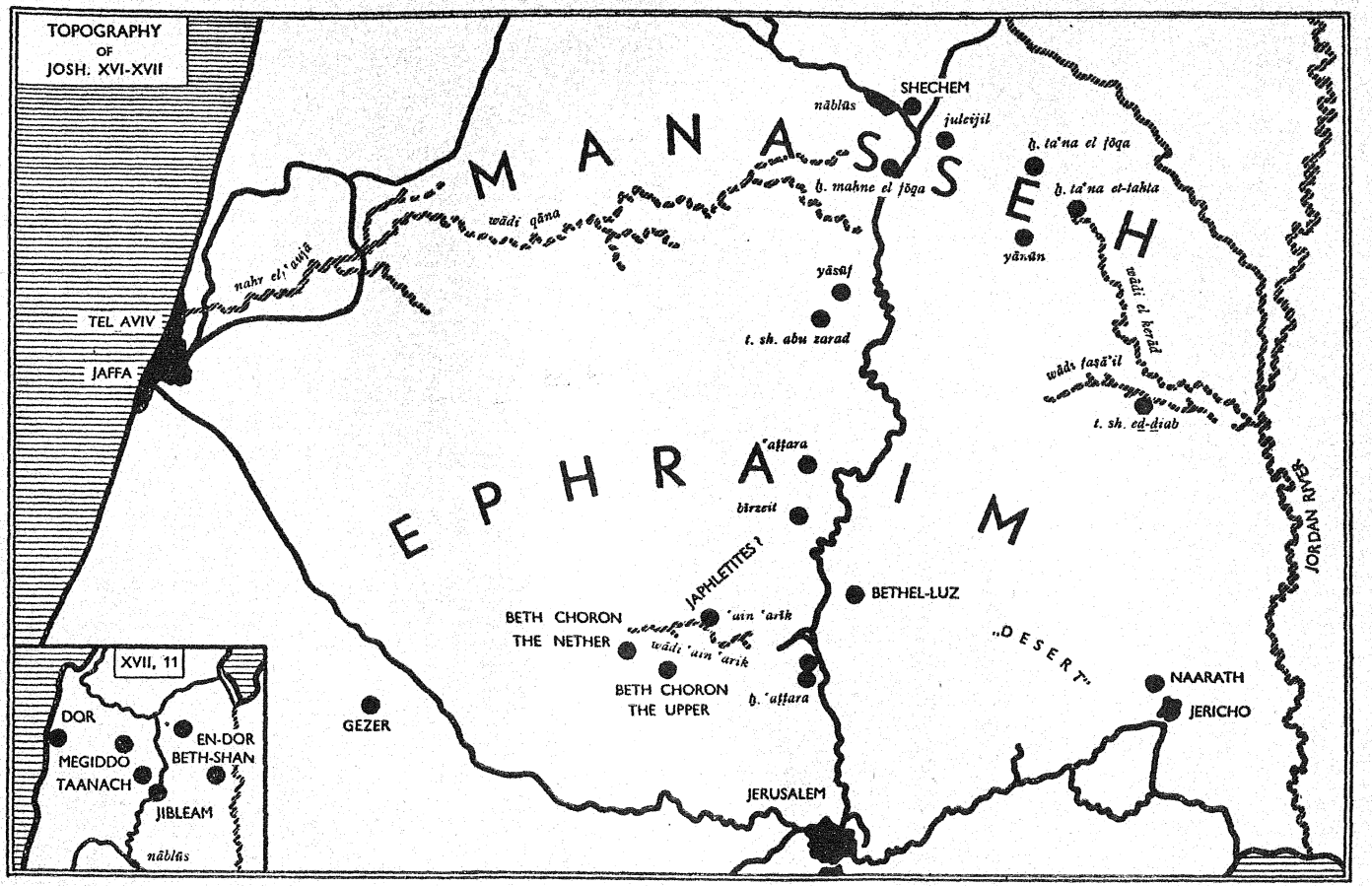
From the outset, however, the author is confronted with a unique fact, viz. that "the children of Joseph" were not one but two

the fact that he is unable to account for the indispensable western frontier of Ephraim's part, except by saying that it was suppressed by the "*Redaktor*" (*a.c.*, p. 215). As for Ephraim's eastern frontier, likewise indispensable, this he obtains by making the eastern section of its northern boundary serve as such (*a.c.*, p. 211). This is materially correct but not formally (see below: p. 206 n. 2) and it is the latter aspect which is decisive for establishing the author's plan.

[1]) J. de Groot, *Josua* (*Tekst en Uitleg*), p. 133.

[2]) I prefer to maintain the text of XVI 1 entirely as it stands, without any change whatever (not even of the *athnach*, as proposed by Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 206, n. 1), taking מִזְרָחָה in the same sense as I shall give it in v. 5b (see below: p. 214, n. 1) and the whole of v. 1b as one (second) stretch of the boundary, viz. "the desert", specified by עֹלֶה etc. The sudden beginning of v. 1b (הַמִּדְבָּר, without any introductory verb) not only corresponds to the same abrupt start of the whole line in v. 1a (מִיְרֵדֵן) but has several more parallels in these chapters (see below: p. 207, n. 2). Consequently, I do not believe that the change of וַיֵּצֵא הַגּוֹרָל (v. 1) into וַיְהִי הַגְּבוּל (G) would restore the text as the author left it, although a mental insertion of these words is evidently necessary (see vv. 2 ff. and cp. the combination XVII 1a α + XVII 7a α). The abruptness, with which the boundary-description follows close upon the formula וַיֵּצֵא הַגּוֹרָל (contrast e.g. the more regular introductory formulae in ch. XIX) betrays a certain impatience in the author's handling of his documents which we shall see illustrated in several other details of the text.

[3]) Cp. XVII 10b. Zabulon is not mentioned here. This must be explained as meaning that Asher's and Issachar's territories joined each other below that of Zabulon (in accordance with Josh. XIX 10 ff.; cp. Noth, *a.c.*, p. 208 against Elliger's attempt—*a.c.*, p. 303—to retrieve here another stretch of his missing southern frontier of Joseph). Asher and Issachar divided between them the greater part of the Emeq (Megiddo, Taanach, Jibleam, En-Dor: XVII 11).


TOPOGRAPHY
OF
JOSH. XVI-XVII
MANASSEH
EPHRAIM
SHECHEM
nāblūs
juleijil
ḫ. ta'na el fōqa
ḫ. ta'na et-tahta
ḫ. mahne el fōqa
wādi qāna
yānūn
wādi el ḥarūd
nahr el-'auǰā
yāsūf
t. sh. abu zarad
wādi faṣā'il
t. sh. eḍ-ḍiab
TEL AVIV
JAFFA
'aṭṭara
bīrzeit
JAPHLETITES?
BETHEL-LUZ
BETH CHORON
THE NETHER
'ain 'arik
wādi 'ain 'arik
BETH CHORON
THE UPPER
ḫ. 'aṭṭara
"DESERT"
NAARATH
JERICHO
GEZER
JERUSALEM
JORDAN RIVER
XVII, 11
DOR
EN-DOR
MEGIDDO
BETH-SHAN
TAANACH
JIBLEAM
nāblūs

tribes, each inhabiting a portion of the Josephite territory. It is irrelevant here when or how this separation had come into existence: such was, in any case, the situation some time after the completion of Israël's settlement in Canaan and it is this period with which the geographical part of the Book of Joshua is concerned.

Now, as the author is aware of a certain historical unity of the Josephites on the one hand and of the actual territorial separation of its components on the other, the most obvious method for him to adopt will be to delimitate the common block as well as to trace the line of demarcation between its components. Surely, he could have described the four frontiers of either component separately, one after the other, and the resulting picture would not have been less clear. But by adopting such a method—also a very lengthy one—he would in no way have given expression to the original unity of the Josephite settlement. At any rate, the former method seems to be perfectly logical, historically intelligible and simpler.

In fact, I believe such has been throughout the author's [1]) plan, but he has not carried it out—hence the apparent obscurity of his composition—with the rigidity, evenness and constancy of a modern geographer. The absence of these good qualities need not necessarily be attributed to later manipulations of the text. It is true that ch. XVI and XVII contain secondary elements, notably the passage XVII 1—6 (see above) now separating two complementary parts. But, as will be said below, the main cause may well lie with the author himself, so that it seems advisable in analysing the text not to have recourse to later deformations, according to the general principle that this escape is only justified if no other is left open [2]).

Whatever may have been the reason why the author has not carried out his plan in a nicely balanced and regular manner and therefore produced a result which at first sight gives the impression of considerable confusion, it does not seem too difficult to show that such was nevertheless his plan, a.v. that his real and

[1]) I call "the author" not the writer of the original documents but the scribe or scholar who composed from them the cohesive text of Josh. XVI—XVII.

[2]) This is perhaps the place to observe that Elliger's analysis and interpretation of these chapters, more even than Noth's, are overburdened with textual additions, corrections and transpositions and with repeated appeals to a "redactor's" unscrupulous interference with the original text: a clear sign of a theory which is on a false track. But for inserting a single word in XVII 9aβ (see below: p. 211) I shall endeavour to interpret the text as it stands.

original intention was none other than to describe the extent of the Josephite block and the common frontier of its two parts. The proof is that ch. XVI and XVII contain nothing which does not fit into this project, with the exception of XVI 5bβ. 6aα which stands apart and is therefore in need of a special explanation. The additions about Ephraim's cities in Manasseh and about Manasseh's cities in Issachar and Asher may require an historical explanation but do not disturb the general scheme, which is as follows [1]):

a) *XVI 1—3:* the author starts, as is logical, by describing the extent of the entire block, the territory of the בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף whose southern frontier is outlined from the Jordan to the sea.

XVI 4: instead of following this up immediately with a description of the northern, western and eastern boundaries of the block he now turns his attention to the component parts: "the children of Manasseh and Ephraim divided the lot among them" [2]). This, surely, is not an example of method but it may be possible to find a reason for the unexpected break (see p. 203).

b) *XVI 6aβ—XVII 9:* leaving aside for a moment XVI 5bβ. 6aα [3]), the supplementary information about the cities of Ephraim and Manasseh (XVI 9) [4]) and also, for the reason mentioned above, XVII 1—6, this part contains nothing else than a description of the northern boundary of Ephraim, practically the line of demarcation separating this tribe from Manasseh (XVI 6aβ—9), and of the southern boundary of Manasseh, i.e. the same line of demarcation but seen from the side of the northern tribe (XVII 7—9) [5]).

[1]) The idea of a combination of a description of the Josephite block with that of a line of demarcation between the two components has been advocated by Holzinger (*Kurzgefasster Handkommentar z. AT*, VI, 1901) but largely on the basis of a now discredited splitting of documents: hence the actual discredit of his analysis and interpretation.

[2]) I prefer this translation, rather than "Manasseh and Ephraim received their inheritance". It is true that the idea of "dividing" is proper to the pi'el of נחל but there are examples of qal in the sense of "dividing the land": Nm. XXXIV 17.18; Josh. XIX 49. My translation is exactly what Noth here calls *"die naheliegende Mitteilung"* (see above: p. 192, n. 2). For "Manasseh and Ephraim" (instead of "Ephraim and Manasseh") see below: p. 202, n. 2.

[3]) I make the *caesura* after הַיַּמָּה. It is quite impossible, as some translators have done, to combine הַיַּמָּה הַגְּבוּל into a *"western* border", which goes out to the *Jordan* (v. 7).

[4]) XVI 10, like XVII 12.13 may or may not be from a later hand. Neither affects the general structure of these chapters.

[5]) It is misleading and inexact to say that the latter is once more Ephraim's northern boundary (Noth, *a.c.*, p. 210: *"die Nordgrenze Ephraims in zweifacher*

c) *XVII 10:* the description of the common frontier between Ephraim and Manasseh ends with XVII 9, because in my opinion with v. 10 the author once more takes up and finishes (XVII 11—13 are but supplementary remarks) his description of the common block. This interpretation of XVII 10 is decisive for my view on the structure of these chapters. Whether or not it is correct, largely depends upon one syllable, viz. the suffix of גְּבוּל at the end of v. 10a. If with the massoretic text it is read in the singular (־וֹ), the author in v. 10aβ (from וַיְהִי) is most probably not concerned with the block of the Josephites but goes on to deal with the territory of Manasseh only, adding to its southern frontier (vv. 7—9) also the western boundary (הַיָּם) and logically proceeding in v. 10b to its northern and eastern boundaries (Asher and Issachar). The consequences of this reading would be that the eastern, western and northern boundaries of the block are nowhere indicated (thus leaving XVI 1—3 completely in the air) and that on the other hand, the description of Manasseh's territory is outlined on the four sides, whereas with regard to Ephraim only its southern limit would have been traced.

On the contrary, if with GS we read גְּבוּלָם, v. 10aβ no longer refers to Manasseh alone but to the two components of the block and completes the picture announced and begun in XVI 1—3, by mentioning its western (הַיָּם: v. 10aβ), northern and eastern boundaries (Asher and Issachar respectively: v. 10b). In this analysis of ch. XVI—XVII the two components are further equally dealt with by a double description of their common frontier and of nothing else.

Fortunately, the reading of the ancient versions is, apart from all theory and explanation, considerably more probable than the singular of the massoretic text, because

a) the combination of G + S against TM is sufficiently strong by itself to give this reading a good measure of probability;

b) the singular of the suffix (גְּבוּלוֹ) in v. 10aβ is contradicted by the plural (in the versions *and* in TM) of the verb in v. 10b (יִפְגְּעוּן);

c) finally, it is easy to realise how some one after having read

Ausführung"). Moreover, in this form the duplication would be wholly inexplicable. Unless, of course, "*die ephraimitische Nordgrenze aufgenommen in den Abschnitt über Manasse*" (*a.c.*, p. 213) is an acceptable theory!

For some details contained in this middle part of the text see below.

the name of Manasseh at the end of v. 10aα may have been prompted to change the suffix of the following גְּבוּלָם into a singular (גְּבוּלוֹ), but it is difficult to understand how a copyist after having read גְּבוּלוֹ in v. 10a could change [1]) the singular verb (יִפְגַּע) into a plural (יִפְגְּעוּן).

This doubt having been solved in favour of גְּבוּלָם as the original reading, we may conclude by stating that the author of ch. XVI and XVII has to the full carried out the project I attributed to him, viz. to offer a description of Central Palestine by outlining the four frontiers of this entire block and by tracing a line of demarcation between its component and essentially equal partners, and that there is nothing in these chapters which does not fit into such a scheme [2]), with the exception, however, of XVI 5bβ. 6aα, to which we shall return presently. It is true that the description of the four frontiers of the block is singularly unbalanced. Only its southern frontier is described in detail, its western limit in the normal short way ("the sea"), but the northern and eastern limits of the territory are but vaguely indicated by their „meeting" with Asher and Issachar respectively. A similar disproportion is, however, no unique fact in the Book of Joshua. The same haste to come to the end of his labours may be observed, e.g., with regard to the author's description of Nephtali (XIX 34), a perfectly identical case [3]). How great was, indeed, the author's

[1]) So Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 271, n. 4.

[2]) It also follows from the reading גְּבוּלָם that the proper place of the manassite passage was not immediately after XVI 4 (see above: p. 196, n. 1). In XVII 10 the author uses plural forms (גְּבוּלָם, יִפְגְּעוּן) with reference to the two components, which only now have been dealt with.

With respect to the suggested transposition of XVII 1 ff. after XVI 4 too much weight is sometimes attached to the sequence "Manasseh and Ephraim" in XVI 4. Is it not possible that this sequence is as fortuitous as that of "Asher and Issachar" in XVII 10 against "Issachar and Asher" in XVII 11? Or, if an explanation is absolutely called for, was it not to be expected that Manasseh should be mentioned before his younger brother in the very phrase in which they are said to have divided the paternal inheritance between them? (Cp. Nm. XXVI 28 and Josh. XIV 4.)

[3]) As an alternative explanation some point to the "fluctuation" of Manasseh's northern boundary (cp. XVII 11), suggesting that the author did not wish to take sides in a territorial dispute between the Josephites or Manassites and their northern neighbours and for this reason confined himself to the bare fact of their "meeting". This suggestion may seem attractive and ingenious, but it leaves unexplained why the northern boundary of Ephraim, also "fluctuating" (XVI 9; XVII 9), is nevertheless described in detail. In fact, the author does take sides for the Josephites in handing over to Manasseh the cities of Beth-Shan etc. (XVII 11).

That the frontier against Asher and Issachar is not described in detail, is also

haste after his already lengthy exposition of the Josephite inheritance, is manifest from the fact that he mentions Issachar as their eastern border, which is only true in a rather relative sense [1]), and from some other details of the text still to be mentioned [2]).

less satisfactorily explained as an effect of vv. 11. 12 in the sense that such a description lacked interest, since Manasseh's north- and north-eastward advance into the Great Plain had practically wiped out the original or theoretical boundaries. The same consideration would again apply to the western section of Ephraim's northern limit, which is nevertheless sharply traced, albeit by a single geographical element ("the river Kana": XVI 8a α).

[1]) Note that the same inexactitude persists, if XVII 10 is explained as referring to Manasseh only. If Ephraim was cut off from the Jordan (see below: p. 206, n. 3), there is no reason why the same would be said of Manasseh, the more so because the author is writing throughout in the theory of an Israelite occupation of Canaan from the Jordan to the sea. But see also p. 209, n. 1.

[2]) A view which differs from the one proposed above as well as from that of M. Noth has been developed by K. Elliger (*a.c.*), viz. that the author's idea was to delineate the frontiers of the entire block and the four frontiers of either part. This view, however, finds little support in the text as it stands. Not only Elliger has to assume that the description of several frontiers of Ephraim and of Manasseh have been drastically "*gekürzt*", but for the total absence of Ephraim's western border (the sea) he has no other explanation to offer than that it was considered superfluous ("*sich erübrigte*": p. 268). But why then has the author troubled to mention the (same) western frontier of Manasseh, not to speak of that of Judah and of Asher? Moreover, Elliger is forced to suppose (*ibid.*) that the meeting with Asher and Issachar (XVII 10) refers to Manasseh alone: otherwise, little would remain of the four-sided description of Manasseh's territory. But, if so, what remains of the four-sided description of the Josephite block? Here again Elliger has nothing better to say than that a redactor has completely suppressed ("*unterdrückt*") the northern and eastern (and western) frontiers (p. 302 ff.). Finally, I believe to have demonstrated that the reading גְּבוּלוֹ in XVII 10 which forms the basis of Elliger's interpretation of this verse, is less probable.

Another leading principle of Elliger's interpretation of Josh. XVI—XVII is that in the description of the frontiers of Ephraim only ephraimite cities have been mentioned, and only manassite places in that of Manasseh's frontiers (*a.c.*, p. 269). This principle has been effectively disproved by Noth (*a.c.*, p. 209, n. 1). The question whether a place mentioned in the description of an ephraimite, respectively manassite, boundary belongs to Ephraim or to Manasseh, is, generally speaking, insoluble. Only once the exact course of the line of demarcation with regard to a city has been pointed out (Tappuach: XVII 8). In some cases the author of the geographical part of the Book of Joshua expressly states that a certain place is north or south of the line he describes (e.g. XV 11a α; XVI 6b; XVII 11b α; XVIII 13a). The reason, however, why such precisions are usually neglected, must, I think, be the fact that most frontier-places (and more particularly those along the line of demarcation between the two brother-tribes of Joseph) were practically inhabited by people from both sides. It would be a grave error to think of the tribal boundaries (and to a certain extent the same is true of all boundaries in ancient eastern regions) in terms of modern state-frontiers, except where a river or a valley constituted a natural demarcation. Is it not the presence of a mixed population which makes it possible that a place like Hammichmethath is mentioned in the ephraimite section (XVIa β) as well as in the manassite section (XVII 7a β) of the chapters under review? The same ill-defined character of the tribal boundaries must be responsible, at least in part, for the attribution of certain frontier-places to more than one tribe (Kirjath-Jearim, Ajjalon, e.a.). Drawing clear-cut boundary-lines between the twelve tribes may be very convenient, indeed necessary, to build up a neat picture on the map, but it is largely a sacrifice to our modern way of thinking.

We must now turn our attention to Josh. XVI 5bβ. 6aα, an element which admittedly does not fit into my analysis of the author's scheme, because in it he is dealing with the southern boundary of Ephraim [1]). This boundary coincides with the southern boundary of the Josephite block already described in XVI 1—3, a fact which tends to accentuate the queer impression of the refractory passage, although the author, already somewhat hasty, has had the good sense to make this second sketch of the same line considerably shorter.

The insertion of this passage, as superfluous as ill-fitting into the general structure of ch. XVI—XVII, must in my view be the effect of the peculiar manner in which the author has made use of the sources of information available to him. As A. Alt has already demonstrated that a solution by the ordinary splitting of documents (J, E, P) is unpractical [2]), I prefer another hypothesis proposed here in the form of a suggestion which at the same time explains the sudden interruption of the author's general scheme after XVI 3. In composing ch. XVI and XVII the author, I should say, had before him a document describing the boundaries of the house of Joseph and at least two other documents dealing with the territories of its two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. The "Josephite document" seems to have been his main source, not only because he starts with the delimitation of the composite block (XVI 1—3) but also because from XVII 14 onwards the

[1]) Of course, the difficulty vanishes, if, following Albright (*a.c.*, p. 150), we let vv. 1—3 absorb v. 5b, "obviously fallen out and inserted in the wrong place". Noth's theory is to the effect that this is not really the same line as described in vv. 1—3 but the southern boundary of Ephraim's "*Sondergebiet*", in which Beth Choron the Upper replaces Beth Choron the Nether of v. 3, because the former was the point where the boundary of Ephraim's "*Sondergebiet*" branched off from the southern boundary of the Josephites (cp. p. 206), and in which "the sea" (v. 6aβ) figures merely as a theoretical prolongation, just as "Gezer" and "the sea" in v. 3. However, the fact of this theoretical prolongation of Ephraim's southern (and northern! see v. 8aβ) boundary as far as the sea proves beyond any doubt that the author had no idea of Ephraim being coufined to a more narrow territory than that of "Joseph" or Manasseh. Only the monotonous appeal to a late "*Bearbeiter*", unblest with any care for logic and cohesion, can justify such a glaring inconsistency within the space of a few lines. It is true that we must admit an inconsistency of a somewhat similar nature in v. 7bβ, where Ephraim's northern boundary is continued beyond Jericho and to the Jordan, in contradiction with XVIII 12 (see p. 206, n. 1). This inconsistency is bad enough, but far more comprehensible in view of the distance between the Josephite and Benjamite passages.

[2]) In *Sellin Festschrift*, pp. 15 f., against Holzinger, Kautzsch, Eissfeldt, e.a.; cp. Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 267.

Josephites retain his exclusive attention [1]). He began therefore by copying from his main document the boundaries of the Josephites, first of all on the southern side (XVI 1—3). Seeing, however, that his document about Ephraim started with a description of the same line in similar terms, the author has not been able to refrain from immediately passing on to the individual tribes (XVI 4), first copying the southern boundary of Ephraim [2]) with which the document began but which, as being identical with the southern boundary of the block, already described, he reduced to the barest minimum (Atroth-Addar, Beth Choron, the sea [3])), and following it up with its northern boundary (XVI 6aβ—8, with an additional information or historical correction—see p. 211—in v. 9). It was this line which really claimed his attention, since it was the line of demarcation between the two tribes. Therefore he not only describes it most fully—disregarding the fact that practically it also included Ephraim's eastern boundary (see p. 206 n. 3)—but also immediately appended the southern boundary of Manasseh (XVII 7—9) which in its turn coincided with Ephraim's northern boundary (perhaps this again explains the very incomplete form of the repetition: see below: pp. 208 f.). Neither tribal portion has so far been outlined on all four sides nor does the author show any inclination to do so. Instead, still having in mind his original picture of one block divided into two parts by a line across, he now summarizes the respective positions of Ephraim and Manasseh by a phrase which clearly shows that he envisaged the northern limit of Ephraim and the southern limit of Manasseh more as the line of demarcation between them than as their respective frontiers: "to the South (of that line belonged) to Ephraim, to the North (of it belonged) to Manasseh" (XVII 10aα). After this he is free to return to his description of the ephraimite and manassite territories together, broken off after XVI 3, and to complete it by their common western, northern

[1]) The fact that the general position of Benjamin is elsewhere described (Josh. XVIII 11) as between Judah and the "Josephites" (not: the Ephraimites) confirms the prepronderance of the Josephite conception above that of two tribal portions in the system of Josh. XIII ff. as a whole. The former is also in accordance with the combined action of the "Josephites" in the conquest of their inheritance (Judg. I 22).

[2]) Introduced by XVI 5a. bα; cp. XVII 7aα which introduces the manassite section.

[3]) Some would say that this line falls short of "the barest minimum". Note, however, that the stretch preceding (east of) Atroth-Addar is no more than the desert between this place and Jericho. But see also below: p. 206.

and eastern boundaries (XVII 10aβ. b). His hasty mood in doing so ("the sea, Asher, Issachar") is perhaps not altogether ununderstandable after the weary descriptions and repetitions which his untimely breaking off after XVI 3 had forced upon him.

It would be unwise from my part to pretend that this more or less psychological analysis of the author's procedure gives complete satisfaction. First of all, it is no more than a suggestion, which, as such, can never replace facts and proofs. A more serious drawback is that it leaves unexplained why in the description of the southern frontier of Ephraim Beth Choron the Upper suddenly takes the place of Beth Choron the Nether in that of the southern boundary of the Josephites. Although I feel no sympathy whatever with Noth's excessive conclusion (*a.c.*, pp. 214 f.) as to the original presence of a western boundary of Ephraim running along the edge of the hill-country (cf. above : p. 203 n. 2), I do admit that even such an apparently trivial detail makes one feel that there may be more in vv. 5bβ. 6aα than my theory reveals [1]).

Another difficult point to which I have so far only made a passing allusion, is the following : if it is true that the whole of XVI 6aβ—XVII 9 (except, of course, XVII 1—6) is concerned exclusively with the line of demarcation between Ephraim and Manasseh, so that XVII 7—9 merely describe the same line as XVI 6aβ ff. but from the other (manassite) side, why should in the latter case only one half of this line have been delineated ? In order to understand this point we must now look more closely at the text itself [2]).

Josh. XVI 6aβ ff. describe the northern boundary of Ephraim by splitting it into a western and an eastern section, both proceeding from a point somewhere in the middle [3]), either Hammich-

[1]) I have already drawn attention (see above: p. 205, n. 3) to the shortening of this same line by the omission of the stretch Jericho-Atroth Addar, a fact which, coupled with the change of the two Beth Choron, rather tends to increase our uneasiness about this point. But no satisfactory explanation has hitherto been given in any other analysis of these chapters. Cp. also what will be said of Abel's theory on p. 214, n. 1.

[2]) I must refrain from entering into a discussion on the topographical problems raised by the text, so as not to overburden my argument. The reader will, however, be able to see the conclusions I have come to in this respect.

[3]) Others propose to turn the "eastern section" into an eastern border of Ephraim. This seems to be a case of taking superficial appearances for realities. Practically this "eastern section" ends as Ephraim's eastern border (thus cutting it off from the Jordan, a fact remarkable in itself), but it is seen and presented by the author as the eastern half of the northern boundary. Although from Ham-

methath (XVI 6aβ) [1]) or (originally) Tappuach [2]). The eastern section runs from Hammichmethath, the most northern point down to Taanath-Shilo (*ḫ. taʿna el ʃōqa* or *et-taḥta*), to Janocha (*yānūn*; cp. p. 215 n. 1), to Ataroth (probably *t. sheiḫ ed-diab*), to Naarath (*ʿain duq*), close along (פנע) Jericho (*t. es-sulṭān*) and on to the Jordan (end of v. 8). The western section runs from

michmethat, its most northern point (מִצְפּוֹן: cp. p. 214, n. 1), the line goes as much to the South as to the East, it is expressly stated to be directed eastward (מִזְרָחָה: v. 6aβ). That the author, moreover, was concerned with presenting a northern, not an eastern boundary, is also significantly betrayed by the fact that he pictures it as ending at the Jordan (v. 7aβ), just as all boundary-lines cutting across the country (Judah, Benjamin, Nephtali). Nobody who has in mind an eastern border, i.e. a line between South and North, can mistakingly make it end at the Jordan. Of course, a mistake it is, because Ephraim's territory does not touch the Jordan, since its frontier meets that of Benjamin near Jericho (v. 7bα *coll.* XVIII 12). But it is a mistake which illustrates how firmly the author's mind was set on the idea of a line from West to East, i.e. on a northern boundary. It is likewise significant that M. Noth (*a.c.*, p. 211, n. 1) ends up by calling into question the authenticity of v. 7b. Certainly, it interferes with his interpretation of vv. 6aβ—7.

[1]) Which lies עַל־פְּנֵי שְׁכֶם, according to XVII 7; probably *juleijil*, about 2½ km from *balāta* (Shechem) which can plainly be seen from there; cp. Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 284 ff.

[2]) If in the original text Hammichmethath was the first place mentioned on the eastern section (XVI 6aβ) and Tappuach the first place on the western section (XVI 8α), a gap is left between them. Note, however, that in XVII 7aβ it is the *western* section which begins with "Hammichmethath". This makes it quite possible—although not necessary—that מִכְתָּשׁ in XVI 8 was originally preceded by "from Hammichmethath to Tappuach" or something similar. That Hammichmethath was the starting-point of either section, is further confirmed by its most northerly position on the boundary-line (XVI 6aβ: מִצְפּוֹן; cp. p. 214, n. 1) which made it especially suitable for this purpose. At any rate, this seems far more probable than inserting another מִכְתָּשׁ before הַמִּכְמְתָת in v. 6aβ, which has led Elliger (*a.c.*, p. 307, cp. p. 272) to the impossible translation "[*Im Norden geht die Grenze aus von Tappuach*]—*Michmethath liegt nördlich davon—und die Grenze* etc."

It is sometimes assumed that before "Hammichmethath" in XVI 6aβ an introductory formula has fallen out of the text ("the border was" or something similar). Certainly the text may be completed *mentally* by an introductory formula of this kind, but the abrupt beginning of a boundary-description or of a new stretch of it, without any introductory formula or verb, seems to be a peculiarity of these chapters (cp. XVI 1: מִיְרִדֵן and הַמִּדְבָּר; XVI 8: מִכְתָּשׁ, perhaps preceded by "from Hammichmethat to Tappuach": see above; XVII 7: הַמִּכְמְתָת—the preceding מֵאָשֵׁר is not a *terminus a quo*: see below, p. 209, n. 2), reminiscent of the well-known fact that the author's documents were at least partially in the nature of name-lists. (I should hesitate to say that for this or any other of the tribal boundaries in the Book of Joshua no other documents were available to the author than such lists of names. Probably these lists were themselves illustrated by occasional bits of text as to the course of the boundary: "north", "south", אֶל־כֶּרֶת and such remarks as preserved in XVII 8).

Tappuach [1]) into the river Kana i.e. *wadi qāna* which by way of its continuation through *nahr el ʿaujā* reached the sea (v. 8a). The extension of the line through the coastal plain as far as the mediterranean seaboard is, of course, as theoretical as in the case of Judah (Josh. XV 11) and consequently described with little detail. The same common frontier between Ephraim and Manasseh is described, from the manassite side, in XVII 7—9, beginning with its western half which now starts from Hammichmethath and goes "southward" to "Jashib near the source of Tappuach" [2]). This stretch is followed, after some precisions in v. 8, by the river Kana and the sea (v. 9a α and v. 9b β; for the remainder of this verse which I interpret as a parenthesis, see below : p. 211). The eastern half of this line, however, i.e. from Hammichmethath (or from Tappuach) to the Jordan, which should now follow, completely fails.

This is admittedly an awkward and unexpected *lacuna*, although to conclude from it that the author was not concerned here with the demarcation between Ephraim and Manasseh (Noth, *a.c.*, p. 213), is another matter. A more modest conclusion would be that the author, describing this line for the second time, now

[1]) The fact that Tappuach is mentioned here as *"eine bekannte Grösse"*, although it is dealt with in detail only in XVII 7—8, is another of Elliger's arguments (*a.c.*, p. 267) for inverting the ephraimite and manassite sections of the text (cp. above : p. 196, n. 1 and p. 202, n. 2). It is not less reasonable to attribute the special information of XVII 7—8 about Tappuach to a difference between the ephraimite and manassite documents used by the author. With regard to the western section of the common frontier the latter contained some more detailed information about various points : cp. also XVII 7 חַמְכְמְתָה עַל־פְּנֵי שְׁכֶם with הַמְכְמְתָה in XVI 6, and XVII 9a β with XVI 9 in the matter of the ephraimite appendix.

[2]) I prefer this reading of v. 7b, according to Abel's reconstruction (see RB 45, 1936, pp. 105 ff.) and his identification of Tappuach with *t. sheiḫ abu zarad* near *yāsūf*.

The translation of אֶל־הַיָּמִין (XVII 7b) as "southward" is in good harmony with the relative positions of Hammichmethath and Tappuach as proposed (*juleijil* and *t. sh. abu zarad*). Translating אֶל־הַיָּמִין as "to the right" necessitates the supposition that between ch. XVI and XVII the author has, without giving due notice, changed his (mental) standpoint, now facing the line of demarcation from the North (so Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 291). This seems to be a more violent theory than the correct translation of אֶל־הַיָּמִין as "southward", although the usual word in these texts is נֶגְבָּה or מִנֶּגֶב. Even Elliger has to admit that in reality his "west of Hammichmethath" means as much "to the South" as "to the West" (*a.c.*, p. 291 f.).

had enough of it, if he has not simply forgotten the second part [1]). At any rate, the reader has lost nothing by this omission, as the partition of the Josephite inheritance is completely known to him before he has even reached the first syllable of ch. XVII [2]).

A third objection against the proposed analysis of ch. XVI—XVII, notably against my interpretation of XVII 10aβ. b as referring to the portions of Ephraim and Manasseh together, may perhaps be raised from the position of XVII 11, which deals with Manasseh's thrust over its northern border, since it is clear that here at any rate the author's mind is concentrated on Manasseh's territory alone. It must be admitted that the position of this verse in the manassite section of the text is not analogous to that of XVI 9 which mentions the ephraimite appendix across its northern boundary and immediately follows upon the description of this line. I believe, however, that the lack of parallelism in this respect between XVI 9 and XVII 11 rather confirms than contradicts my analysis of the author's mind as well as the identical meaning —*mutatis mutandis*—of the two texts (cp. above: p. 194). Indeed, the different positions of XVI 9 and XVII 11

[1]) I dare not risk the suggestion that in the author's mind Manasseh was cut off from the Jordan by Issachar extending along the Jordan far below Beth-Shan (not a word is said about Issachar's southern limit in Josh. XIX 17 ff.), although this would provide an adequate explanation.

[2]) Before setting out (XVII 7) on his description of the western section of Manasseh's southern boundary the author has the word מֵאָשֵׁר. This has often been understood as another stretch of this line preceding (east of) Hammichmethath which it reached "from Asher". Numerous hypotheses have been built, from Eusebius onwards, upon this single word (for a selection see A. Fernandez, *Commentarius in librum Josuë*, 1938, p. 217, n. 1), including that of a city with the name of "Asher" somewhere between Hammichmethath and the Jordan (the eastern half of the line !). In reality, I believe there is no mystery at all, מֵאָשֵׁר having the same substantival meaning here as e.g. מֵעֲרֹעֵר in Dt. III 12, מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in Dt. III 16, מִמַּחֲנַיִם in Josh. XIII 30 and מֵעֲרֹעֵר in 2 Kings X 33b, and indicating that the territory (not the frontier !) of Manasseh was "from Asher" in the sense of "below (next to) that of Asher". This is only materially but by no means formally the same as to say that מֵאָשֵׁר is "*eine kurze Andeutung der Nordgrenze Manasses*" (Noth, *a.c.*, p. 214). I also doubt whether a formal mention of Manasseh's northern boundary by מֵאָשֵׁר is syntactically possible without taking this word as a *terminus a quo* and consequently (but not possibly !) connecting it directly with the following line ("Hammichmethath etc."). More commendable, therefore, is Noth's translation in his *Kommentar*: "*Das Gebiet Manasses beginnt bei Asser Michmethath* etc." (although here, too, the syntactical function of מֵאָשֵׁר is apparently overlooked).

For the substantival meaning of מִן + a topographical name see my article in PEQ, 1947, pp. 27 ff. and pp. 87 ff.

After מֵאָשֵׁר the description of the boundary-line begins in exactly the same sudden way as in XVI 1a, XVI 1b, XVI 6aβ, e.a.: see above, p. 196, n. 2.

are the inevitable result of the author's procedure as analysed above. Having described in XVI 6aβ—8 Ephraim's northern limit, the next verse was the proper place for him to mention its appendix in Manasseh, but as in XVII 7—9 the author has been dealing exclusively with Manasseh's southern frontier—the line of demarcation—, the first opportunity to add the necessary rectification in the North was after the mention of the meeting of the Josephites with Asher and Issachar [1]).

The foregoing discussion on the structure and interpretation of Josh. XVI and XVII would not be complete, indeed it would leave some important points unclarified, without my adding a few more remarks on certain details of the text.

Although, in contrast with my predecessors, I have throughout purposely endeavoured to base my theory on the text as it stands, I have been forced to introduce one fresh textual conjecture. In Josh. XVII 9aα the author points out that in the West the river Kana, just as it was here the northern limit of Ephraim (XVI 8), constituted the southern boundary of Manasseh. What follows, however, is a *crux interpretum*, which has never received a satisfactory solution. Noth's translation is, in my opinion, a crude *contradictio in terminis*: *"Und die Grenze steigt hinab zum Tal Kana: südlich des Tales liegen ' ' Städte Ephraims inmitten der Städte Manasses, und das Gebiet Manasses liegt nördlich des Tales"* (*Komm.*). I fail to see, how certain cities of Ephraim *south* of the river Kana can be stated to lie *in* Manasseh's territory, if this was confined to the region *north* of that landmark [2]).

[1]) A. Alt (ZAW, N.F., IV 1927, p. 67; see also Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 302) has proposed to recognize a fragment of a detailed description of Manasseh's (Elliger: Joseph's) northern boundary in Josh. XIX 22, where it now figures as the northern boundary of Issachar. If this is true, it does not affect my analysis of ch. XVI—XVII, since the author has made no use of this "fragment" for his description of the Josephite inheritance. Moreover, I do not believe Alt's suggestion to be correct at all. It is based on the assumption that Issachar did not figure in the original *"System der Grenzbeschreibungen"*: its territory, being that of a not fully autonomus tribe, was *"dem eines Nachbarstammes* (Manasseh!) *stillschweigend zugeschlagen"*. But this is clearly contradicted by Josh. XVII 10b and implicitly also by XVII 11. As for Issachar failing to achieve early independent possession of a share in Canaan (cp. Gen. XLIX 14 f. and Alt, PJB 20 1924, p. 40), this is hardly a reason why its share should be joined to Manasseh, the more so because XVII 11.12 seem to imply that for a considerable time there existed north and north-east of Manasseh's original territory a barrier of unconquerable Canaanite city-states (cp. below: pp. 212 f.).

[2]) Others break up the verse in a different way, e.g.: "The border went down to the river Kana, south of the river (נֶגְבָּה לַנַּחַל). Those cities belonged to

This verse, as it stands, is unintelligible, even if the grammatically indispensable article (הָ[עָרִים]) is restored. My suggestion is that, owing to the accumulation of particles like מִצָּפוֹן, נֶגְבָּה, צְפוֹנָה in vv. 9 and 10, one of them has dropped out, viz. מִצָּפוֹן or צְפוֹנָה after נֶגְבָּה in v. 9a [1]). If this is correct, the original reading of v. 9 was: וַיֵּרֶד הַגְּבוּל נַחַל קָנָה נֶגְבָּה | 'מִצָּפוֹן' לַנַּחַל 'ה'עָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְאֶפְרַיִם בְּתוֹךְ עָרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וּגְבוּל מְנַשֶּׁה מִצָּפוֹן לַנַּחַל | וַיְהִי תֹצְאֹתָיו הַיָּמָּה

Taking the middle part of this verse (2° לַנַּחַל 'מִצָּפוֹן') as a parenthesis I propose to translate: "The border went down to the river Kana, southward (נֶגְבָּה)—'north' of the river were those cities of Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh because (וְ) the territory of Manasseh was north of the river—and it (the border) went out to the sea." If the essence of text-reconstruction consists in obtaining a readable result with the slightest possible change, this suggestion may perhaps claim to be a good possibility. As a specification of the ephraimite appendix, only generally mentioned in XVI 9, the parenthesis has also a real value: it brings, in the proper place, a useful piece of additional information.

This "parenthesis" leads on to another remark. Three times in ch. XVI—XVII reference is made to cities of Ephraim, resp. Manasseh, lying outside the tribe's proper territory (XVI 9, XVII 9, XVII 11). In the case of Ephraim these cities are not specified, except that they were "north of the river Kana" (see above), but in the case of Manasseh their names are given and from them it appears that Manasseh's encroachment upon the inheritance of two Galilean tribes extended from Dor (*el burj* near *ṭanṭūra*) on the coast across the entire width of Canaan as far as Beth-Shan (*el ḥoṣn* near *beisān*) on the Jordan [2]).

As I have said in the beginning, M. Noth has attached a far-

Ephraim, although they were among those of Manasseh" (so Fernandez, *Commentarius* etc., p. 218) and J. de Groot, *Josua* (*Tekst en Uitleg*), p. 57. This translation seems to mean that the natural landmark of the river Kana was not itself the border, which ran south of it: a rather improbable proposition; cp. XVI 8. E. Auerbach (in H. Torczyner's *"Die Heilige Schrift"*, 1937, p. 466) makes the frontier run *"an die Südseite des Bachtals"*: although *"die Grenze Menaschsches war nördlich des Baches"*: an impossible combination, as far as I can see.

[1]) If מִצָּפוֹן is to be restored, the combination מִצָּפוֹן לַנַּחַל had an exact duplicate in v. 9b, which may have facilitated the copyist's slip.

[2]) The enumeration of Josh. XVII 11 is related to that of Judg. I 27 but it is not a mere copy of it.

reaching significance to the mention of ephraimite cities in Manasseh, much less, however, to that of the manassite cities in Issachar and in Asher. Nevertheless, I have the impression that in the latter case he has come nearer the truth, where he suggests that the author of Josh. XVI—XVII had to reckon with two different conceptions regarding the partition of Central Palestine, one of which incorporated certain cities (with their adjoining territories) into Manasseh, while the other excluded them (*a.c.*, pp. 207 f.). Maybe, however, this is not yet the full truth and, at any rate, the presence of two different conceptions rather claims than offers an explanation. Therefore I should like to speak not so much of two conceptions as of two stages in the partition of the Promised Land among the tribes of Israël.

Every territorial division is liable to be altered ("rectified" is the modern diplomatic term) in course of time. Certainly, the Israëlites in Palestine were no exception to this general rule, as is abundantly clear from the history of Simeon and Dan, not to speak of Transjordan where the "rectifications" have been so extensive that the original line of demarcation between Rubenites and Gadites remains exceedingly obscure. In the same sense Josh. XVI—XVII seem to reflect an initial (or theoretical) and a later (or practical) stage in the settlement of the Joseph-tribes, more specifically an initial division followed by a northward expansion of Ephraim across the river Kana, at the expense of Manasseh (it is well known that Ephraim has in course of time outgrown his elder brother), and consequently, or at least parallel with it, a northward thrust of Manasseh into the territories of the adjoining Galilean tribes. Quite possibly the Canaanite strongholds in and around the Great Plain, enumerated in XVII 11, only belonged *de jure* to Asher and to Issachar, which had never been able to get even a foothold there, while after a certain period Manasseh managed to establish at least some sort of political supremacy over them (Josh. XVII 13 and Judg. I 28).

This northward movement of Manasseh into a hitherto unconquered territory is, in its turn, reflected by the uncertain ("fluctuating") southern boundaries of its northern neighbours. Although the ridge of Carmel and Shichor Libnath (*nahr ez-zerqā*) [1]) cannot possibly constitute a single border-line, Josh. XIX 26b

[1]) The identification can be defended on other grounds, but the light it throws on Josh. XVII 10 ff. and Josh. XIX 26b, is a good argument by itself.

mentions both as the line, along which Asher's boundary went to the sea [1]). Theoretically, the tribe of Asher extended as far south as *nahr ez-zerqā*, but practically it had no power in the plains of Sharon and Megiddo. As for Issachar, Josh. XIX makes no mention of its common frontier with the Josephites but significantly its city-list (XIX 18—21) does not include any of the names mentioned in XVII 11, just as Taanach, Megiddo and Dor are absent from the long list of Asher's towns in XIX 23—31.

It may be of some use, if I conclude my study on Josh. XVI—XVII by a full translation of the text (as far as dealing with the territorial question) on the basis of my analysis as exposed above, using this opportunity to add some observations on minor disputed points:

XVI 1 a) "The lot came forth for the children of Joseph: on the east side [2]) from the Jordan of Jericho to Waters of Jericho —b) the desert which ascends from Jericho through the hill-country [3])—Bethel [4]);

XVI 2 a) and it went out from Bethel to Luz b) and on to the territory of the Arkite—Ataroth [5]).

[1]) Syntactically "Shichor Libnath" seems to have been added by way of an afterthought or alternative.

[2]) It is possible syntactically to connect מִזְרָחָה with "Waters of Jericho" ("to the east of W. of J."). In this case, however, the course of the boundary north or south of Waters of Jericho would probably have been mentioned. For this reason מִזְרָחָה seems more likely to refer to the whole stretch of the line described in v. 1a (and consequently also to the rest of this line) and to have the same meanning as מִזְרָחָה in v. 5b (see below). This does not prevent but rather implies that the boundary, in accordance with Josh. XVIII 12b*α*, passed north of Jericho (against Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 266, n. 1).

[3]) Cp. הַר־הָאֱמֹרִי, הַר־אֶפְרַיִם; e.a.

[4]) בֵּית־אֵל could be translated as an *accusativus directionis*: "to Bethel". With a slight change in vocalisation it is also possible to read the combination הַר בֵּית־אֵל (cp. 1 Sm. XIII 2). But it is more probable that בֵּית־אֵל, like הַמִּדְבָּר (cp. p. 197, n. 2), is only mentally connected with the preceding words. The same may also be true of אַטָרוֹת in v. 2b.

[5]) Cp. the preceding note. The problem of Ataroth, coupled with that of Atroth Addar (XVI 5), is, however, very troublesome. It is fairly certain that *ḫ.ʿaṭṭara* (south of *ṭ. en-naṣbe*) preserves the ancient name of Ataroth, although the historic settlement may have been slightly to the West (*rāǰāt*) or to the East (*ḫaǰr ʿaqab*). It is also generally assumed that Ataroth is mentioned here as the representative city of "the territory of the Arkite" (a sort of apposition: *pars principalis pro toto*), but this assumption finds no real support in the Hebrew text. Only the Greek texts of XVI 5 (G^{B}), XVIII 13 (G^{B}) and XVI 2 (G^{A}) point to such a connection and also suggest the identity of Ataroth and Atroth

XVI 3 a) And it went down, westward, to the territory of the Japhletite unto the territory of Beth Choron the Nether and unto Gezer b) and it went out to the sea.

XVI 4) The children of Manasseh and Ephraim divided the lot among them.

XVI 5 a) And the territory belonged to the children of Ephraim according to their families b α) and the border of their inheritance was, (b β) on the east side [1]): Atroth Addar unto Beth Choron the Upper;

XVI 6a α) and the border went out to the sea.

XVI 6a β) Hammichmethath in the North, and the border

Addar. It is difficult to feel that this is a sufficiently solid basis for either conclusion, nor is the former of these much strengthened by Conder's suggestion to connect the territory of the Arkites with *ʿain ʿarīk* and *wādi ʿain ʿarīk*, a not impossible but philologically objectionable hypothesis which is, moreover, hardly consistent with the location of Ataroth, the capital of the Arkites, at *ḫ. ʿaṭṭara*. On the whole it seems advisable to consider Ataroth as a new frontier-place, just as Bethel in v. 1b (see preceding note), and to admit our ignorance as to the habitat of the clan of Arki. In view of XVIII 13 Atroth Addar is more probably identical with Ataroth. As for the territory of the Japhletites to the West of Ataroth (v. 3a), it is perhaps just possible to place it somewhere between *bīrzeit* and Beth Choron the Upper (on the—hypothetical!—basis of some connection with 1 Chr. VII 31.32).

[1]) This מִזְרָחָה, often declared to be impossible or, at any rate, quite out of place, may well be interpreted as a sort of mental note, meaning that the author placed himself "on the east side" of the line he is about to describe. The same meaning of מִזְרָחָה is also understandable in v. 1a (see above) and in a similar manner מִצָּפוֹן in v. 6a β, asyndetically inserted after הַמִּכְמְתָת, reminds the reader that, at the start, the author places himself at the most northerly point.

An explanation of מִזְרָחָה in v. 5b β by haplography (נַחֲלָתָם מִמִּזְרָחָה) is less probable, since a subsequent "correction" by adding ה should also have to be assumed. Making this מִזְרָחָה an argument in favour of splitting Ephraim's southern limit (XVI 5b. 6a α) into a western and eastern section after the pattern of the northern limit (so Elliger, *a.c.*, p. 306) is, no doubt, little more than a reckless guess.

An entirely novel explanation of מִזְרָחָה in v. 5b β has recently been suggested, though with prudent hesitation, by Abel (*Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 256), who believes that Atroth Addar—Beth Choron the Upper might be the frontier of Ephraim on the eastern side i.e. "contre la hernie benjamite de Jos. XVIII 22 s.", in which case Atroth Addar is *ʿaṭṭara*, north of *bīrzeit*. But the fact that the author lets this line go out to the sea (XVI 6a α), makes it very improbable that he intends anything else than an east-to-west boundary. Moreover, Abel admits that Atroth Addar of XVIII 13 is identical with Ataroth of XVI 2, which is a place on Joseph's southern boundary running from East to West. This makes the identification of Atroth Addar in XVI 5b β with *ʿaṭṭara* north of *bīrzeit* still more unlikely. For this reason Abel doubts the reading "Atroth Addar" in XVIII 13. I also believe that the Benjamite "*hernie*" of Josh. XVIII 22 f. can best be understood as an expansion of Benjamin, while the author is here concerned with the initial or theoretical boundary between Ephraim and Benjamin. Lastly: if the author had intended to take the Benjamite "*hernie*" into account, I think he would have started ist delineation on the other (eastern) side.

turned round, eastward, to Taanath-Shilo b) and on [1]) to the east of Janocha;

XVI 7a) and it went down from Janocha to Ataroth and Naarath b α) and it ran close along Jericho b β) and went out to the Jordan.

XVI 8a α [] from Tappuach the border went, westward, to the river Kana a β) and it went out to the sea; b) this was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim by their families

XVI 9a) besides the cities set apart for the children of Ephraim among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, b) all the cities with their villages.

XVI 10) And they drove not out etc.

XVII 7a α) And the territory of Manasseh was, below Asher: a β) Hammichmethath that lies in front of Shechem, b) and the border went, southward, to Jashib near the source of Tappuach

XVII 8—a) to Manasseh belonged the land of Tappuach b) but Tappuach close to the territory of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim—

XVII 9a α) and the border went down to the river Kana, southward—a β) north of the river were those cities of Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh, b α) because the territory of Manasseh was north of the river—b β) and it went out to the sea.

XVII 10a α) To the South the land belonged to Ephraim and to the North to Manasseh a β) and the sea was their frontier b) and with Asher they met together in the North and with Issachar in the East.

XVII 11a) And to Manasseh belonged in Issachar and in Asher Beth-Shan and her daughters and Jibleam and her daughters and (om. אֶת־) the inhabitants of Dor and her daughters and the inhabitants of En-Dor and her daughters and the inhabitants of Taanach and her daughters and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her daughters; b) [2]).

XVII 12) And the children of Manasseh could not drive out etc.

Completed Febr. 14th, 1946.

[1]) Om. אוֹתוֹ, with GAB SV. Grammatically v. 6b is also irregular by the absence of לְ before יָנוֹחָה. But even the place-name is not above suspicion (Janoach? cp. 2 Kings XV 29, although a different place). The preceding מִמִּזְרַח makes it difficult (impossible?) to consider the form as an *accusativus directionis* (ה־).

[2]) שְׁלִשֶׁת הַנְּפָת is probably a corrupted gloss.

URIM EN TUMMIM

DOOR J. SCHONEVELD, DEN HAAG

Vanwege de schaarsche gegevens, die het Oude Testament als eenige directe bron voor de bepaling en het gebruik van urim en tummim geeft [1]), is het niet mogelijk vast te stellen, wat urim en tummim precies geweest zijn. In dit korte artikel willen we trachten nader in te gaan op de verhouding van urim en tummim, en in verband daarmede op het gebruik van dit orakelmiddel.

Volgens verscheidene geleerden hebben we in urim en tummim niet te doen met bepaalde voorwerpen, maar duiden ze het wezenlijke aan van het borststuk met de twaalf edelsteenen op den efod van den hoogepriester. Wij zullen dit verduidelijken door de weergave van de meening van Thiersch in zijn werk „Ependytes en Ephod" [2]), waarin deze tevens Joodsche tradities verwerkt en corrigeert. Het borststuk (*ḥōšen*) is dubbel (*kāfūl*). Dit beteekent volgens hem niet, dat het een tasch was, waarin de orakelvoorwerpen urim en tummim bewaard werden [3]). Dan toch zouden zij gemaakt worden tot een magisch middel om Gods wil te kennen. Neen, het borststuk is een symbool van het hoogepriesterlijk ambt. Ex. 28 : 15—30 spreken over de vervaardiging, het doel en den zin van dit symbool. Van de vervaardiging van urim en tummim wordt niet gesproken. Als deze dan in vs. 30 zoo maar genoemd worden, komt dit, omdat zij niets zijn dan de samenvattende naam van de twaalf edelsteenen, die in vs. 17—21 afzonderlijk worden opgesomd. De edelsteenen en urim en tummim zijn niet van elkander te scheiden. De edelsteenen zijn de zichtbare teekenen van de onzichtbare geestelijke goederen en genaden, die door urim en tummim worden gekarakteriseerd. De Joodsche traditie laat de gunstige uitspraak of de tegenwoordigheid van

[1]) Ex. 28 : 30, Lev. 8 : 8, Num. 27 : 21, Deut. 33 : 8, 1 Sam. 14 : 41, 28 : 6, Ezra 2 : 63, Neh. 7 : 65.

[2]) Hermann Thiersch, Ependytes und Ephod. Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart—Berlin 1936.

[3]) A.w. S. 121 ff.

Jahwe blijken door een stralen van de twaalf steenen van het borststuk. In het tegenovergestelde geval blijven ze mat. Thiersch verwerpt deze materialistische veruiterlijking van de oorspronkelijk verheven gedachte [1]). Volgens hem kan het alleen maar gaan om een *δήλωσις πνευματικὴ*, waarbij de steenen niet anders zijn dan „symbolum praesentiae Dei, signum lucis et profeticae perfectionis" (Braun) [2]). Met instemming citeert Thiersch ook Bähr, die onder het „vragen" van den hoogepriester (Num. 27 : 21) verstaat het bidden om goddelijke verlichting. Urim en tummim was den hoogepriester een waarborg en onderpand, dat het volk in beslissende momenten niet zonder raad zou zijn [3]).

De moeilijkheid ligt volgens Thiersch in de bepaling van de verhouding van urim en tummim tot het borststuk, daar deze toch niet met elkaar identiek zijn [4]). Dat blijkt immers duidelijk uit Ex. 28 : 30 en Lev. 8 : 8. Volgens hem zijn urim en tummim geen pijlen of steenen. Hij acht het heidensch, als men den hoogepriester laat „würfeln", een verloochening van de geestelijke hoogte, waarop Israël in zijn vroege periode stond [5]). Toch — en dit breekt o.i. de spits van zijn betoog af — moet hij toegeven, dat het loten in een kritieke situatie om Gods wil te kennen in Israël gebruikelijk was, en dat dit loten verhoogde beteekenis had, als het geschiedde in tegenwoordigheid van den priester als den vertegenwoordiger van de Godheid [6]). Indien echter het f e i t van het loten niet in strijd is met de hoogte van het geestelijk leven, dan is het o.i. niet in te zien, dat het hebben van loten of steenen, die speciaal daarvoor bestemd zijn en bewaard worden in het kleed van den priester, daar wèl mee in strijd zou zijn. Hempel heeft inderdaad gelijk, als hij acht, dat het Hebreeuwsch in Ex. 28 : 30 en Lev. 8 : 8 zich slechts laat betrekken op urim en tummim als materieele voorwerpen (Thiersch S. 124). De urim en de tummim (met het lidwoord) worden aan of in het borststuk gedaan (*nātan 'el*). Thiersch bestrijdt Hempel niet met taalkundige argumenten, maar spreekt in dit verband van : Überschätzung des „Buchstabens" ! (S. 125). Wel is het inderdaad eigenaardig, dat nergens over de vervaardiging van de urim en tummim gerept wordt. De oplossing daarvoor moet gezocht worden langs litterair-critischen weg of — en dit lijkt ons waarschijnlijker — men moet aannemen, dat de urim en de tummim naar het oordeel van den schrijver van Ex. 28 en Lev. 8

[1]) A.w. S. 126. [2]) A.w. S. 128. [3]) A.w. S. 128.
[4]) A.w. S. 129. [5]) A.w. S. 130 f. [6]) A.w. S. 132.

reeds voordien bestonden en gebruikt werden, en eerst nu met het gewaad van den hoogepriester verbonden werden.

De urim en de tummim zijn dus voorwerpen, en men mag een en ander niet zien als strijdig met de geestelijke hoogte van Israëls beginperiode. Zooals de Bijbel een principieel verschil aanneemt tusschen het doen van de Egyptische toovenaars en dat van Mozes, zoo moet de practijk van urim en tummim, ondanks materieele overeenkomst, niet gelijkgesteld worden met de heidensche mantiek. Dat zou, zooals Thiersch in ander verband zegt, „ein Grundfehler der Exegese" zijn en ons er toe kunnen verleiden, vanwege onze maatstaven voor hoogstaand geestelijk leven, bij de exegese ons van de „Buchstabe" te verwijderen.

De meesten beschouwen de urim als den eenen steen en de tummim als den anderen. Ook denkt men wel aan twee *pijlen* of *staafjes*. Deze worden gedaan in een voor het loten bestemde bak, pot of tasch (het borststuk). Springt het eene lot er uit (of wordt het getrokken) dan houdt dit een „ja" in, het andere een „neen", springt er geen enkel uit, dan zwijgt Jahwe. Anderen denken aan drie voorwerpen, het eene urim, het andere tummim, het derde naamloos.

Deze opvatting past o.i. niet bij de gegevens, die het O.T. biedt. De teksten wijzen in een andere richting. Er zijn nl. enkele plaatsen, waar *hā'ūrīm* voorkomt zonder *hattummīm* (Num. 27 : 21, 1 Sam. 28 : 6). Dat *hā'ūrīm* hier als afkorting voor urim en tummim zou moeten worden opgevat[1]) is o.i. niet juist. Deze opvatting gaat er nl. van uit dat de urim en de tummim twee bij elkaar behoorende loten zijn, die steeds samen dienst doen. Wat, naar wij hopen te kunnen aantoonen, niet waarschijnlijk is. Vooral voor hen, die meenen, dat *'ūrīm* samenhangt met *'ārar* — vervloeken en daarom de afwijzing inhoudt — welke meening wij intusschen niet deelen, zie beneden — moet het een bezwaar zijn, dat men het orakel als urim zou aanduiden. Men hoopt toch op een gunstige beslissing van Jahwe. De eenzijdige aanduiding met het ongunstige element lijkt ons, gezien ook de antieke Oostersche mentaliteit, niet zeer aannemelijk. Zooals het in de genoemde teksten staat komt „de urim" zelfstandig voor en wel met het lidwoord. In 1 Samuël 28 : Jahwe antwoordde hem niet, noch door de droomen, noch door de urim, noch door de profeten. Gezien het verband gaat het om Jahwe's

[1]) Zie o.a. F. Nötscher, Biblische Altertumskunde, Bonn 1940, S. 310, Muss-Arnolt a.a., p. 196.

voorlichting aangaande de toekomst. Saul weet geen weg, geen raad in zijn moeilijke omstandigheden. Droomen, urim, noch profeten geven hem „licht". Cf. b.v. Gen. 40 en 1 Sam. 9. Ook in Num. 27 gaat het om Jahwe's aanwijzingen door de urim bij de ondernemingen van het volk. De urim was of waren een compleet orakelmiddel en niet maar de helft. In deze opvatting worden we versterkt door 1 Sam. 14 : 41, waar *tummīm* alleen voorkomt. De M.T. heeft *tāmīm*. De LXX heeft echter een veel langeren tekst, die o.i. niet de oorspronkelijke is. Die tekst wil een al te duidelijke voorstelling geven van het gebruik van urim en tummim, die niet overeenkomt met het verband [1]). Ook Ehrlich [2]) verwerpt de „Erweiterung" : „Für uns genügt als Grund zu dessen Verwerfung, dass darin Saul dem JHVH minutiöse Instruktionen über die Formulierung seines Bescheides gibt, Instruktionen, die auch an sich, ohne Rücksicht auf den, der sie erhalten haben soll, ungemein lächerlich sind." [3]) Het is echter o.i. juist, dat het hier gaat om het orakel en dat de LXX תמים als *tummīm* heeft gelezen. Saul zegt tot Jahwe : Geef toch tummim [4]). Waar het gaat om schuld of onschuld wordt „tummim" (zonder lidwoord) gevraagd. Zoo gezien zou Saul in 1 Sam. 28 bij de raadpleging van het orakel „Geef toch urim" (zonder lidwoord) geroepen kunnen hebben. Uit het gebed of den roep tot Jahwe blijkt, dat de achtergrond het geloof in de leiding van Jahwe is [5]).

In Deut. 33 : 8 wijkt de LXX eenigermate van den M.T. af. Hier geven we de voorkeur aan het parallisme van de LXX, dat voor dezen zegen van Mozes kenmerkend is, en dat door een begrijpelijk wegvallen van één keer *l[e]lēwī* in den Hebr. tekst verstoord is. Met behulp van de LXX is de tekst aldus te herstellen :

Aan Levi behoort Uwe tummim
En Uwe urim aan den man, Uw gunsteling.

Hier wordt tegen de gewoonte tummim genoemd vóór urim. Wat echter nog meer opvalt, is, dat urim en tummim hier parallel staan. Dat wijst er op, dat ze elk iets zelfstandigs zijn, niet identiek, wèl overeenkomstig.

[1]) Schulz, Exegetisches Handbuch zum A.T. Die Bücher Samuel, S. 213 ff.
[2]) A. B. Ehrlich, Randglossen zur Hebr. Bibel, Leipzig 1910, Bd 3, S. 215.
[3]) Cf. Prof. Dr. Joh. de Groot, I Samuël, J. B. Wolters, Groningen. 1934. S. 58.
[4]) Zoo leest ook Prof. Eerdmans. Zie : De Godsdienst van Israël, Dl I, blz. 91.
[5]) Verg. Spr. 16 : 33, Hand. 1 : 24—26.

In welke richting wijst de beteekenis van de woorden urim en tummim ?

Dat de Septuagintavertalers daar geen belijnde voorstelling van hadden, blijkt wel uit de verschillende wijzen van vertaling van urim en tummim. Men zie daarvoor de verschillende plaatsen. Onder de moderne onderzoekers bestaan omtrent de beteekenis dezer woorden allerlei opvattingen. Een overzicht van de voornaamste zienswijzen vindt men gemakkelijk bij elkaar in het artikel: The Urim and Thummim, van W. Muss-Arnolt [1]). Enkele voorgestelde afleidingen noemen wij kort:

Muss-Arnolt zelf wil *'ūrīm* in verband brengen met het Akk. *urtu* = bevel, plur. *urtāti* = omina. *Urtu* komt echter van den stam ואר wat in het Hebr. יאר zou worden. Het is zeker niet waarschijnlijk, dat אורים daarmee in verband gebracht moet worden. Deze woorden gaan terug op verschillende stammen. *Tummīm* wil hij afleiden van het Akk. *tamū*, dat in den D vorm *tummū* bezweren beteekent, *tāmītu*, plur. *tāmāti* = orakel. Muss-Arnolt staat een directe ontleening, evenals bij *urtu*, uit het Akkadisch voor [2]). Toch denken we hier ook eerder aan den bekenden Hebr. stam תמם dan aan een directe overname. Vormden beide woorden ook in het Akkadisch een vaste combinatie, dan zou dat een sterke aanwijzing kunnen zijn voor overname, zelfs ondanks etymologische bezwaren. Daar dit echter niet zoo is, is het o.i. niet waarschijnlijk, dat urim en tummim direct uit het Ass.-Babyl. verklaard moeten worden.

Een andere bekende afleiding van *'ūrīm* is die van *'ārar* (Schwally e.a.) [3]). Dit is een mogelijkheid. Ze wordt echter sterk gedragen door de gedachte, dat urim en tummim samen noodig zijn voor de eene orakeluitspraak. Urim houdt dan als vloek de afwijzing of de veroordeeling in, en tummim, als verbonden met onschuld, den zegen van bevestiging en vrijspraak. Maar het feit, dat urim vooral met g e b e u r t e n i s s e n in verband te brengen is, steunt deze afleiding niet. Het antwoord „neen" houdt bovendien niet altijd iets ongunstigs in, evenmin als het „ja" steeds iets gunstigs. Volgens deze theorie zou het — ongunstige ! — ja-antwoord van 1 Sam.

[1]) The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Litteratures, Vol. XVI, p. 193—224. W. Muss-Arnolt: The Urim and Thummim. Men zie vooral p. 199—204.

[2]) A.a., p. 218 f.

[3]) A.a., p. 202. Zie ook G. Wildeboer, Theol. Studiën 1905, blz. 195 v.v.

23 : 12 door tummim gegeven moeten zijn [1]). Aangezien zulke gevallen zich van den beginne aan voorgedaan kunnen hebben — want die mogelijkheid ligt in den aard der zaak — is het niet waarschijnlijk, dat een bevestiging als zoodanig tummim = zegen (Schwally) en een ontkenning urim = vloek zou zijn.

Het meest waarschijnlijk is o.i., dat *'ūrīm* af te leiden is van den stam אור en samenhangt met licht [2]), en *tummīm* van תמם en de integriteit aanduidt.

Urim en tummim zullen oorspronkelijk abstracta zijn — vandaar de pluralis —, maar daarna overgegaan zijn op de voorwerpen, door welker bemiddeling licht en recht geschonken werden. De voorwerpen konden dus genoemd worden : de urim, de tummim. Als bezwaar is wel ingebracht, dat אור wel allerlei overdrachtelijke beteekenissen heeft, maar niet die van ,,voorlichting". Echter wel van ,,verlichting" in dezen zin, dat men zijn ,,weg" ziet (Ps. 119 : 105^b). De beeldspraak ligt trouwens zeer voor de hand. Men verg. Job 37 : 19, waar ,,duisternis" het beeld is van de onwetendheid.

Samenvattende komen we dus tot dit resultaat : De urim werd (of werden) geraadpleegd, als het ging om de vraag : wat gaat er gebeuren, de tummim als het een rechtsgeval betrof. Urim en tummim zijn samen de volledige naam voor het priesterorakel, Ezra 2 : 63, Neh. 7 : 65.

Nadat ik tot deze meening gekomen was, trof ik haar ook aan in de Hebr. archeologie van Dr. J. Th. de Visser [3]), terwijl ik haar aangeduid vond in een noot in het genoemde artikel van Muss-Arnolt [4]) als een meening van H. E. Dosker : ,,Urim, according to Dosker, is the means of divine revelation, while Thummim that of divine decision and judgment".

Het hier gegeven gezichtspunt is dus wel niet nieuw, maar er schijnt weinig aandacht aan besteed te zijn. Wij hopen deze opvatting met voldoende argumenten gesteund te hebben om in ernstige overweging genomen te worden.

's-Gravenhage, April 1946.

[1]) Wij nemen hierbij aan, dat, ook waar alleen van den efod gesproken wordt, 1 Sam. 23 : 9, het toch gaat om urim of tummim. Ook al zou dit intusschen niet zoo zijn, de zaak, waarom het hier gaat, verandert daar niet van.

[2]) Alfred Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients, 4e Aufl. 1930, S. 434 : ,,Der Zusammenhang von Urim mit אור leuchten ist zweifellos".

[3]) Dr. J. Th. de Visser, Hebreeuwsche Archeologie, Kemink en Zoon, Utrecht. Dl I, blz. 384 v.

[4]) P. 204, note 34.

SUMMARY

Urim and Thummim.

Several scholars explain with Thiersch urim and thummim as the symbolic designation of the breastplate on the ephod of the high-priest, as the comprehensive name of the twelve jewels which are a symbol of God's presence ; they are not identical with the breast covering. Hempel and others on the contrary conceive urim and thummim as material objects. The author is of the opinion that Ex. 28 : 30 and Lev. 8 : 8 point to the fact that urim and thummim and the practices connected with them were already known in the times before the institution of the high-priest's ritual clothing. It is not probable that urim and thummim are two oracle lots which are inseparable ; in Num. 27 : 21 and I Sam. 28 : 6 the terms are not used together. We may conclude from Deut. 33 : 8 — in the LXX version —, that they were parallel rather than identical. Discussing some of the etymologies given, the author criticises Muss-Arnolt's derivation from the Accadian and Schwally's derivation of urim from the root *ʿ-r-r*. He is rather inclined to connect urim with *ōr* "light" and thummim with the root *t-m-m* "to be complete" ; the terms were originally abstract nouns which later were used to indicate material objects. The urim were consulted when elucidation was wanted about future happenings, and the thummim in judiciary cases. Together they are the complete name of the priestly oracle.

L'ISLAM ET LA DÉMOCRATIE

PAR J. H. KRAMERS, LEIDEN

Personne ne niera que la conception de la démocratie n'entre pas dans l'ensemble des idées qui traditionnellement ont accompagné l'évolution des théories politiques de l'Islam. Si quelques modernistes veulent nous faire croire que l'Islam est essentiellement démocratique [1]) ce jugement repose seulement sur une évaluation nouvelle des anciennes conceptions, effectuée du point de vue d'un sociologue de nos propres temps.

On serait tout de même en droit de qualifier les institutions de l'Islam de démocratiques dans la mesure que la Loi Divine préconise l'égalité absolue de tous les croyants vis-à-vis de Dieu et par là vis-à-vis du représentant de Dieu sur la terre, le calife ; celui-ci, dans sa qualité de chef de la communauté islamique, ne fait rien qu'appliquer les commandements de Dieu. Aussi Snouck Hurgronje, dans son livre sur les Atchinois, remarque qu'on pourrait difficilement se représenter une monarchie, ou plutôt une république, plus constitutionnelle que l'« État musulman » des traités de loi [2]). La constitution, dans ce cas, c'est l'ensemble des prescriptions légales, qui ont autant d'autorité pour les gouverneurs et pours les délégués du chef que pour celui-ci.

Snouck Hurgronje continue en déclarant que la pratique gouvernementale dans les pays islamiques présente un contraste prononcé avec les institutions de la théorie légaliste. Partout dans le monde islamique a régné le despotisme le plus brutal et l'arbitraire le plus absolu. Ici on pourrait remarquer de manière générale que l'histoire de l'Islam n'a pas montré partout et toujours au même degré ce manque de sentiment constitutionnel et que, surtout dans le domaine social, les tendances démocratiques se

[1]) Goldziher, *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 355.
[2]) Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, II, p. 355.

font remarquer assez clairement, notamment dans les périodes qui ont connu un régime sage, capable de contenir les forces qui travaillaient dans un sens opposé.

La théorie des légistes du reste s'est depuis longtemps résignée à cet état de choses en déclarant qu'il était amené par l'imperfection de la nature humaine et en général par la détérioration des temps. C'est l'attitude depuis longtemps traditionnelle des légistes en face de la non-observation de la *šarīʿa* qui, dans leur doctrine, a un caractère idéal et dont la réalisation complète est impossible en ce monde.

Il est à noter cependant que cet état de choses si peu désirable aux yeux des gens pieux est causé par le fait que les institutions musulmanes ne connaissent aucune instance dont la tâche serait de contrôler l'application des pouvoirs politiques dans la vie de la communauté. Tous ces pouvoirs sont dérivés en somme de l'autorité du chef et celle-ci à son tour dérive de Dieu. Le seul contrôle existe dans la conscience individuelle des gouvernants dont l'humanité est trop souvent incapable de s'inspirer des commandements en réalité sur-humains de la Loi Divine. On est en face ici d'une de ces lacunes ou imperfections — de notre point de vue — dans le système islamique qui, avec toute sa casuistique, ne précise pas généralement de quelle façon les commandements doivent être appliqués. Telle par exemple la liberté laissée au juge musulman en matière pénale ; sa compétence de prononcer des peines par le *taʿzīr* n'est liée à aucune prescription détaillée.

La seule instance séculière reconnue par la Loi est le fameux consensus de la communauté islamique appelé *iǧmāʿ*. En théorie l'*iǧmāʿ* est même régulateur pour la Loi même. Mais en pratique ce consensus universalis est impossible à manier. C'est une instance qui manque d'organe. Les différentes tentatives des docteurs de le munir d'une définition plus praticable ont dû nécessairement rester vagues. Tout au plus on pourrait soutenir que le vrai *iǧmāʿ* a une force négative accentuant de cette manière l'esprit conservateur de l'Islam. Là où l'*iǧmāʿ* est invoqué pour légaliser certaines pratiques nouvelles (*biḍʿa*), ce sont en réalité la coutume et l'usage (*ʿāda*) — excommuniés par la Loi — qui se font sentir et que le jugement arbitraire des légistes déclare pour *iǧmāʿ*. C'est donc le cours du temps qui vient ici au secours de la théorie, impuissante en elle-même.

Nous constatons donc que c'est le manque d'organes interposés

entre Dieu et sa Loi d'un côté et l'homme de l'autre côté qui rend l'exercice pratique de la démocratie, telle que nous l'entendons, illusoire.

Il est vrai que le manque d'institutions démocratiques ne caractérise pas moins beaucoup d'autres systèmes orientaux où l'autorité du souverain a souvent très peu de contre-poids au sein des groupes sociaux ou chez les représentants de ceux-ci. Tout de même, si nous limitons notre attention aux deux empires dont les institutions ont eu le plus d'influence sur le développement politique de l'Islam, nous discernons dans tous les deux des forces sociales réelles qui, sans être démocratiques au sens moderne, sont à même de contrebalancer, tantôt plus et tantôt moins, le pouvoir central. Dans l'empire des Sassanides aussi bien qu'à Byzance, il y a le clergé qui est reconnu par la tradition et par sa structure hiérarchique comme un élément social indépendant du souverain. Il en est de même pour la féodalité qui, dans l'histoire des deux empires, s'est montrée plusieurs fois capable d'ébranler le trône. Quelque élevée que fût la position théorique des Césars et des Khosroës, la réalité des autres pouvoirs sociaux n'était jamais niée ou ignorée dans l'idéologie politique.

Il ne s'agit pas ici de la manière dont cet état de choses s'était développé dans l'histoire, car évidemment les institutions gouvernementales de Byzance avaient un passé bien plus démocratique que celles de l'empire persan. L'essentiel est que, dans les deux cas, le problème du gouvernement d'un grand empire sous un seul souverain avait trouvé une solution dans laquelle l'existence d'autres pouvoirs humains se trouvait reconnue.

Il est vrai que, dans l'empire des califes, le même groupement de pouvoirs sociaux s'annonce dès le commencement et qu'il a été la plupart du temps une réalité incontestable. Mais ce qui fait différer cette situation de celle dans les deux empires plus anciens c'est que la théorie de l'Islam n'a jamais voulu reconnaître l'existence d'institutions humaines autonomes à l'intérieur de la grande communauté des croyants. Il est très probable, bien que de telles choses ne puissent jamais être prouvées, que cette attitude théorique n'a pas été sans influencer profondément l'évolution de la civilisation mahométane dans l'histoire, une fois que les conceptions sociologiques et politiques se furent affermies pour de bon dans les esprits, ce qui a eu lieu au cours du IIIème siècle de l'Islam.

La possibilité de pouvoirs autonomes est simplement ignorée par l'Islam. Ceci n'est jamais dit expressément dans les sources, parce que c'était une « tache aveugle » dans l'organe visuel des docteurs. Mais, une fois cette lacune reconnue, nous pouvons la mettre en rapport direct avec la doctrine théocratique dont tout le système de l'Islam se trouve imprégné. La toute-puissance de Dieu, dévolue sur terre à son vicaire, ne supporte l'existence d'aucune puissance dérivée d'une autre source. La reconnaissance d'autres pouvoirs autonomes sur la terre ne serait autre chose que polythéisme (*širk*). C'est la même attitude qui règne dans le domaine de la théologie et qui fait rejeter l'idée que Dieu pourrait avoir des qualités ayant une existence à elles propres en dehors de l'essence divine. Le domaine terrestre n'étant pas séparé rigoureusement du domaine surnaturel de l'au-delà, il s'ensuit que le gouvernement de tous deux est soumis aux mêmes principes. Et de même que Dieu délègue une partie de son pouvoir gouvernemental à son vicaire, le calife, celui-ci peut déléguer à son tour certaines compétences à d'autres humains ; seulement tous sont en somme les exécutants du pouvoir théocratique absolu. Si l'on étudie de ce point de vue les multiples fonctions politiques décrites par al-Māwardi dans ses « Institutions Gouvernementales » on aperçoit que nulle part il n'est question d'autre chose que de délégation de pouvoir (*tafwīḍ ; taḫlīd*).

Dans ce système si peu démocratique à nos yeux, la démocratie est sauvée dans un certain sens par le fait que ni le souverain, ni ses délégués n'ont de pouvoir législatif ; Dieu n'accorde à aucun humain le droit de modifier ou d'amender sa Loi (*šarīʿa*). Il est vrai que le contenu de cette Loi ne peut être connu que grâce à des efforts considérables. Aussi la recherche des prescriptions légales est la tâche de toute la communauté et parmi elle c'est le calife qui doit être doué en premier lieu des capacités nécessaires pour décider ce qui est commandé par la Loi et pour résoudre les problèmes légaux. Mais il n'y a pas de législation proprement dite dans l'Islam, ni auprès du calife ni auprès d'autres organes.

Évidemment la pratique exige partout et toujours des décisions qui sont réellement législatives. Seulement la théorie ne les reconnaît pas comme telles ; selon elle, ce ne sont que des décisions incidentelles. Elles ne sont jamais réunies dans des codifications ayant autorité à côté des livres qui décrivent la *šarīʿa*.

Mais la bonne application des commandements divins est une

tâche hautement recommandée aux princes. Non moins à leurs délégués et surtout aux juges qui sont chargés de l'administration de leur justice. La justice ou l'équité (*ʿadl*, *ʿadāla*) est une qualité humaine très décorative et très louable, mais qui n'a rien de divin. L'histoire des idées des Muʿtazilites le prouve. Le sentiment de justice n'est pas considéré comme un pouvoir dirigeant dans le monde. Cette conception présente un contraste bien réel avec, par exemple, la tradition iranienne telle que nous la trouvons dans les narrations sur les rois Sassanides et dans les multiples anecdotes sur leur justice, par laquelle ils assuraient le bon fonctionnement des affaires dans leur empire et dans le monde en général.

Dans la conception des Iraniens la justice, un des aspects de l'hypostase de l'*aša* avestique (*arta* dans l'inscription de Xerxes), avait une tout autre importance. Elle figurait à côté d'autres hypostases, parmi lesquelles celle de la domination (*ẖšaṯra*), comme puissance surnaturelle et en même temps sociale dans le système cosmologique du Mazdéïsme, système qui s'éloigne considérablement de l'unité absolue de la divinité telle que l'enseigne l'Islam. Dans l'empire byzantin également vivait encore la conception, moins doctrinaire, des abstractions avec lesquelles opérait la pensée hellénistique, mais qui, pas plus que l'idéologie iranienne, ne pouvait aboutir qu'au polythéïsme du point de vue islamique.

A côté de la négation de forces autonomes dans la société et dans le monde, il y a lieu de considérer ici un autre trait caractéristique, qui est propre à l'idéologie islamique et qui est en même temps le complément de la particularité relevée ci-dessus. Cet autre trait consiste dans l'impossibilité, pour la pensée islamique, de se représenter un groupe d'êtres humains comme une collectivité autonome ayant une individualité à part des individualités de ses membres. Ceci encore est un aspect négatif.

Dans le domaine du droit il est bien connu que la personnalité juridique est chose inconnue [1]). La loi islamique se trouve ici dans la même phase de développement que le droit romain ancien [2]) et, bien qu'il eût pu emprunter des conceptions plus développées au droit hellénistique des pays conquis, il en est resté à ne voir dans chaque corporation qu'un ensemble d'individus qui, comme

[1]) Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Berlin und Leipzig 1935, p. 37.

[2]) Voir L. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Geschichte der juristischen Person*, München 1933.

dans la figure de la société (*širka*), étaient seulement liés par les obligations des participants individuels entre eux-mêmes et envers des troisièmes.

Il en est de même pour les institutions administratives dont a besoin le gouvernement. Ainsi l'Islam ne connaît d'autre juridiction que le juge unique ; les tribunaux dans les pays mahométans modernes y ont été introduits d'après le modèle pris dans les pays occidentaux[1]). Un exemple classique de la réaction violente de la conscience musulmane contre un conseil chargé de donner une sentence judiciaire est fourni par la révolte des Ḫārigites contre les arbitres institués pour décider sur les titres de ʿAlī et de Muʿāwiya au califat. Leur devise « C'est à Dieu seul qu'appartient le jugement » (*la ḥukma illā li'llāh*) est une expression éloquente de ce sentiment.

Le prince peut instituer un gouverneur ou un juge ou un commandant de troupes pour exécuter une partie des fonctions qui lui sont dévolues à lui-même de la part de Dieu. Mais jamais il ne peut nommer un conseil, un collège ou une commission. Donc pas de tribunaux, pas de conseils royaux, pas de municipalités, pas de corporations humaines exerçant comme telles des fonctions légales ou administratives.

Cet état de choses n'a pas moins ses racines dans la conception de l'unité absolue de Dieu. Dieu n'a à faire qu'avec les individus humains qui, chacun pour soi, sont responsables envers Lui. Un seul individu, comme le calife, peut être revêtu d'une certaine autorité, qu'il peut déléguer à son tour à d'autres individus, mais un groupe servant comme tel cette autorité est inimaginable. Cela amènerait à la constitution de nouvelles entités surhumaines et l'acceptation de ces entités, même si elles étaient créées par le pouvoir légal, aurait comme conséquence inévitable qu'elles auraient une autonomie intérieure propre à elles-mêmes. Et on retomberait dans le polythéïsme.

C'est du même point de vue qu'on peut envisager l'absence

[1]) Dans son beau livre sur l'*Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Paris 1938), Tome I, M. Tyan, tout en exposant correctement la règle de l'unité du juge (p. 313 suiv.), va trop loin, à mon avis, quand il donne au chapitre relatif à cette matière le titre de « Composition du Tribunal ». Bien que le ḳāḍī invoque en beaucoup de cas l'assistance de conseillers, il n'y a jamais question d'un vrai tribunal. Les mots *maḥkam* (dans le *Vocabulista* du XIIIème siècle, voir Dozy) et *maḥkama*, dans le sens de tribunal, n'apparaissent que dans les milieux où l'influence occidentale se fait sentir.

d'une organisation ecclésiastique dans l'Islam. Un clergé comme corporation reconnue, de même que d'autres groupes organisés, comme des collèges pontificaux et des conciles, aurait une autorité offensive et intolérable dans le système théocratique tel que le conçoit l'esprit de l'Islam. Donc pas d'église islamique.

La seule communauté humaine que reconnaisse la théorie est celle de tous les croyants ensemble, la *umma* ou, dans un sens plus politique, la *ǧamāʿa*. La conséquence est que les communautés non-islamiques qui vivent dans la société musulmane sont reconnues comme ayant une indépendance autonome sous leurs propres chefs. Ces groupes sont en effet hors de la loi islamique et ne doivent donc pas être jugés selon les mêmes principes.

L'autorité de la *umma* est expressément reconnue par la théorie de l'*iǧmāʿ*, mais on sait quelle difficulté les docteurs de la Loi ont eu à lui donner un semblant de réalité effective. Traduit en termes de notre temps cela signifie que la démocratie, reconnue en principe comme corollaire de la théocratie — Dieu d'un côté et la communauté des croyants de l'autre côté —, est rendue inefficace par le manque de corps reconnus qui, dans le sens moderne de la démocratie, sont indispensables pour en assurer l'organisation.

Dans le début de l'Islam la notion de corps constitués n'a pas été entièrement inconnue. Dans le Koran même, Firʿawn, le roi d'Égypte, est entouré d'une espèce de conseil royal (*malaʾ*) qu'il consulte pour les décisions à prendre. Il existe même un tel conseil céleste des anges (sūra **37**, 8; **38**, 69). L'organisation communale de la Mecque a connu également une sorte de conseil (*nadwa, nādī*). On pourrait encore penser au conseil (*šūrā*) institué par le calife ʿUmar pour choisir son successeur. Le mot *šūrā* est sans doute emprunté à sūra **42**, 38, qui pose comme marque distinctive des croyants qu'ils se consultent mutuellement. En discutant le procédé à suivre à l'occasion du choix d'un nouveau calife, un juriste comme al-Māwardi se montre même embarrassé par l'idée de la šūrā, car il exige encore que l'*iǧmāʿ* fasse droit aux décisions prises [1]). On constate en tout cas que cette méthode n'a jamais fourni une tradition bien établie dans les institutions gouvernementales.

Il semblerait même que la langue arabe prête à ignorer la conception de groupements humains supra-individuels. Les pluriels dits « internes », qui paraissent être pour une grande partie des

[1]) *Maverdii Institutiones Politicae*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 17.

collectifs d'origine, n'auraient pu obtenir une si grande extension d'emploi pour des pluriels de personnes si l'idée de la collectivité humaine n'avait pas été difficile à concevoir ; on ne les pouvait interpréter que comme des groupements de personnes. Et, autre fait linguistique, des termes abstraits indiquant des dignités telles que *ḫalīfa*, *imām* et *sulṭān* — et plus tard *dawla* — ont fini par figurer, suivant l'intérêt de la langue, les individus revêtus de cette dignité.

Nous ne voulons pas prétendre évidemment que l'histoire de l'Islam ne serait pas remplie de phénomènes qui ont leur source dans la formation de groupes sociaux, religieux ou politiques. Mais la catholicité de l'Islam a toujours réagi plus ou moins violemment contre ces tendances. Ainsi les grandes crises qui ont ébranlé la communauté islamique au premier siècle de son existence étaient justement causées par la séparation de partis politiques tels que les Ḫāriǧites et les šī'ites. La šī'a est toujours restée stigmatisée par l'étiquette de « parti », désignation qui devait la condamner désormais aux yeux de la catholicité sunnite. On pourrait même maintenir que la šī'a a été en pratique plus tolérante vis-à-vis des groupes autonomes, comme les corporations des arts et métiers. Celles-ci en effet ont prospéré davantage dans des milieux où prévalaient des idées šī'ites [1]) que sous des gouvernements non-šī'ites, qui les supprimaient plutôt.

Quant à l'existence des maḏhabs dans le domaine du fiḳh, bien qu'ils aient été le résultat de très réels conflits d'ordre spirituel, la doctrine catholique les a canonisés comme des « directions », parmi lesquelles tout musulman peut faire son propre choix. Et à l'intérieur du maḏhab il n'y a non plus une autorité absolue qui s'interpose entre le croyant et le Législateur. S'il y a autorité c'est une autorité verticale, dans le sens chronologique. L'autorité de la tradition se trouve renforcée par les imperfections de l'autorité temporelle et séculière.

Il serait difficile d'appuyer ce qui a été exposé ci-dessus par des textes de doctrine, parce qu'il s'agit justement de conceptions et d'institutions qui manquent dans le système de l'Islam. On ne peut pas exiger de ces textes qu'ils attirent particulièrement l'attention sur des choses qui échappent à la vision intérieure des théoriciens de l'Islam.

[1]) Voir l'article *Ḳarmates* de L. Massignon dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, à la fin.

Cependant il y a un auteur qui, tout en restant imbu de l'idéologie islamique, a donné un tableau des forces qui opèrent dans la société humaine et cela sur une base assez large pour y intégrer des phénomènes qui l'obligent à affronter dans une certaine mesure les problèmes sociaux et politiques qui sont posés par l'existence de groupements humains et par les conflits d'autorité qui en découlent. Nous voulons parler d'Ibn Ḫaldūn et de sa célèbre *Muḳaddima*.

Il y a treize ans le professeur H. A. R. Gibb a réfuté une manière de voir qui considérait cet auteur comme une figure rendue tout à fait exceptionnelle dans la littérature de l'Islam par l'absence presque complète des préjugés propres à son entourage religieux[1]). Or l'étude des idées d'Ibn Ḫaldūn du point de vue qui nous intéresse ici semble donner pleinement raison aux arguments de M. Gibb et faire connaître le fameux historien comme un homme qui se place entièrement sur le point de vue islamique.

Ibn Ḫaldūn analyse les forces qui opèrent dans la société humaine et, en faisant ceci, il envisage apparemment sans préjugés les phénomènes qui se présentent à lui parmi le vaste matériel historique embrassé par ses profondes connaissances. Mais il interprète ces forces d'une façon entièrement islamique. Selon lui ce sont des agissements aveugles qu'il faut accepter avec un fatalisme résigné. Leur origine est dans la nature de l'homme et de la société humaine (*ṭabī'at al-'umrān*) ; les institutions naturelles des humains sont « nécessaires » (*ḍarūrī*) et par là gouvernées par la fatalité.

Ces lois inévitables sont de nature sociale, économique et politique ; elles gouvernent l'état nomade ou sédentaire des peuples, la façon dont ils pourvoient à leur subsistence et leur organisation politique. C'est seulement dans le domaine de la politique qu'Ibn Ḫaldūn oppose un ordre divin (*šarī'a*) à l'ordre naturel. Il commence à développer ces dernières idées dans le paragraphe 4 de la IIème section du livre[2]). Les faits sociaux et économiques qu'il décrit avec grande lucidité échappent à sa critique religieuse et restent abandonnés au jeu fatal des forces naturelles.

Or dans la description des forces qui sont actives dans la société

[1]) H. A. R. Gibb, *The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Political Theory*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London*, VII : 1933—35, p. 23 suiv.

[2]) Nous citons la *Muḳaddima* d'après les sections (*faṣl*) et leurs subdivisions ou paragraphes (nommés *muḳaddima* dans la première section et *faṣl* dans les sections suivantes) du seul livre dont se compose ce traité.

humaine, Ibn Ḫaldūn connaît très bien le phénomène de la formation des groupes. Ces groupements naturels, qu'il appelle *ʿaṣabīya*, sont même le thème principal sur lequel il construit sa démonstration. La formation des groupes a lieu par nécessité parce que les individus doivent s'entr'aider et collaborer pour se maintenir dans le monde (I, 1). C'est notamment dans l'état nomade de la société que ce besoin de former des groupes est impérieux. La base du groupe est en premier lieu la parenté. L'auteur cite (II, 7) la narration koranique des frères de Yūsuf qui disent qu'il n'y a pas de danger que leur frère soit dévoré par le loup tant qu'ils forment une bande bien liée (*ʿuṣba*, sūra 12, 14). C'est de la même racine qu'est dérivé le terme *ʿaṣabīya*, qui ne paraît avoir eu sa place dans le vocabulaire arabe que depuis Ibn Ḫaldūn.

Mais notre auteur, en bon musulman, est loin d'approuver la *ʿaṣabīya*, qui, nécessairement, mène à l'effusion de sang. Bien qu'elle soit inévitable dans l'état naturel des peuples, le législateur divin condamne la *ʿaṣabīya* où il dit que celui qui est le plus honoré auprès de Dieu est celui qui est le plus pieux (sūra 49, 13). Le prophète a dit : Dieu vous a libérés de la bravade (*ʿubbīya*) du paganisme (III, 28). Ainsi la *ʿaṣbaīya* est une chose qui doit être vaincue par le nouvel ordre de la prophétie (*nubūwa*).

Dans l'exposé d'Ibn Ḫaldūn le problème de la *ʿaṣabīya* est toujours accompagné de celui du principat (*siyāsa*). La présence d'un chef qui sait guider le groupe n'est pas moins une des nécessités de la nature. Le groupe humain a besoin d'un conducteur qui maintient l'ordre et grâce auquel seulement il peut atteindre son but dans la société. Dans la société nomade ce dirigeant est un simple chef (*raʾīs*) qui lui-même dépend sous beaucoup de rapports des tendances du groupe même (II, 28). Lorsqu'il réussit à consolider son pouvoir il devient plus indépendant et obtient la royauté. Mais le roi n'en reste pas moins soumis à la fatalité naturelle ; il ne peut pas assurer le bien-être spirituel des gouvernés tant que sa position n'est pas appuyée par une devise religieuse (*ṣibġa dīnīya*). C'est cette idée qui est formulée par Ibn Ḫaldūn quand il dit que la royauté appartient aux «choses relatives» (*al-umūr al-iḍāfīya*), c.-à-d. aux institutions dont la valeur est déterminée par une relation (*iḍāfa*) (III, 24). La royauté doit donc être consacrée par la soumission à l'ordre divin voulu par la *šarīʿa*. Alors la royauté se change en califat et devient un imperium (*dawla ʿāmmatu'l-istīlāʾ*) (III, 4). On remarque ici la tendance à

dénier toute autorité à un pouvoir ayant son origine dans un milieu humain. Omnis potestas a Deo.

En nous tenant au problème du caractère démocratique de l'Islam nous voulons examiner maintenant un peu plus en détail les idées d'Ibn Ḫaldūn sur la souveraineté, sur les organes du gouvernement, sur l'ordre des autorités religieuses et sur les collectivités d'ordre secondaire telles que les villes et autres unités territoriales.

La royauté, qui naît du groupe de la *ʿaṣabīya*, est un rang naturel (*manṣib ṭabīʿī*) (III, 23) ; le roi ne peut régner que par la force. Le chef de tribu est un simple conducteur (*sūdad*, également un collectif à l'origine), mais la royauté est quelque chose qui s'ajoute à la qualité de chef (II, 17). Le roi a besoin de vaincre les autres *ʿaṣabīyāt* qui voudraient se faire valoir. Il ne vient pas à l'esprit d'Ibn Ḫaldūn que plusieurs groupements politiques peuvent coexister au sein d'une coordination ou d'une subordination. Il faut que les *ʿaṣabīyāt* spéciales disparaissent (II, 11). Il est vrai que l'auteur connaît des royautés incomplètes (*mulk nāḳiṣ*), mais cette situation est très peu souhaitable ainsi qu'il le démontre par des exemples empruntés à l'histoire (III, 23).

On sait qu'Ibn Ḫaldūn aime à parler de la souveraineté du point de vue de sa continuité chronologique. Il parle alors de la dynastie (*dawla*). La *dawla* est soutenue par la *ʿaṣabīya* et une des théories les mieux connues de notre auteur est celle sur la naissance, la floraison et la décadence des dynasties ; celle-ci également est une fatalité naturelle et est décrite en cinq étappes (III, 17).

La *dawla* est un groupe d'individus. Seulement c'est un groupe vertical dans l'ordre chronologique et, comme tel, elle est acceptable aux yeux d'un auteur musulman. Le mot *dawla* du reste a toujours gardé une certaine splendeur depuis le temps des Abbassides qui, les premiers, ont été décorés de cette désignation après qu'une révolution (*dawla*) mémorable les eut portés sur le trône [1]).

[1]) C'est A. Mez qui le premier a souligné que le passage du sens de *dawla* « changement, révolution » à celui de « dynastie » a eu lieu pendant la propagande mahdiste qui précédait la révolte Abbasside. Voir la note sur la page VII de son édition d'*Abulkasim, ein bagdader Sittenbild*, Heidelberg 1922. Outre les vers cités par lui à l'appui de sa thèse, nous signalons encore ceux attribués à Naṣr ibn Sayyār par al-Dīnawarī (dans la description de la fin du califat umayyade donnée dans la Chrestomathie de Guirgass et Rosen, p. 215). Naṣr dit au calife : « Je te mets en garde contre une *dawla* qui est conduite par un homme de parenté décisive. » Les deux significations sont ici admissibles.

Ainsi ce mot n'est accompagné d'aucun faux-goût payen. Il cadre bien avec le gouvernement religieux tel qu'il est exigé par l'idéologie musulmane.

Il ne paraît pas superflu de remarquer que *dawla* ne doit jamais être interprétée chez Ibn Ḫaldūn dans le sens d'« état » qu'il a dans les langues de l'Islam moderne. L'idée d'état est inconcevable pour un légiste musulman, parce qu'elle implique la conception d'une collectivité humaine autonome. Si jamais un auteur islamique du Moyen-Age ait été à même de concevoir cette idée, c'est bien Ibn Ḫaldūn, après ses longues méditations sur le rôle de la *ʿaṣabīya* dans la construction de la société. D'autant plus qu'il connaît évidemment l'idée de l'état idéal (*al-madīna al-fāḍila*) des Anciens, idée qu'il a sans doute appris à connaître par al-Fārābī, bien qu'il ne nomme pas cet auteur. Ibn Ḫaldūn appelle cette forme de gouvernement *al-siyāsa al-madanīya*. Mais il n'y comprend rien. Pour lui c'est une agglomération (*muǧtamaʿ*) d'individus qui n'ont pas besoin de dirigeants et par conséquent incompréhensible pour lui (III, 52). D'autre part il discute une opinion existant parmi les Muʿtazilites et les Ḫāriǧites selon laquelle une force dirigeante n'est pas nécessaire, si seulement on vit d'après les prescriptions de la *šarīʿa*. Mais, dit Ibn Ḫaldūn en bon Musulman, un tel état de choses serait contraire à l'*iǧmāʿ* et par suite inacceptable (III, 26). Le Koran du reste enjoint d'obéir au prophète et aux autorités (sūra 4, 59).

Une fois bien établie, une *dawla* n'a plus besoin de *ʿaṣabīya*, puisque son autorité repose sur une conviction religieuse (III, 1). Seulement il faut que les adhérents (*ʿaṣāba*) de la *dawla* soient bien répartis sur le territoire dominé par elle, pour que ses prescriptions puissent avoir force partout (III, 7). Sinon il pourrait arriver qu'une nouvelle *ʿaṣabīya* se manifeste dans une région éloignée du centre et que la *dawla* s'affaiblisse. L'auteur discute de l'éventualité où la *dawla* « se fend en deux », comme ceci a eu lieu lorsque les Umayyades d'Espagne se sont dégagés de l'autorité des Abbassides (III, 4). Tout ceci montre que l'idée de la territorialité d'un gouvernement est aussi étrangère à la pensée d'Ibn Ḫaldūn que celui de l'état même. On sait que les géographes arabes ne connaissent que des régions purement géographiques ; ils en décrivent les frontières, tandis que les frontières politiques sont quelque chose d'inconnu pour eux. Tout au plus ils indiquent les districts qui, à une certaine époque, payent l'impôt à tel ou tel souverain. L'histoire, du reste,

montre suffisamment combien l'étendue de ce pouvoir fiscal était variable.

Il faut faire exception seulement pour le territoire de l'Islam (*mamlakat al-Islām, dār al-Islām*) dans son entier. Ceci paraît être une conception réelle qui se place à côté de celle de la communauté entière (*umma*).

Quant aux organes inférieurs du gouvernement, Ibn Ḫaldūn reconnaît que ceux-ci ont également leur origine dans la *ʿaṣabīya*. Ce sont des aides, grâce auxquels le chef sait se faire obéir. A mesure qu'il s'établit une royauté, les liens personnels entre le souverain et ses aides s'affaiblissent ; ces derniers deviennent des clients (*mawālī*) et des attachés (*muṣṭanaʿūn*) (III, 20). Ceci est la situation qui se présente dans une *dawla* bien établie ; l'exemple classique est ici encore celui de la première époque du califat Abbasside, où les clients et surtout les « fils de la dynastie » (*abnāʾu 'l-dawla*) avaient une position privilégiée dans l'empire. Il faut donc qu'il y ait dans la *dawla* un groupe de fonctionnaires (*riǧāl al-dawla*) à qui les grades et les fonctions (*marātib ḫādima*) sont confiés (III, 32).

Dans l'Islam ces fonctions gouvernementales (*waẓāʾif sulṭānīya*) sont entièrement subordonnées au califat (III, 35) ou à la *dawla*. Elles doivent être sanctionnées par la religion et sont régies par les prescriptions de la *šarīʿa*. Pour celles-ci Ibn Ḫaldūn renvoie au traité d'al-Māwardi. Il ajoute expressément que son but est de décrire ces fonctions pour autant qu'elles concernent la nature de la société humaine. Aussi dans la description qui suit du vizirat, cette dignité est décrite purement comme une institution qui a existé de tout temps pour alléger les multiples devoirs du souverain.

Il paraît cependant que ce vizirat ne répond pas à l'idéal religieux tel que le conçoit Ibn Ḫaldūn. Il dit qu'au commencement de l'Islam tous ces grades (*rutab*) et qualités (*ḫiṭaṭ*) avaient disparu par le fait que la royauté était alors remplacée par un ordre de choses où ils étaient superflus, parce que le prophète avait l'habitude de prendre conseil (*mušāwara*) avec ses compagnons. Aussi c'est dans un sens impropre qu'Abū Bakr était nommé le vizir de Muḥammad par ceux qui étaient versés dans les institutions gouvernementales des Persans et des autres peuples (III, 35). On constate ici l'idéalisation de la démocratie primitive de l'Islam, qui n'a pu être maintenue après les premiers quatre califes « bien-guidés ». La délégation du pouvoir souverain (*tafwīḍ, niyāba*) et tout autant la formation d'une hiérarchie des fonctionnaires de

la « plume » et de l'« épée » est donc considérée comme un mal inévitable, mais qui avait dû être réglé par la *šarīʿa*[1]). Le plus significatif ici est qu'Ibn Ḫaldūn ne peut pas s'imaginer une solution dans laquelle les aides et conseillers originaux gardent des positions plus indépendantes.

La même manière de voir se révèle d'une façon curieuse dans un passage où Ibn Ḫaldūn parle des autorités religieuses (vers le milieu du paragraphe III, 32). Il dit que les qualités califiennes (*al-ḫiṭaṭ al-ḫilāfīya*), en tant qu'elles regardent le maintien des institutions religieuses, après avoir été exercées par des gens capables et vénérés pour leur sollicitude envers la religion, avaient passé ensuite dans les mains d'une classe de gens opprimés et dépendants (*ṣinf min al-mustaḍʿafīn*) dans les différentes régions. Ceux-ci, par leur manque de capacité, avaient perdu l'estime dont ils avaient joui auparavant au sein de la *dawla*. Ils n'avaient plus rien de leurs anciennes prérogatives de dégager et de lier (*al-ḥall wa'l-ʿaḳd*). C'est à tort que certains pensent que cette situation est justifiée et que les rois ont eu raison d'éloigner les faḳīhs et les ḳāḍīs de la consultation (*šūrā*). Il semble donc que notre auteur considère les docteurs de la loi comme une classe sociale (*ṣinf*) à part, mais qu'il ne peut concevoir leur véritable fonction que liée très intimement au calife-souverain. La situation réelle, telle qu'elle s'était développée depuis longtemps, à savoir que ces savants religieux étaient devenus les guides spirituels du peuple, ne cadrait pas du tout avec la conception totalitaire du régime islamique et était par là inacceptable et damnable.

Dans le paragraphe où il traite des institutions cléricales auprès des Chrétiens et des Juifs (III, 34), Ibn Ḫaldūn fait preuve de compréhension pour un système où l'ordre des affaires religieuses n'est pas lié à l'ordre politique (*siyāsat al-mulk*). Mais il l'explique en disant que, dans ces autres religions, il n'existe pas l'obligation divine de soumettre les autres peuples par force à leur autorité comme c'est le cas dans l'Islam. C'est donc encore la conception

[1]) Ibn Ḫaldūn paraît s'approcher ici de la thèse du moderniste égyptien ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ (voir L. de Vries, *Een Hypermodern Geluid in de Wereld van den Islam*, Leiden 1926) qui, comme lui, accentue la grande différence entre les institutions du temps du prophète et celles des siècles suivants. Seulement, tandis que ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ en conclut que les institutions postérieures n'ont jamais eu rien à faire avec la religion, Ibn Ḫaldūn prend une tout autre tournure, entièrement islamique, en tâchant de représenter la situation réelle comme une réalisation incomplète de la condition idéale de l'Islam.

théocratique qui l'amène à ignorer l'existence d'une classe à part d'hommes religieux, quelque réelle qu'elle se montrât dans le monde musulman. On ne peut pas se soustraire à l'impression que c'est avec quelque ironie qu'il décrit ensuite en détail l'hiérarchie du clergé chrétien. En parlant des sectes chrétiennes il ne peut les expliquer qu'en supposant que chacune d'elles se maintient par l'appui d'un prince quelconque, qui, à son tour, est renforcé par leur autorité religieuse. La position de l'Empereur (*imbaradūr*) au-dessus des sectes est expliquée comme due à la *ʿaṣabīya*. C'est un ordre naturel qui n'est nullement voulu par Dieu. « Mais Dieu fait errer ceux qu'Il veut et guide dans la voie droite ceux qu'Il veut. »

Les collectivités d'ordre secondaire enfin, c.-à-d. les villes (*al-mudun wa'l-amṣār*) ne sont, aux yeux d'Ibn Ḫaldūn, que des agglomérations naturelles qui naissent lorsque la collaboration des humains (*iǧtimāʿ al-aydī*) a atteint un certain degré d'aisance (IV, 1). Cependant elles n'appartiennent pas même aux choses nécessaires et inévitables. Elles peuvent se former seulement après qu'il y a eu un prince et une *dawla* qui les fondent et qui les protègent. Elles n'existent que grâce à la *dawla* et sont condamnées à la ruine lorsque la *dawla* n'est plus capable d'en assurer l'existence.

Cette théorie est la conséquence logique de l'autre théorie, développée au commencement de la Muḳaddima, que l'état nomade précède toujours l'état sédentaire. Le prince, une fois que les forces de la *ʿaṣabīya* lui ont procuré le pouvoir, a besoin d'un centre politique et d'une fortification pour se défendre contre ses ennemis (IV, 2).

Les habitants des villes ne sont pas seulement protégés par les gouvernants de la *dawla* ; ceux-ci doivent aussi leur mettre un frein et les empêcher de commettre des agressions entre eux (II, 7).

Il est vrai que, parmi les citadins, il peut se produire de temps en temps un mouvement qui mène à la formation d'unités généalogiques (*bayt*), mais de telles formations ne sont que des semblances de *ʿaṣabīya*. Tout au plus c'est un ornement (*zuḫruf*), mais qui manque de force naturelle (II, 12). Ailleurs, Ibn Ḫaldūn veut bien reconnaître que, dans les grandes villes, quelque chose comme la ʿaṣabīya peut se produire (IV, 21). Il y a en effet parmi les habitants toutes sortes de liens de parenté et d'alliance ; lorsque la *dawla* qui est leur protecteur tombe en décadence, ils éprouvent le besoin de pourvoir à leurs propres affaires. Alors ils en reviennent

à la consultation mutuelle (*šūrā*) ; parmi les factions qui se forment de cette manière il peut y en avoir une qui prenne le dessus et ainsi il se forme une petite royauté. Mais cet état de choses est ridicule aux yeux d'Ibn Ḫaldūn, et il ne peut pas être de longue durée, ainsi que l'auteur le démontre par l'exemple de plusieurs villes du Maghrib de son temps. « Mais Dieu reste victorieux dans Ses décisions ! »

On ne peut s'imaginer une réfutation plus absolue de l'autonomie des collectivités urbaines que celle que donne Ibn Ḫaldūn. Il est vrai qu'en général l'histoire des peuples islamiques, qui lui fournit continuellement les preuves de ses assertions, confirme l'image qu'il nous donne. Il a quelque peine, évidemment, à défendre sa position dans le cas où de grandes villes ont continué à exister malgré la décadence des dynasties. Mais alors leur permanence a été assurée par des éléments nomades de l'entourage, comme dans la ville de Fez, ou bien par l'établissement d'une nouvelle dynastie comme au Caire lors de la conquête Fatimide (IV, 1). On pourrait lui objecter encore que plusieurs villes islamiques ont été de temps à autre de petites républiques autonomes. Mais c'est un phénomène rare qu'une ville garde cette autonomie passagère sous un gouvernement plus étendu.

Ibn Ḫaldūn recommande du reste aux princes de n'entraver pas outre mesure la libre action de leurs sujets (II, 6) ; cela tue leur initiative et leur confiance en soi-même (*idlāl*). Il considère surtout comme une grave erreur que le souverain intervienne dans la vie économique, en prenant part au commerce des vivres et des autres nécessités (III, 41). Une telle politique, que nous appelons socialisme d'état, est pernicieuse pour le bien-être des habitants des villes, parce que ceux-ci sont toujours dans une position inférieure vis-à-vis du pouvoir financier du prince. Tout au plus les gens aisés doivent être protégés par la *dawla* dans leurs propriétés. L'auteur prêche donc une politique économique libérale. Les lois économiques doivent pouvoir agir librement ; elles appartiennent au domaine de la *ṭabī'a*. Dans la cinquième section du livre Ibn Ḫaldūn décrit justement la vie économique, surtout dans les villes. Dans ce domaine il reconnaît la nécessité de former ces groupes organisés qui collaborent pour obtenir une production plus élevée. Il est bien curieux d'observer que, tout en décrivant ces différents métiers, il ne souffle mot des corporations des arts et métiers, qui ont eu pourtant assez d'importance dans la société islamique.

On peut soupçonner que son aversion contre les collectivités autonomes l'a rendu aveugle sur ce point.

On comprend d'autant plus que l'idée d'une organisation qui aurait quelque influence politique ait été encore plus éloignée de son esprit. La grande masse, selon Ibn Ḫaldūn, est incapable d'organisation par son état compact (*muzāḥama*). C'est pour cette raison que le gouvernement doit être exercé par une petite minorité, ainsi qu'il le montre par des exemples empruntés à l'histoire (II, 21).

Nous terminons ici notre démonstration et nous concluons que la démocratie, telle que la connaît la théorie de l'Islam, est très imparfaite du point de vue de la démocratie moderne. Il vaudra certainement la peine d'examiner comment les tendances anti-autonomistes et anti-collectivistes ont agi et agissent encore sur les institutions démocratiques que beaucoup de peuples musulmans de nos jours ont introduites. On trouvera sans doute que la démocratie islamique moderne n'est pas la même chose que la démocratie occidentale et on se rendra compte de la justesse et la sagesse de l'observation d'Ibn Ḫaldūn que « la religion et la doctrine religieuse fournissent la forme à l'existence » (*al-dīnu wa'l-millatu ṣūratun li'l-wuǧūd*) (IV, 22).

UN ASTROLABE DE LAHORE DU XVIIÈME SIÈCLE DANS LA COLLECTION DU MUSÉE NATIONAL DE L'HISTOIRE DES SCIENCES EXACTES ET NATURELLES À LEIDEN [1])

(COMMUNICATION No. 63 DU MUSÉE MENTIONNÉ)

PAR C. A. CROMMELIN, LEIDEN

Parmi les instruments astronomiques qui, dans l'Antiquité, au Moyen-Age et encore entre le XVIème et le XVIIIème siècle, ont été usités par les astronomes, cartographes, navigateurs et géomètres, — nous mentionnons entre autres le cadran solaire, le torquetum, le globe terrestre et le globe céleste, la sphère armillaire — les astrolabes, nommés aussi planisphères, ont été de beaucoup les plus importants et les plus usités.

L'invention de cet instrument, ainsi que celle de la projection stéréographique sur laquelle en repose la construction, est attribuée à Hipparque, le plus célèbre astronome de l'Antiquité et le fondateur de l'astronomie scientifique. Hipparque vécut au IIème siècle av. J.-C. [2]). Le nom ***ἀστρολάβον*** du reste, dérivé de ***ἄστρον*** et ***λαμβάνειν***, indique l'origine grecque.

Cependant il faut se demander si on est en droit de parler de l'« invention » ou de l'« inventeur » de cet instrument, qui réunit un si grand nombre de possibilités. Il est beaucoup plus vraisemblable qu'on doit le considérer comme le produit d'une série d'inventions et de découvertes. Mais quoi qu'il en soit, il paraît certain qu'Hipparque a travaillé avec des astrolabes. Il est hors

[1]) Conférence prononcée dans la réunion annuelle de la Société Orientaliste Néerlandaise (Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland) à Leiden, le 22 mai 1943.

L'auteur remercie vivement M. le professeur J. H. Kramers qui a bien voulu traduire les inscriptions arabes, qui l'a renseigné sur la science arabe et qui a contribué à l'article par un nombre de notes précieuses, notamment les numéros 2 (p. 2), 1 et 2 (p. 3) et 1 (p. 7).

[2]) R. Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie*, München 1877, p. 162.

de doute que, depuis le temps d'Hipparque, on a construit et employé des astrolabes [1]) ; seulement aucun exemplaire appartenant à l'Antiquité ne nous a été conservé.

L'utilité et l'universalité de l'instrument furent tellement évidentes qu'il est devenu peu à peu l'instrument principal des astronomes et astrologues, des géomètres et navigateurs, en somme de tous ceux qui s'occupaient d'astronomie, soit comme branche principale, soit comme branche secondaire. Partant d'Alexandrie[1]) l'astrolabe s'est répandu d'abord dans les pays orientaux, surtout l'Asie Antérieure et la Perse, mais on ne sait pas avec exactitude à quelle époque cette introduction a eu lieu. Mais, ainsi que le montre la littérature arabe, l'astrolabe avait déjà acquis sa popularité à l'époque où florissait l'astronomie arabe, à savoir vers 800 [2]). C'est au Moyen-Age que la connaissance en est venue en Europe occidentale sous l'influence de l'Orient. Ceci ressort des dates des plus anciens astrolabes que nous possédons encore. Gunther [3]) mentionne comme le plus ancien un instrument persan daté de 984, actuellement dans le Musée de l'Histoire des sciences, ci-devant Old Ashmolean Museum à Oxford ; les plus anciens astrolabes arabes, mauresques et indiens sont des Xème au XIIIème siècles. Les plus anciens exemplaires espagnols, italiens et français par contre appartiennent au XIVème siècle, ceux de provenance allemande et anglaise au XVème et les astrolabes flamands et hollandais au XVIème siècle. On voit donc que des

[1]) Ceci n'est pas juste. M. Henri Michel prouve dans son livre (voir note 2 à la page 3) d'une manière indiscutable, que l'origine de l'astrolabe doit être cherchée beaucoup plus tard c.-à-d. dans les premières années du VIe siècle (après J.C.) à Alexandrie.

[2]) A part la littérature scientifique les références à l'emploi d'astrolabes sont assez rares dans la littérature arabe. La mieux connue est l'histoire du barbier de Bagdad dans les 1001 Nuits, qui veut déterminer le moment le plus favorable de la journée pour raser son client impatient (traduction de Littmann, I, p. 380). Puis il y a la narration dans *al-Faraǧ baʿd al-Šidda* d'al-Tannūḫī (éd. Le Caire II, 1904, p. 7). Le calife al-Ma'mūn (813—833), pendant son séjour dans le Khorasan, était assiégé par une armée de rebelles. Lorsqu'il désespère de son salut le vizir al-Faḍl ibn Sahl consulte son astrolabe et lui prédit qu'il sera sauvé. Ce qui a lieu en effet au dernier moment. Il y a aussi la notice donnée par A. von Kremer dans sa *Culturgeschichte des Orients* II (Vienne, 1877, p. 81) sur un poète qui offre au prince ʿAḍud al-Dawla (950—983) à Bagdad un astrolabe à l'occasion d'une fête ; il accompagne son don d'un poème dans lequel il dit que les biens célestes sont mieux appréciés par son maître que les biens du monde. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ (mort vers 865) mentionne l'astrolabe parmi les instruments inventés par les Grecs (*Tria Opuscula*, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden 1903, p. 44).

Les miniatures persanes ne paraissent pas montrer d'astrolabes.

[3]) R. T. Gunther, *The astrolabes of the world*, Oxford 1932, p. 114. Dans cet ouvrage sont décrits 325 astrolabes, dont une partie a été reproduite dans le texte.

astrolabes ont été construits au Moyen-Age et plus tard dans tous les pays civilisés ; d'abord en Orient et ensuite en Europe occidentale. Les plus tardifs appartiennent au XVIII^{ème} siècle, alors qu'ils furent remplacés peu à peu par des octants et des sextants, pour tomber bientôt en désuétude complète.

Il existe encore bien des centaines d'astrolabes, tant orientaux qu'occidentaux, dans nombre de musées et de collections ; la plus importante collection se trouve dans le musée susmentionné à Oxford.

La qualité de tous ces instruments est très variée. A côté d'instruments simples et dont l'état d'usure trahit un usage fréquent, il existe des exemplaires richement ornementés qui apparemment furent peu manipulés. Ce sont des exemples d'un art de la gravure et de la construction d'instruments qui est actuellement perdu et qui a droit à notre plus haute admiration.

La littérature qui s'occupe des astrolabes est très volumineuse. Dans sa bibliographie, qui est loin d'être complète, Gunther mentionne près de 200 noms d'auteurs de traités et de livres. Seulement ces ouvrages appartiennent pour la plus grande partie à l'Antiquité et au Moyen-Age ; ils sont difficiles à acquérir et généralement encore plus difficiles à lire [1]). Dans la littérature moderne on trouve des descriptions de certains exemplaires intéressants, mais pour autant que je sache il n'existe pas d'ouvrage dans lequel la construction et le maniement de l'astrolabe soient décrits d'une façon plus ou moins détaillée [2]).

L'astrolabe est en premier lieu un instrument d'observation servant à mesurer des angles et en second lieu un instrument à

[1]) Voir encore pour la littérature scientifique arabe : H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, Leipzig 1910 ; J. Frank, *Zur Geschichte des Astrolabs*, Erlangen 1920.

Nous attirons l'attention sur le manuscrit Nr. 591 Warner dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leiden, écrit en 614 (= 1217/8) et contenant plusieurs traités astronomiques et mathématiques. Le plus étendu de ceux-ci est le *Kitāb al-Istī'āb* du célèbre al-Bīrūnī (973—1048) sur l'emploi et la construction de l'astrolabe (voir Wiedemann dans *Der Islam* IV, 1913, p. 5 suiv.). On y trouve aussi un traité de Šarīf al-Dīn Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī (vers 1200) sur l'astrolabe linéaire inventé par lui.

[2]) La dernière description compréhensive de l'astrolabe et de son usage est de la main de Willy Hartner, *The Principle and use of the Astrolabe*, dans le Chap. 57 de A. Upham Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* III, London and New York 1939, p. 2530 suiv.

M. Henri Michel à Bruxelles, connaisseur éminent en instruments mathématiques et astronomiques anciens m'a appris qu'un livre de sa main sur l'astrolabe paraîtra bientôt. [Note de 1948 : L'auteur, en rédigeant le texte en 1943, n'a pas eu la bonne fortune de pouvoir consulter le livre de M. Michel, qui a paru en 1947 sous le titre de « Traité de l'Astrolabe » chez Gauthier-Villars à Paris.]

calcul qui nous permet de résoudre un grand nombre de problèmes astronomiques, astrologiques et trigonométriques selon un procédé graphique et non par le calcul. On pourrait donc l'approcher d'une règle ou cercle à calcul de nos jours ; il est vrai que, sur ces derniers, on ne trouve pas de données astronomiques, mais ils contiennent, à part les échelles logarithmiques de multiplication et de division, des échelles pour les logarithmes, les carrés, les réciproques et les fonctions goniométriques. Un des principaux problèmes qu'on peut résoudre de manière rapide et simple à l'aide d'un astrolabe est le suivant : quelle est, pour tel lieu et pour tel moment d'observation, la position du firmament par rapport au zénith et à l'horizon ? La réponse à cette question est rendue possible par un disque travaillé à jour, appelé *rete* (réseau), *arachne* ou *araignée ;* celui-ci porte l'indication d'un certain nombre d'étoiles claires ainsi que de l'écliptique et peut tourner autour du pôle sur un autre disque sur lequel se trouvent gravés le zénith et l'horizon. Une fois qu'on place le disque tournant dans la juste position on voit immédiatement quelle partie du firmament se trouve au-dessus de l'horizon. C'est exactement selon le même principe que les astronomes amateurs opèrent encore aujourd'hui avec une carte d'étoiles tournante en carton.

Pour comprendre la construction de l'astrolabe il faut commencer par se rendre compte de la manière dont, dans un astrolabe, les corps célestes et les cercles du globe céleste sont projetés sur un plan. Cela ne se fait pas par le moyen d'une projection parallèle, telle qu'elle est connue dans la géométrie descriptive, mais moyennant une projection centrale particulière qu'on nomme stéréographique ; cette projection est effectuée sur le plan de l'équateur céleste. Pour effectuer la projection d'une étoile on trace une ligne entre cette étoile et le pôle sud ; alors la projection de l'étoile est le point dans lequel cette ligne coupe le plan de l'équateur. C'est selon la même méthode qu'on trouve la projection du soleil, ainsi que des cercles sur le globe céleste comme l'écliptique, l'horizon, les tropiques, etc.

Cette projection stéréographique, qui est encore pratiquée généralement dans la cartographie et aussi dans la cristallographie, possède deux qualités précieuses que nous mentionnons ici sans en fournir les preuves. D'abord les projections de tous les grands et petits cercles sur le globe céleste, quelque oblique que soit leur position, deviennent de nouveau des cercles. Cette qualité curieuse

avait un avantage particulier pour les constructeurs d'astrolabes ; elle leur permettait en effet de tracer toutes ces lignes dans le métal moyennant un compas, la construction d'autres courbes n'étant qu'exceptionnelle. En second lieu la grandeur d'un angle entre deux circonférences de cercles (ou autres lignes) sur le globe n'est pas changée par la projection.

L'astrolabe, ainsi qu'il a été dit, est employé pour des observations, c.-à-d. pour mesurer des angles et pour déterminer graphiquement toutes sortes de quantités [1]). Le dos est pourvu, autour du bord, d'une division en degrés et en outre, manque d'un télescope, d'un mécanisme pour viser, appelé l'alidade à pinnules, et moyennant lequel on peut observer une étoile ou le soleil. Lorsque l'instrument est suspendu librement, donc en position exactement verticale, il est possible de trouver de cette manière la hauteur d'un corps céleste au-dessus de l'horizon. Celle-ci est une donnée très importante parce qu'elle permet de calculer tant la latitude géographique que le temps local. Souvent le dos contient également une échelle montrant les douze signes du zodiaque, chacun divisé en trente degrés, et à côté de celle-ci une autre avec les jours de l'année ; elle permet donc de lire dans quelle partie du zodiaque se trouve le soleil à un certain jour de l'année. Enfin on y trouve souvent des échelles sur lesquelles on peut lire les sinus, les cosinus, les tangentes et les cotangentes des angles observés.

Le front de l'astrolabe est entouré d'un bord élevé, qui est divisé en heures et minutes ou en degrés. A l'intérieur du bord peuvent être placés un certain nombre de disques minces superposés (le plus souvent quatre ou cinq), appelés tympans ; au-dessus de la surface de ceux-ci il a été placé un *rete* ou *arachne* (*araignée*) tournant. Le tout est complété par un index tournant et qui est souvent pourvu d'une division pour indiquer les déclinaisons.

L'araignée, qui est la partie la plus caractéristique et en même temps souvent celle travaillée et ornée avec le plus grand soin, représente l'hémisphère septentrional et encore la zone située le plus vers le nord, large de $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrés, de l'hémisphère méridional, entre l'équateur et le tropique du Capricorne, le tout en projection stéréographique. C'est une plaque métallique percée à jour, et où a été réservée l'écliptique, divisée d'après ses douze signes avec graduation, et encore au moins une vingtaine de pointes saillantes

[1]) Dans ce qui suit nous nous limitons à l'essentiel. Qu'on veuille se rendre compte en outre que chaque astrolabe n'a pas les mêmes divisions et échelles.

qui indiquent les positions d'autant d'étoiles claires. Les noms des étoiles sont ajoutés plus ou moins distinctement, parfois très indistinctement, p.e. *crus Pegasi, oculus Tauri, pectus Andromedae* etc. ; en outre souvent les noms particuliers de certaines étoiles très claires, comme *Aldebaran, Procyon, Sirius*, etc. Les tympans ne doivent pas être tournés, mais ont leur position fixe au-dessous de l'araignée. Les cercles gravés dans les tympans représentent le Tropique du Cancer, l'équateur et, le long du bord, le Tropique du Capricorne, tous les trois naturellement concentriques autour du pôle nord ; en outre les cercles d'altitude ou *almucantarats* (non concentriques dans la projection stéréographique) autour du zénith, parmi lesquels l'horizon est le plus bas. Puis les cercles de latitude ou cercles de l'azimut, qui passent tous par le zénith, en enfin les maisons — qui ont de l'importance pour l'astrologie —, les heures babyloniennes et les heures égales ; ces dernières données ont moins d'importance pour nous.

Chaque tympan a été construit pour une certaine latitude ; par conséquent les coordonnées sphériques qu'on y trouve, l'altitude et l'azimut, se rapportent au système horizon-zénith. Les coordonnées de l'araignée au contraire sont la déclinaison et l'ascension droite et se rapportent au système équateur-axe polaire. Il est possible de lire sur un tympan l'altitude et l'azimut d'un point quelconque, de même que, sur l'araignée, on peut lire la déclinaison et l'ascension droite d'un point. De cette manière l'astrolabe permet de passer d'un système de coordinées à l'autre, sans qu'on ait besoin de formules ou de calculs.

Sur le fond de la partie frontale de l'astrolabe, donc au-dessous des tympans, on trouve quelquefois les noms d'un certain nombre de villes, accompagnés de l'indication de leurs latitudes géographiques ; les cadrans solaires contiennent également ces données. Le but est de savoir quel tympan il faut prendre lorsqu'on fait des observations dans une ville quelconque.

L'astrolabe indien qui nous intéresse ici en premier lieu et qui a été acquis il y a peu de temps par le Musée National de l'Histoire des Sciences exactes et naturelles, porte l'inscription : « l'œuvre du serviteur Muḥammad Muḳīm ». Ni la date ni le domicile de l'artisan ne sont mentionnés. On connaît cependant un certain nombre d'autres astrolabes qui sont l'œuvre du même Muḥammad Muḳīm [1]). Celui-ci, Muḥammad Muḳīm ibn Ḥāfiẓ ʿĪsā ibn

[1]) Voir Gunther *l.c.* les numéros 69, 71, 72, 78. Voir aussi les numéros 77 et 80.

Šaiḫ Ilāhdād, était un constructeur d'astrolabes de Lahore au milieu du XVIIéme siècle, peut-être le plus capable de son époque. Il appartenait à une famille d'astrolabistes de Lahore, parmi lesquels sont connus encore son père ʿĪsā, son frère Ḳā'im Muḥammad et son neveu Ḍiyā' al-Dīn [1]). Muḥammad Muḳīm lui-même était comme astrolabiste au service de l'empereur Šāh Ǧahān [2]). Bien que l'Inde de ce temps appartînt à la tradition culturelle persane, les inscriptions de ces astrolabes sont en arabe. Il y a cependant d'autres astrolabes dont les inscriptions sont en persan, à part la plus grande partie des termes techniques, qui sont tous en arabe.

DESCRIPTION DE L'ASTROLABE [3]).

I. Le dos.

Le dos est partagé en quatre quarts de cercle par une ligne horizontale et une ligne verticale, le sud se trouvant au haut, le nord au bas, l'est à gauche et l'ouest à droite. Les deux quarts supérieurs portent à la circonférence des graduations procédant de l'est au sud et de l'ouest au sud, chacune de 90°. C'est sur ces échelles qu'on lit la position de l'alidade tournant lorsqu'on observe un corps céleste.

1°. Le quart supérieur de gauche montre 60 lignes horizontales équidistantes, à l'aide desquelles on peut trouver les sinus des angles observés. Ces lignes sont coupées par cinq arcs de cercle numérotés et non-concentriques, qui se touchent au centre de l'instrument ; leurs centres sont situés sur la ligne verticale nord-sud et ils ont rapport aux heures inégales ou babyloniennes. L'habitude dans les pays orientaux était en effet de diviser le temps entre

[1]) L'activité et les liens de parenté des membres de cette famille sont discutés dans l'article de Sulaiman Nadvi, *Some Indian Astrolabe Makers* dans *Islamic Culture* IX, 1935, p. 621 suiv. Après cet article parurent deux notices additionnelles sous le titre *Indian Astrolabe Makers*, dans *Islamic Culture* XI, 1937, l'une de Nabia Abbott (p. 144 suiv.) et l'autre de Sulaiman Nadvi (p. 537 suiv.). On y trouve énumérés un certain nombre d'astrolabes construits par les membres de cette famille de Lahore, portant les noms des constructeurs et les dates. Voir aussi G. R. Kay, *Astronomical instruments in the Delhi Museum, Mem. of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Nr 12, p. 1 suiv., Calcutta 1921.

Les données de Gunther ont été corrigées ci-dessus d'après les indications plus exactes des articles dans *Islamic Culture*.

[2]) L'astrolabe de Muḥammad Muḳīm décrit par Gunther sous le n° 72 porte la date 1053 (= 1643/4).

[3]) L'auteur a eu, en 1943, le grand avantage d'une correspondance fréquente avec M. Michel, qui lui a éclairci nombre de choses qui ne lui étaient pas claires. Beaucoup de ce qui suit a été emprunté à des lettres de M. Michel et à son traité sur l'astrolabe de Muhammed Mehdi dans *Ciel et Terre*, Bruxelles 1936, n°. 8, 9 et 10.

le lever et le coucher du soleil en douze « heures » égales qui, bien que ne différant pas entre elles, sont différentes de jour en jour. Le cercle intérieur se rapporte à l'heure 6 (midi), ceux qui suivent successivement aux heures inégales 5 et 7, 4 et 8, 3 etc. o h. est le temps du lever du soleil et 12 celui du coucher; la ligne o h.—12 h. coïncide donc avec le diamètre horizontal de l'instrument. Lorsqu'on connaît (par une table astronomique) l'altitude du soleil à midi le jour de l'observation, on place l'alidade à cette altitude et on lit sur l'alidade le point (M) où celui-ci coupe le cercle le plus petit (6 h.). En faisant pointer ensuite l'alidade vers le soleil on apprend par la position de ce point M sur un des autres cercles (ou entre deux cercles) l'heure (inégale) au moment de l'observation.

2°. Sur le quart supérieur de droite se trouvent sept cercles concentriques numérotés, à distances inégales; ils servent à simplifier la détermination des heures inégales que nous venons de décrire.

Les cercles sont construits de la manière suivante. L'altitude du soleil à midi pour une latitude géographique déterminée est connue par des tables astronomiques pour le jour auquel le soleil entre dans un certain signe du zodiaque (p.e. o° Cancer etc.). Maintenant nous déterminons dans le quart de gauche, pour la dite altitude du soleil, le point M sur l'alidade, après quoi nous traçons, en prenant pour rayon la distance entre le centre et M, le cercle pour Cancer dans le quart de droite; ce cercle devient le plus extrême des sept cercles. Si nous continuons les constructions pour tous les 12 signes nous obtenons les 7 cercles qui, passant de l'extérieur à l'intérieur, se rapportent à o° de Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpius, Sagittarius et Capricornus. Dans le sens inverse les mêmes cercles se rapportent à o° d'Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus et Gemini.

Or pour déterminer à l'aide de ces cercles les heures inégales on place l'alidade sur le quart de droite et on détermine le point M d'après le jour de l'observation[1]). Ensuite l'alidade est dirigé, dans le quart de gauche, dans la direction du soleil. La place de M sur un des cercles ou entre deux cercles indique alors comme ci-dessus l'heure inégale. Les cercles du quart de droite servent donc à déterminer plus facilement et plus rapidement le point M.

3°. Le sémi-cercle inférieur montre les divisions suivantes:

a) la division extérieure est une échelle de cotangentes, qui

[1]) Souvent les espaces entre les cercles sont encore subdivisés.

correspond avec les angles indiqués sur le sémi-cercle supérieur [1]), à gauche en pieds et à droite en empans. Ces cotangentes indiquent la longueur des ombres pour une altitude du soleil égale à l'angle sous observation. C'est pour cette raison que ce cercle est appelé l'« échelle des ombres ». Il est clair que cette division devient plus étroite à mesure que les angles deviennent plus petits et qu'elle ne peut pas être continuée jusqu'à l'angle 0°, puisque Cotg. $0° = \infty$. On trouve cette échelle circulaire de cotangentes ou d'ombres presque toujours sur les astrolabes orientaux, mais, chose remarquable, jamais sur ceux de provenance occidentale [2]).

b) Puis nous voyons au-dessous du diamètre horizontal deux carrés portant aux côtés une division en forme d'échelle. Les deux parties horizontales de celles-ci (C) sont identiques avec les échelles de cotangentes mentionnées ci-dessus sous a). La division à gauche est en pieds et à droite en empans ; elle se rapporte aux angles (45°—90°) dans les deux quarts supérieurs.

Ainsi que nous avons déjà remarqué on ne peut pas continuer l'échelle des cotangentes jusqu'à 90° et c'est probablement pour cette raison que les échelles verticales à côté des deux carrés ont été changées en des échelles de cotangentes qui sont les images réfléchies des échelles de cotangentes. Les deux échelles peuvent servir au calcul de l'altitude de l'objet qui jette l'ombre (h), étant donné l'altitude du soleil, ou inversement, c.-à-d. lorsque dans les deux cas la longueur de l'ombre (r) est connue. Puisque $\text{tg}\,\varphi = \frac{h}{r}$ et $\text{cotg}\,\varphi = \frac{r}{h}$.

Enfin le sémi-cercle inférieur contient encore un certain nombre de données qui ont rapport à l'astrologie :

c) une échelle des planètes ;

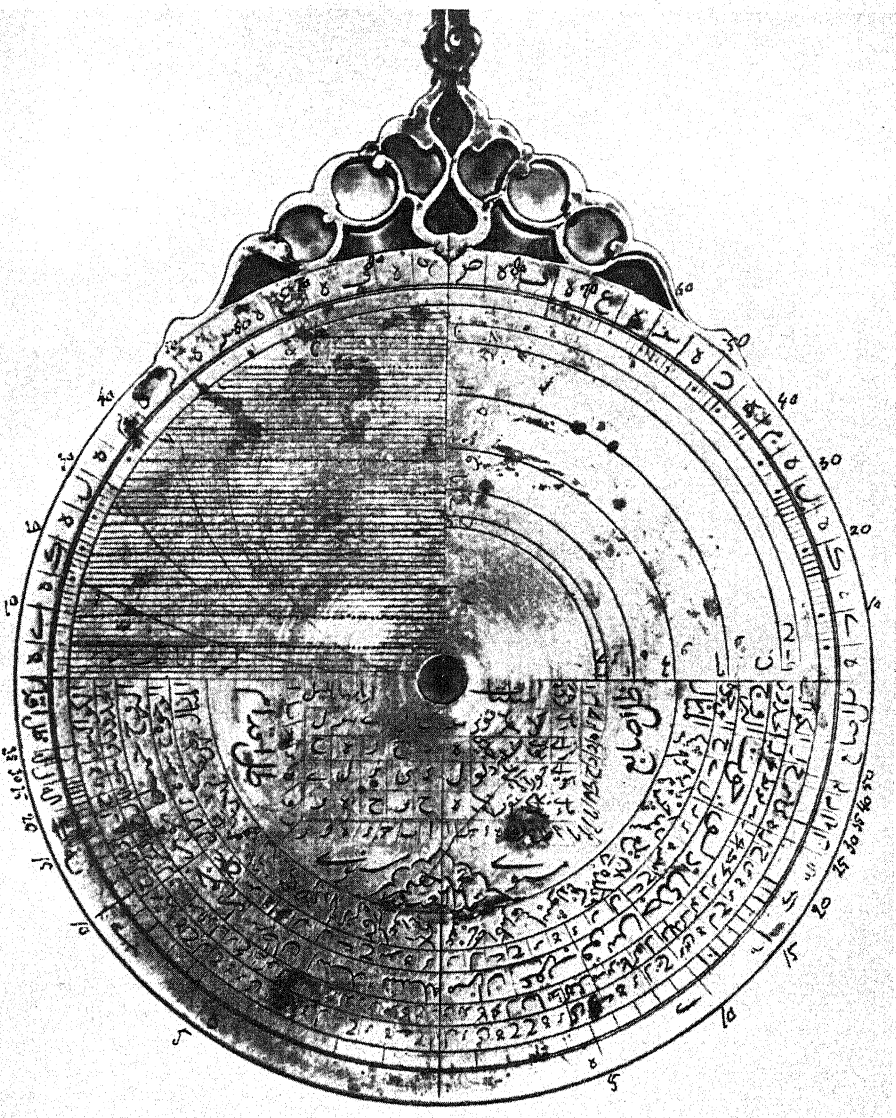
d) une échelle des limites ou termes, par lesquels on entend les cinq parties inégales en lesquelles chaque signe du zodiaque est subdivisé ; chacune de ces parties est mise en rapport avec une des planètes ;

e) un cercle avec les signes du zodiaque, commençant à gauche avec Aries ;

f) les faces des planètes, indiquant les planètes dominantes pour un certain jour ;

[1]) Pour trouver les cotangentes dans la notation aujourd'hui en usage il faut diviser les valeurs lues à gauche par 7 et celles lues à droite par 12.

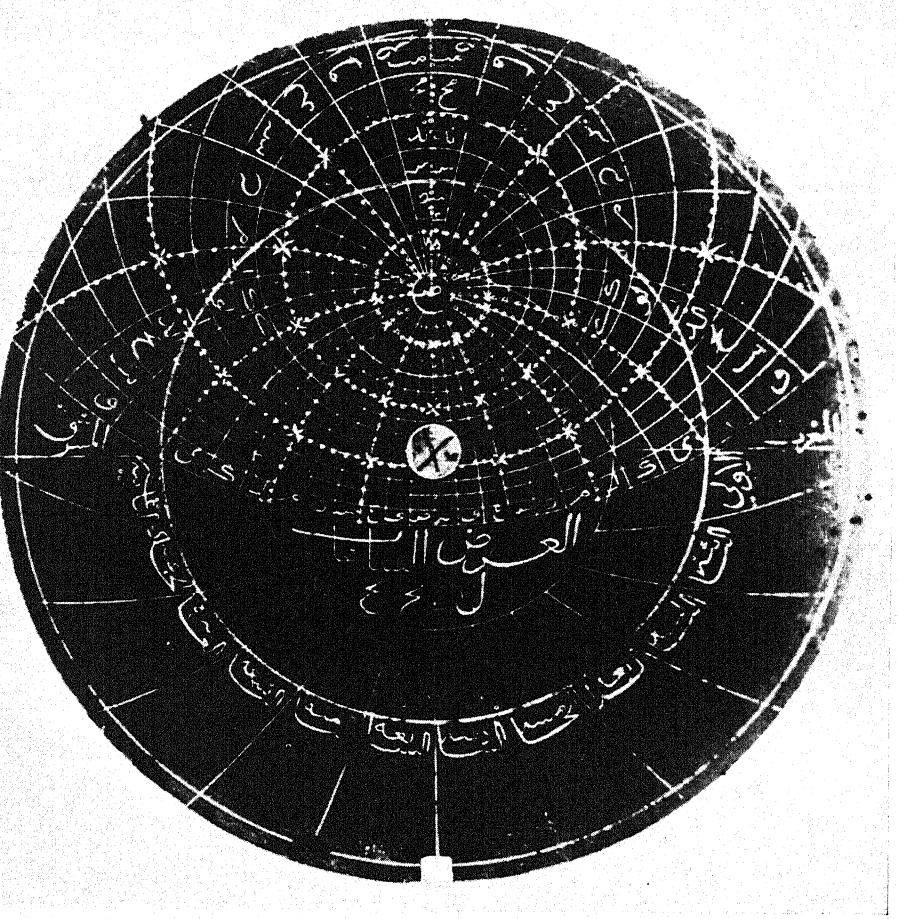
[2]) A comparer les reproductions nombreuses dans le livre de Gunther ; également ce qui est dit ci-après sur la division des échelles aux côtés des deux carrés.



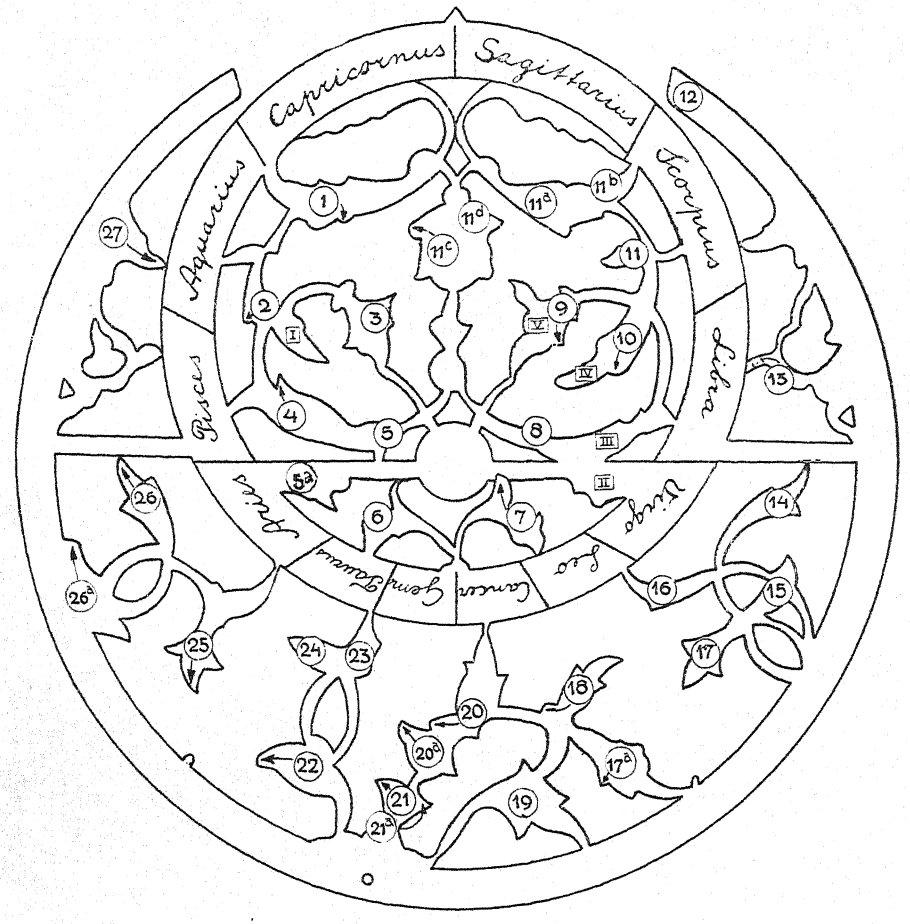
Le dos (sans alidade).



Le front.



Le tympan pour la latitude 30 degrés.



L'Araignée.
(les numéros se réfèrent aux étoiles énumérées et déterminées dans le tableau)

g) les maisons, à savoir celles qui ont rapport aux 28 positions de la lune dans le ciel ; il y a encore plusieurs autres manières de diviser le ciel en maisons ;

h) à l'intérieur des carrés déjà nommés on trouve enfin encore des données sur les « triplicités » c.-à-d. sur les combinaisons de chaque fois trois signes qui exercent la même influence sur les éléments feu, terre, air et eau, qui se trouvent écrits à côté ; chacune des triplicités subit l'influence d'une planète déterminée.

Dans ce qui suit nous ne nous occuperons plus de ces données astrologiques.

II. Le front.

Sur le bord élevé il y a une graduation qui commence en haut et continue vers la droite dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre ; elle va de 0° à 360°. Cette division peut servir à lire sur l'araignée l'ascension droite d'une étoile ; alors le point vernal de l'écliptique sur l'araignée (0° Aries) doit être placé sur le zéro de la graduation [1]).

A l'intérieur du bord sur le fond, donc au-dessous de l'araignée et des tympans, on trouve, repartis sur une série de cercles, les noms d'un grand nombre de villes situées dans les pays orientaux de l'Islam avec leurs longitudes et latitudes géographiques ; ces indications servent à choisir le tympan qu'on doit employer à un certain lieu.

III. L'araignée (*rete, arachne,* en arabe *ʿankabūt,* signifiant également araignée).

Ci-dessus il a été déjà donné une description sommaire de cette partie de l'astrolabe. Il vaut la peine d'examiner quelles sont les étoiles qui figurent sur l'araignée, parce que cela permet de juger du degré d'exactitude qu'on peut atteindre avec un astrolabe. Sur tous les astrolabes les noms des étoiles ont été inscrits auprès des pointes indiquant leur position. Ces noms ne sont généralement pas ceux qui sont aujourd'hui en usage. Les étoiles claires sont indiquées actuellement par une lettre grecque suivie du nom de la constellation, comme α Ursae majoris, β Tauri, γ Orionis, etc. Cette notation a été introduite seulement en 1603 par l'astronome allemand Bayer [2]).

Au XVII[ème] siècle et plus tard les constructeurs d'astrolabes

[1]) Du point de vue de la notation moderne la direction de l'échelle est à l'envers.
[2]) Johannes Bayer, *Uranometria,* Augsburg 1603 ; voir R. Wolf, *l.c.*, p. 423.

suivaient cependant l'ancienne méthode, en écrivant sur leurs instruments Oculus Tauri, Humerus Pegasi etc., ou bien les noms arabes correspondants. Souvent on voit immédiatement quelle est l'étoile en question. Ainsi, sur l'instrument de Muḥammad Muḳīm : *ḳalb al-asad* « le cœur du lion » = Regulus, α Leonis ; *šiʿrā yamānīya* « Sirius méridional » = Procyon, α Canis Minoris ; *ʿayn al-ṯawr* « l'œil du taureau » = Aldebaran, α Tauri, etc. Mais dans d'autres cas l'identification est moins facile. Cependant la construction de l'astrolabe même nous aide à surmonter cette difficulté. On peut y lire en effet les coordonnées d'une étoile, à savoir l'ascension droite sur la graduation sur le bord du front et la déclinaison sur l'index qui, du moins chez les instruments plus grands, porte une échelle. Lorsque cette échelle manque ou que l'on n'a pas confiance en elle — il se trouve des échelles construites très négligemment — on peut la construire avec peu de difficulté par la projection stéréographique.

On peut donc lire les coordonnées de toutes les étoiles, mais, pour pouvoir être comparées avec les coordonnées telles qu'elles se trouvent dans les tables astronomiques contemporaines, comme celles du « Nautical Almanac » de l'observatoire de Greenwich, elles ont besoin d'être corrigées pour la précession de l'axe de la terre, ce qui est le mouvement conique que l'axe de la terre exécute autour de l'axe de l'écliptique. Ce mouvement est très lent, à savoir de $50\frac{1}{4}''$ par année [1]), de sorte que la révolution entière sur 360° a une durée de 26.000 ans. On serait donc tenté de douter que cette correction soit nécessaire pour une période de 300 ans. Il se trouvera cependant qu'on ne peut la négliger. En comparant ainsi les valeurs corrigées avec celles du « Nautical Almanac » on peut déterminer sans beaucoup de peine les étoiles de l'araignée. Ainsi nous avons réussi à identifier 36 étoiles sur l'astrolabe de Muḥammad Muḳīm, pour la plus grande partie avec une certitude absolue. Il n'y en a que peu où l'exactitude de l'identification reste douteuse.

[1]) La longitude augmente annuellement de $5''.25$ ($d\lambda$) d'une manière (pratiquement) constante, mais il n'en est pas de même pour l'ascension droite, l'augmentation $d\alpha$ de cette grandeur étant la projection de $d\lambda$ sur l'équateur. Heureusement la différence est très petite : par exemple pour Sirius en 600 ans $54''$; il est absolument impossible de mesurer cet angle sur un astrolabe. On peut donc sans faire une faute appréciable appliquer la correction à l'ascension droite.

Je dois cette remarque à M. Henri Michel; cf. F. Brünnow, *Lehrbuch der sphaerischen Astronomie*, 4ème ed. (1881), p. 116 et suivant.

	Inscription sur l'araignée		*Identification de l'étoile*	
1.	nasr ṭā'ir	aigle volant	α Aquilae	Altair
2.	fam (al-faras)	bouche (du cheval)	ε Pegasi	
3.	minḳār al-daǧāǧa	bec de la poule	β Cygni	
4.	mankib al-faras	épaule du cheval	β Pegasi	
5.	kaff (al-ḫaḍīb)	main (du coloré)	β Cassiopeiae	
5a.	ḥadab al-musalsala	bosse de l'enchaînée	β Andromedae [1])	
6.	mirfāḳ al-ġūl	coude du démon	β Persei [2])	Algol
7.	ẓahr al-dubb	dos de l'ours	α Ursae majoris	
8.	ḳā'id (al-dubb)	conducteur (de l'ours)	η Ursae majoris	
9.	nayyir al-fakka	lumière de la couronne	α Coronae borealis	
10.	(simāk) rāmiḥ	(étendard) portant lance	α Boötis	Arcturus
11.	ʿunuḳ al-ḥayya	cou du serpent	α Serpentis	
11a.	mirfāḳ al-ḥawwā'	coude du serpentaire	κ Ophiuchi [3])	
11b.	rukbat (al-ḥawwā')	genou (du serpentaire)	ε Ophiuchi	
11c.	ḏanab al-ʿuḳāb	queue de l'aigle	ξ Aquilae	
11d.	ra's (al-ḥawwā')	tête (du serpentaire)	α Ophiuchi	
12.	ḳalb al-ʿaḳrab	cœur du scorpion	α Scorpii	Antares
13.	simāk aʿzal	étendard sans armes	α Virginis	Spica
14.	ǧanāḥ al-ġurāb	aile du corbeau	γ Corvi	
15.	ḳāʿidat (al-bāṭiya)	socle (du cratère)	α Crateris	
16.	ḳalb al-asad	cœur du lion	α Leonis	Regulus
17.	fard al-šuǧāʿ	solitaire de l'hydre	α Hydrae	
17a.	ṭaraf al-safīna	bord du vaisseau	φ Puppis [4])	
18.	šiʿrā šāmīya	Sirius septentrional	α Canis minoris	Procyon
19.	šiʿrā yamānīya	Sirius méridional	α Canis majoris	Sirius
20.	yad al-yumnā	main droite	α Orionis	Betelgeuze
20a.	yad al-yusrā	main gauche	γ Orionis	
21.	riǧl (al-yumnā)	pied (droit)	κ Orionis	
21a.	riǧl al-yusrā	pied gauche	β Orionis	Rigel
22.	nābī masāfat (al-nahr)	rive éloignée (du fleuve)	γ Eridani	
23.	ʿayn al-ṯawr	œil du taureau	α Tauri	Aldebaran
24.	fam (ḳayṭūs)	bouche (de la baleine)	α Ceti	
25.	ṣadr ḳayṭūs	poitrine de la baleine	π Ceti	
26.	ḏanab šamālī	queue septentrionale	ι Ceti	
26a.	ḏanab (ḳayṭūs)	queue (de la baleine)	β Ceti	
27.	ḏanab al-ǧady	queue du capricorne	δ Capricorni	

[1]) β Andr. sur la ceinture d'Andromeda.
[2]) β Persei sur la tête de Medusa.
[3]) Ophiuchus = Serpentarius.
[4]) Les coordonnées concordent bien, mais c'est une étoile de la cinquième grandeur.

Or la concordance plus ou moins complète entre les valeurs lues sur l'astrolabe et celles du « Nautical Almanac », qui sont beaucoup plus exactes, nous permet de nous former une opinion de l'exactitude qui peut être atteinte en général avec un astrolabe. Lorsque nous prenons le moyen arithmétique (sans faire attention aux signes) de toutes les déviations, p.e. celles des déclinaisons ou des ascensions droites, cette faute moyenne nous fournit une mesure pour le degré d'exactitude de l'instrument.

Dans l'astrolabe de Muḥammad Muḳīm on trouve comme moyenne des fautes dans les déclinaisons: 1°31′, et dans les ascensions droites: 2°4′. Ceci est en effet un résultat singulièrement satisfaisant pour un instrument dont le diamètre n'est pas plus de 9 centimètres. Pour mieux juger nous pouvons comparer les fautes moyennes d'un astrolabe très beau et très soigneusement travaillé de l'Anversois Michel Coignet de 1601; cet instrument, qui appartient également à la collection du Musée national de l'Histoire des Sciences exactes et naturelles à Leiden, a un diamètre de 22.5 cm., mais les fautes moyennes ne sont pas beaucoup moindres; à savoir de 1°18′ pour les déclinaisons, et de 1°24′ pour les ascensions droites. Si l'on n'applique pas la correction pour la précession de l'axe de la terre, les déviations, surtout celles de l'ascension droite, deviennent plus grandes pour l'instrument de Muḥammad Muḳīm: pour les déclinaisons: 1°45′ et pour les ascensions droites: 3°0′.

A première vue on serait amené à appliquer la correction de la précession pour la période qui sépare l'année de la construction de l'astrolabe de notre propre temps. On serait en droit de demander cependant si les astrolabistes des XVI^{ème} et XVII^{ème} siècles, et surtout les Orientaux, disposaient des données exactes sur les étoiles et s'ils n'ont pas travaillé avec des données surannées. Pour examiner cette question je suis parti de la supposition que Muḥammad Muḳīm aurait opéré avec des données datant de l'année 800 de notre ère, époque de la plus haute floraison de l'astronomie arabe; les corrections devraient être appliquées alors pour une période de 1940—800 = 1140 années. Mais dans ce cas les déviations moyennes, surtout celles des ascensions droites, deviennent beaucoup plus grandes, à savoir pour les déclinaisons 2°24′ et pour les ascensions droites 11°45′.

Ce résultat prouve que Muḥammad Muḳīm a disposé, pour les coordonnées des étoiles, de données qui étaient exactes pour sa propre époque. Ce résultat ne saurait du reste nous étonner trop:

l'astronome persan Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī connaissait déjà en 1260 à peu près exactement la valeur de la correction pour la précession, à savoir 51″ par an [1]). Elle ne dévie que très peu de la valeur donnée en 1925 par Newcomb, qui était de 50″.2619 [2]). On sait du reste que, au XVIIème siècle et même beaucoup plus tôt, il existait du moins en Europe des catalogues d'étoiles contenant les étoiles claires avec indication de leurs coordonnées.

Mais on pourrait se demander comment un homme comme Muḥammad Muḳīm aurait pu se procurer ces catalogues occidentaux. De son temps il n'y avait pas encore d'observatoires dans l'Inde [3]).

IV. Les tympans.

Ceux-ci, au nombre de quatre, sont gravés des deux côtés. Des 8 diagrammes 6 ont le type normal, c.-à-d. ils montrent le tropique du Cancer, l'équateur et le tropique du Capricorne. Ce sont tous les trois des cercles concentriques avec comme centre le pôle nord, qui est aussi le centre du tympan ; puis le zénith et autour de celui-ci des cercles horizontaux non concentriques ou almucantarats, l'horizon étant le cercle inférieur. A travers ceux-ci il y a les cercles verticaux, qui cependant se trouvent sur seulement deux des six diagrammes. Enfin on y trouve des lignes qui ont rapport aux heures égales et inégales, mais qui ont moins d'importance pour nous.

Ces six diagrammes, tous en projection stéréographique, ont été construits pour les latitudes géographiques de 24°, 29°, 30°, 34°, 36° et 37°. Lahore, le domicile du constructeur, a une latitude de 31°30′ et on peut donc employer l'astrolabe jusqu'à 7°30′ au nord et 5°30′ au sud de Lahore. Rien n'indique que l'instrument aurait eu un usage nautique. Seulement le 24ème degré latitudinal traverse en effet la partie septentrionale de la Mer Arabique, entre Oman et l'embouchure de l'Indus, et le 29ème traverse l'extrémité septentrionale du Golfe Persique ; les autres latitudes sont entièrement continentales et couvrent la Perse, l'Afghanistan, l'Inde et le Tibet. A droite, au-dessous de l'horizon, une inscription indique la latitude géographique, à gauche a été marquée la durée de la plus longue journée sur cette latitude.

[1]) R. Wolf, *l.c.*, p. 159.

[2]) H. N. Russell, R. S. Dugan et J. Q. Stuart, *Astronomy (a revision of Young's Manual of Astronomy)* 1926, I, p. 141.

[3]) Dans la première moitié du XVIIIème siècle des observatoires ont été construits dans l'Inde. Voir G. R. Kay, *A Guide to the Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares*, Calcutta 1920.

Le septième diagramme contient, à part l'équateur et les deux tropiques, 28 horizons pour les degrés latitudinaux de 12°, 14°, 16° 66°, partagés sur les 4 quarts de cercle, parce qu'autrement les lignes seraient trop proches l'une de l'autre, en outre elles n'ont été tracées que pour la moitié. Elles servent à trouver quelle étoile vient de se lever au moment de la naissance d'une personne, ce qui est une donnée de première importance pour l'horoscope.

Le 8ème diagramme, bien qu'appartenant au même type que les six premiers, semble pourtant être construit pour un autre but. L'équateur y traverse le zénith et le degré latitudinal du diagramme est donc de 0°, c.-à-d. l'équateur même, ce qui est en désaccord avec l'inscription « latitude 90 » ; ceci indiquerait le pôle nord. Mais le diagramme n'est certainement pas tracé pour le pôle nord car dans ce cas le zénith devrait coïncider avec le pôle nord. Ainsi la vraie signification de ce diagramme ne nous est pas encore entièrement claire.

Quels sont les problèmes qu'on peut résoudre à l'aide d'un astrolabe ? Quelles observations peut-on faire avec cet instrument, enfin quel en est l'usage ? La littérature scientifique arabe est extrêmement détaillée sur ce point. Il y a des auteurs qui mentionnent quelques dizaines de problèmes, d'autres font monter le nombre à des centaines. Nous nous bornons ici à quelques exemples qui sont de nature à donner une idée des multiples possibilités qu'offre cet instrument remarquable.

1) Observation de la hauteur du soleil ou d'une étoile à l'aide de l'alidade sur le dos. Ces données permettent le calcul de la latitude géographique et ensuite du temps local, la déclinaison et la latitude géographique étant connues. Ceci est la seule observation astronomique proprement dite qui puisse être exécutée avec l'astrolabe, à part la possibilité de l'employer généralement pour mesurer des angles, entre autres dans la géodésie.

2) Détermination des lieux à l'horizon où une étoile se lève ou se couche. En faisant tourner l'araignée on place l'étoile sur l'horizon oriental ou occidental du tympan, après quoi on y peut lire l'azimut.

3) Détermination des lieux sur l'horizon où le soleil se lève et se couche. On commence par lire sur le dos le point de l'écliptique où le soleil se trouve à une date déterminée (par exemple 10° Cancer,

20° Virgo etc.), après quoi on place ce point de l'écliptique du front sur l'horizon du tympan. Alors on peut y lire l'azimut.

5) Détermination de l'altitude à laquelle une étoile passe par le méridien. Même méthode que dans 4) ; seulement on place le point de l'écliptique où se trouve le soleil sur le méridien et on peut y lire l'altitude.

6) Détermination de la position du firmament à un moment donné. On observe d'abord l'altitude d'une étoile quelconque comme dans 1) ; puis on fait tourner l'araignée jusqu'à ce que l'étoile se trouve sur l'almucantarat exigé. Le firmament est alors à sa place.

7) Détermination de la déclinaison d'une étoile. On peut la lire sur l'indicateur au front.

8) Détermination de l'ascension droite d'une étoile. On place le point de l'équinoxe vernal de l'araignée (0° Aries) sur le XII en haut de la division du bord et en même temps on place l'indicateur sur l'étoile. Ensuite on lit sur l'échelle du bord la position de l'index, en partant du point vernal vers l'est (en sens inverse des aiguilles d'une montre) de 0 à 24 heures. Cette division s'applique en effet aux angles horaires, c.-à-d. aux angles que fait le colure (cercle passant par l'étoile et les pôles nord et sud) du corps céleste avec le méridien du lieu d'observation. On peut lire en même temps sur le tympan l'altitude et l'azimut, ainsi qu'il a été dit.

(Pour les déterminations du temps qui vont suivre il faut observer en outre les définitions suivantes :

Temps stellaire = l'angle horaire du point vernal = l'ascension droite du corps céleste sur le méridien.

Temps solaire véritable = l'angle horaire du vrai soleil.

Temps solaire moyen = l'angle horaire du soleil moyen.

La différence entre les deux temps solaires est l'équation de temps ; celle-ci ne peut pas être déterminée à l'aide de l'astrolabe.)

9) Détermination du temps du lever et du coucher d'une étoile. On place l'étoile sur l'horizon (comme chez 2) et en même temps l'indicateur sur l'étoile, après quoi on lit sur l'échelle du bord l'angle horaire. On trouve alors le temps stellaire. Lorsqu'on veut connaître le temps du lever ou du coucher d'après le temps solaire moyen on ne place pas l'indicateur sur l'étoile, mais sur le point

de l'écliptique où se trouve le soleil ; après on consulte l'échelle du bord. On peut déterminer ainsi également la différence entre le temps stellaire et le temps solaire moyen. Inversement on peut aussi, le temps et le lieu d'un certain événement (p.e. d'une naissance) étant connus, trouver quelle étoile ou quel signe du zodiaque s'est levé à ce moment, ce qui est une donnée importante pour l'horoscope.

10) Détermination du temps du lever et du coucher du soleil. On place le point de l'écliptique où se trouve le soleil, sur l'horizon et en même temps l'indicateur sur le même point. Ensuite on peut lire sur la division du bord le temps solaire moyen.

11) Détermination de la maison où se trouve un corps céleste. C'est à ce but que servent les cercles sur le tympan qui passent par les points nord et sud de l'horizon et qui délimitent les maisons.

12) Détermination moyennant l'alidade des tangentes des angles. Elles sont lues sur les deux carrés du dos, tandis que les angles sont lus sur la division du bord.

13) Détermination des sécantes d'angles. On les lit sur l'alidade même.

14) Détermination des sinus d'angles. On les lit dans le quart supérieur de gauche du dos (les nombres lus doivent toujours être divisés par 60, parce que le rayon avait reçu la valeur de 60).

BILDERDIJK EN DE PERZISCHE DICHTKUNST

DOOR K. H. E. DE JONG, DEN HAAG

Bilderdijk, in wiens aderen, naar vermoed wordt, een druppel Balineesch bloed vloeide, had groote belangstelling voor het Oosten, inzonderheid voor Iran. Hij kende de Perzische taal en naar uit een zijner gedichten blijkt was ook zijn tweede echtgenoote niet onbekend ermee.

Men vindt bij Bilderdijk van drie der beroemdste en van enkele onbekende Perzische dichters verscheidene min of meer vrije navolgingen. Wij willen hier op het meest belangrijke de aandacht vestigen.

Uit Sadi's (gest. 1292) „Gulistan" (Rozengaard) heeft Bilderdijk tal van „Spreuken en Voorbeelden" (1828; in Da Costa's uitgaaf der Dichtwerken VII p. 347—375) zijn landgenooten aangeboden.

Hij haalt in de Inleiding Georgius Gentius' uitgaaf van 1651 aan en voegt er aan toe dat diens aanteekeningen hem niet onder het oog zijn gekomen. Ze staan in de uitgaaf van G. Schagen, Amsterdam (1688) p. 269—372.

Het is, zooals hij zelf in zijn inleiding zegt, niet overal stipte vertaling; ook heeft hij hier en daar enkele regels van hemzelf ingevoegd, echter meestal door [] haakjes als zoodanig aangeduid.

Wij halen enkele staaltjes als bijzonder kenschetsend aan uit Dichtwerken VII, p. 351, 356 en 373.

De schutter zij bedacht, eer hem de pijl ontschiet!
Die spreekt, zij 't ook: want pijl of woorden keeren niet.

Ja, de Ezel zij een dier, verachtlijk overal
De Leeuw het edelste en het pronkstuk aller dieren.
Maar liever zag ik toch één ezel in mijn stal
Dan twintig leeuwen door mijn tuin of boomgaard zwieren.

'k Heb nooit een sterveling de schutterkunst geleerd
Of hij heeft naderhand den pijl op mij gekeerd.

Van Hafiz (gest. 1389 ?) heeft Bilderdijk het eerste van diens gedichten uit den „Divan" nagevolgd, onder het opschrift „Liefde", in D.W. XIII p. 258.

Kom, Hemelschenker, reik den vollen beker rond !
De *Liefde* klopt aan 't hart maar roert niet tot den grond.
De muskus mag zijn geur door vacht en leder spreiden,
De lucht verzwakt zijn kracht, alleen door ze uit te breiden.
Pleng wijn op 't dischtappeet, Haar heilig vuur ter eer ?
Voor die geen Liefde kent is God noch Hemel meer !
Wat rust, wat leven toch, daar uur aan uur ons wekken
En 't klokjen telkens klept : *Omgord u tot vertrekken !*
Waar, altijd beidende op één onverbidbren slag
Geen boezem aan 't genot zich overgeven mag !
Hier, afgrond aan mijn zij, daar 't zwalpen van de baren, —
Wie leert me, in duistre nacht, het middenpad bewaren ?
Mijn eigenzin gevolgd, bedekt mijn naam met smaad
En brandmerkt me in 't Heelal, als wars van wijzer raad.
O *Hafez*, zoekt ge een God en houdt ge uw heil in waarde,
Vlieg met uw hart tot Hem en zeg vaarwel aan de aarde !

Deze navolging, gedateerd 1820, is niet ondichterlijk, maar uitermate vrij en het maakt den indruk dat Bilderdijk hier, zooals meer, enkel op zijn geheugen heeft vertrouwd. Uit welke uitgaaf hij Hafiz leerde kennen, is moeilijk uit te maken. In de catalogi van zijn in 1797 en 1832 verkochte boekerijen hebben wij geen ander werk kunnen vinden dat, strikt genomen, over de Perzische dichtkunst handelt, dan de „Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Persicae cum chrestomathia maximam partem ex auctoribus ineditis collecta et glossario locupleti ed. Fr. Welker, Lips 1805 (in den catalogus van 1832 p. 50 No. 572), welk boek ons niet in handen is gekomen. Misschien putte onze dichter uit het „Specimen poëseos Persicae... Haphyzi ghazelae etc." van B. de Reviczky, Vindobonae (1771) p. 2—5.

Bilderdijk heeft Hafiz' gedicht in een mystieken zin opgevat, zooals o.m. Wilberforce Clarke in zijn vertaling I (1891) p. 1—3. Het is, zooals men weet, van oudsher een twistpunt of en in hoever men van Hafiz' verzen een mystieke uitlegging mag geven.

In zijn aanteekeningen op den „Treurzang van Ibn Doreid" haalt onze dichter (in de eerste uitgaaf (1795) p. 53) de volgende uitspraak van Hafiz aan over den wijn :

Dat smaaklijk vocht dat ons de Godvrucht heeft verboden
Als moeder van het kwaad,
Is ons begeerlijker en zoeter
Dan 't kussen van een maagd.

Dit citaat is blijkbaar geput uit het bovenvermelde „Specimen poëseos persicae", procœmium p. XXX*) of uit W. Jones, Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri sex (1774) p. 151 en 234.

Van Djāmi's (gest. 1492) epos „Yūsuf en Zulaikha" heeft Bilderdijk uit den aanhef een passage nagevolgd, t.w. „God", D.W. XIV p. 137:

Hij dekt hem 't hoofd die in de Nachtwaak bidt,
Verfrischt de borst die de arbeid heeft verhit;
Zijn Lentedauw besproeit de doornestruiken
Als roos en thijm die tot genot ontluiken;
Zijn Herfstwind strooit in 't afgeworpen blad
Op 't dorrend veld een gouden Zomerschat;
Zijn lof is meer dan honing op de lippen
En balsemkracht, die borst en ziel doorglippen,
En levensaâm, die 't matte hart verheft,
En hooger dan dit aardsche *zijn* beseft;
Zijn adem doodt de boozen die Hem haten
En waassemt gift voor die Zijn naam vergaten.
Zijn invloed is de nooit uitputbre bron
Die alles laaft, die 't licht schenkt aan de zon.
Onttrekt Hij zich, geen heldre hemelvonken,
Geen dag, bestaat. In 't duister weggezonken
Valt aarde en lucht terug in 't grondloos niet.

Dit gedicht dagteekent van 1826. In 1824 was V. von Rosenzweig's tekst en vertaling van Djāmi's epos verschenen. Of Bilderdijk ze gekend heeft weten wij niet.

Nog treft men bij Bilderdijk twee fabelen aan, geput uit Djāmi's „Baharistan" (Lenteleven), blijkbaar uit de „Anthologia Persica", Viennae (1778) p. 17 en 34—37. De eerste er van is „De Kreeft" D.W. XIV, p. 90, dagteekenende van 1825, de tweede „De Pauw en de Raaf", D.W. I, p. 469, van het jaar 1826.

De eerste dier fabelen is zeer vrij overgebracht, de tweede zeer bekort, maar heeft er o.i. bij gewonnen.

Nog één opmerking tot besluit: Schrijver dezes heeft dit onderwerp slechts even aangesneden en hoopt, dat een meer bevoegde er een grondige studie aan moge wijden.

COMPENDIUM

Bilderdijkius noster ex Sadio, Hafezio, Djamio nec non ex ignotis quibusdam poëtis Persicis quaedam in linguam Neerlandicam transtulit. Quas autem editiones ante oculos habuerit non semper indagare potuimus. Poëtas persicos minime presso pede sequitur sed multa mutavit quinimo nonnullos versus de suo addidit. Hafezii ghazelum primum mystice interpretatus est.

THE SEMITIC AND SANSKRIT ALPHABETS

BY BAREND FADDEGON, LUNTEREN

In the convincing analysis of the Śivasūtras in which Sten Konow (Acta Orientalia XIX p. 291 sqq.) has undertaken to give an insight into the historical growth of this technical-grammatical alphabet, the author writes (p. 300): "I accept Bühler's view (Indische Palaeographie p. 18) that the Brāhmī letters were brought to India by traders, who had become acquainted with the art of writing in Mesopotamia. But it is certain, as he points out, that the arrangement of the letters in a systematic alphabet was due to learned paṇḍits, evidently in accordance with the teaching of the old Śikṣā."

It was during the last year of the war that by a personal experience I began to doubt the correctness of this theory of Bühler's. The insufficiency of food both in quantity and quality made me suffer in many ways, so that my hearing and sight were seriously damaged and the oculist forbade me to read and write. At that time, too, crowds of evacuees applied for accommodation in my village and I took into my house a girl of five years together with her parents. Resolved to make the best of matters I taught the little girl the art of reading by means of counters with large letters and, as I had no experience in the educational line, I had to think out a plan by myself. So I reasoned as follows: to read presupposes associations between letters and speech-sounds. To both of these I must direct the girl's attention and interest. She is to learn how to observe the form and position of the letters, for even an *f* and a *j* would be confusing. And likewise I must teach her to pay attention to the phonemes in their articulative and auditive aspect. My little pupil had to become, so to speak, a phonetician. And to my surprise I found in her a quick response and even won her warm affection. Before showing the manner in which I achieved this result, I want to mention for completeness' sake that the associations between sounds and letters were easily brought about

with the aid of a printed map showing pictures and words with the Netherlands vowels and consonants.

In order then to rouse her interest in the question of how sounds are articulated I adopted the following method. I asked the girl to take the letters for the formation of words out of a box in which they were phonetically arranged and afterwards to put the letters again in their places. Often we discussed the articulation. The arrangement of the box had to suggest the articulation-mode and the articulation-place of the phonemes. For the consonants it was easily done; for the vowels it was impossible,

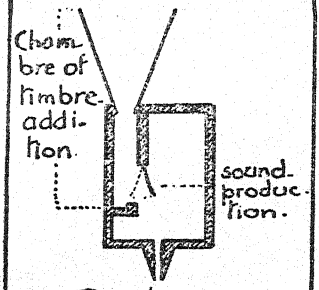
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
E						
	tj		sj	(ge)		j
D						l
	t	d	s	z	n	r
C				g		
	k		ch	g	ng	
B						
	p	b	f	v	m	w
A		ə	ij			
	a	e	i	o	u	h

since they are expressed with the five Latin letters (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) and, besides, require rules of spelling. On these principles I constructed the letter-box which I now describe, dwelling upon some phonetical details which may be of interest and often are introductive to the following exposition of the Semitic and Indian alphabets.

The box contained thirty partitions, arranged in five rows and six columns just as in the table drawn here above. Each partition was divided into two by a piece of cardboard which had been pasted inside; the first subpartitions contained the counters with the characters in Roman type; the second subpartitions were given to special cases; thus, partition A II contained the *e* and the expressions for the indistinct vowel; A III contained *i* and the Netherlands *ij*, D VI *r* and *l*.

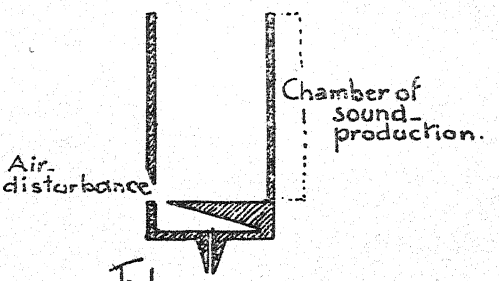
The phonetical arrangement was as follows: A I the laryngeal vowel *a*, in A VI the laryngeal consonant *h* with the other vowel-symbols

TABLE OF SOUND-FORMATION



Reed-pipe

reed-vibrating metallic tongue



Flue-pipe

A



Factor in timbre-addition

I

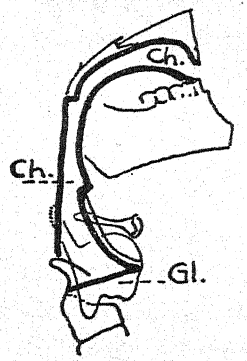


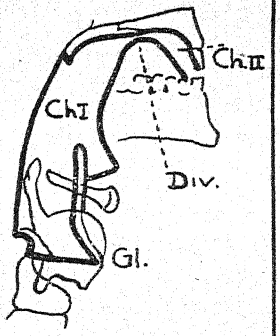
Factor in timbre-addition

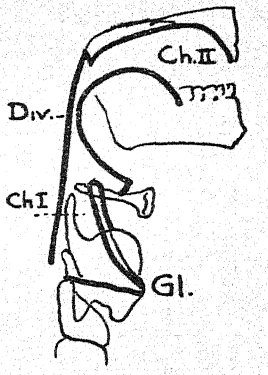
U.



Lips place of air-disturbance.







in between. In row B; *p, b, m,* (bilabials); *f, v* (labiodental fricatives) and *w* (labiodental semi-occlusive). In row C; *k* and *ng* (velars), *ch* and *g* (velar or pharyngeal fricatives of which the *g* is voiced between vowels). In row D: *t, d, n, l* (dentals), *s, z* formed by the breath directed against the ridge of the lower teeth, *r* (alveolar or individually pharyngael); E (palatals), of which the *j* semi-occlusive.

I should like to insert the following remarks on phonetics here. As the reader will notice in the sequel, the discussion of the origin of the alphabet will require some insight into the relation between the *u* (Italian pronunciation) and the velar or pharyngeal and the labial consonants. And in order to attain clearness in this respect it is necessary to explain the formation of the three vowels *a, i* and *u* (all in Italian pronunciation) as being the prominent vocalic sounds. And I follow here Gemelli's theory based on electracoustic experiments (see Dr. Louise Kaiser's Biological and statistical research concerning the speech of 216 Dutch students, Bibliography p. 71 tome XXIII des Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Expérimentale).

But in order to explain this theory it is again necessary to dwell briefly on a section of acoustics, scil. the vibration of air in pipes. We confine ourselves here to the fluepipes and reedpipes of the church organ. In the right upper corner of the Table of Sound-Formation a diagram is given of the fluepipe. From the windbox the air is blown through a passage at the bottom against a sharp edge by which it is divided, a process similar to the water of the sea being driven with great force against a pier. An intricate movement of waves, or "disturbance", is the result of the arrangement and no regular sound is formed. The musical tone is due to the regular upward and downward movement of this disturbance through the organ-pipe which here forms the "Chamber of sound-production". The pitch of the tone produced is dependent here on the length of the pipe and upon its being open or closed at the top. This type of sound-formation is called "vibration produced by air-blast".

This form of sound-production is similarly found in the *i* and *u*-vowels. Here, however, the air-current is not blown against a sharp edge, but through a suddenly narrowing passage. In the *i*-vowel this narrow passage is found between the blade of the tongue and the hard palate (see div. = division in the i-diagram of the table); the disturbance, caused here, develops in the pharyngeal cavity (Chamber I) and the buccal cavity (Chamber II)

into the regular sound-formation of the *i*, which is superficially added to the voice produced by the glottis. In the *u*-vowel the place of air-disturbance is situated between the two lips, whilst the vowel-production is developed out of this disturbance by the pharyngo-buccal cavity, divided as this is into two chambers by the narrow passage between the back of the tongue and the back-wall of the pharynx.

Thus in the *i* the place of "division" has a double function, it acts as a place of air-disturbance and it divides the pharyngeal-buccal cavity into two chambers of sound-formation. In the *u* the lips function as place of air-disturbance and the narrow passage at the top of the pharynx is merely a division of the two chambers of sound-formation.

The production of the *a*-vowel as well as the accompanying voice-production take place in the glottis in the same way as the organ-tone of the reed pipe is produced in the "reed", the metal tongue which is made to vibrate; the pharyngeal-buccal cavity (slightly divided into two chambers by the arcus palatii) adds to it a timbre as does the wooden or metal pipe above the reed, within the reed-pipe ("chamber of timbre-addition" in the table). The tone belonging to the front chamber can be made audible by whispering and the tone of the pharyngeal chamber by percussion, cf. the author's article, "Phonetics and Phonology" [1]).

Finally we have to return to the *u*-vowel; it has two important articulation-places: the lips as place of air-disturbance and the narrow passage at the top of the pharynx as a factor in the sound-formation. Thus the *u* is both related to the labial and the pharyngeal or velar consonants; and it can develop as a voiceless semivowel (*u̯*) into *f*, cf. Old-Irish *fer* and Latin *vir*, Skr. *vīra-*, and as a voiced *u̯* (not yet changed into a semi occlusive) of original Sanskrit into *g* of Prākrit, *avaṭa* > *agaḍa* (Pischel, Gramm. der Prākrit Sprachen, 1900 § 231). And it does not surprise us that the English phoneticians Bell and Sweet called the *u* a back vowel whilst the ancient Indian phoneticians considered it a lip vowel, as appears from their order *a*, *i*, *u* in the alphabet; that is glottis, palate and lips. On the other hand the Semitic planners of the alphabet, not marshalling vowels and consonants into parallel lines, took the labials and velars as cognate as will appear from the

[1]) Mededeelingen Kon. Nederl. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. deel 1 no. 10 Ann. 1938.

following exposition. And according to modern phonetics the labials and velars are both cognate with the *u* and therefore consonants of a low timbre, whilst the dentals and palatals are cognate with the *i* and therefore consonants of a high timbre, facts which are of importance for the twofold possible degeneration of the organ of Corti, one kind badly distinguishing the low tones and the other the high tones, such as the *i* and the *s* and *t*.

That the Semitic alphabet is based on phonetic principles as vaguely guessed by W. v. Humboldt, may appear from the following table. For its construction I received information from a clerical student, who referred to W. Gesenius, Hebräische Grammatik, 29. Aufl., verfasst von G. Bergsträsse, I. Teil Leipzig 1918. In my transliteration of the letters I have taken some license, the voiceless fricatives are given as *f*, *h*, *þ*, voiced fricatives as *β*, *γ*, *δ*. And in my "remarks on the articulation" I have inserted some personal suggestions based on the place which the letters occupy in the alphabetical system.

THE HEBREW ALPHABET

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	laryngeals and semi-vowel	labials	fricatives not alternating with occlusives	velars (and pharyngeals)	alveolars	dentals	fricatives
1	ālef laryngeal occlusive	b *β*		g *γ*		d *δ*	
2	hē laryngeal fricative	w semi-occlusive	z	emphatic *h*		emphatic t	
3*α*	y semi-vowel			k *h*		l	
3*β*		m				n	weak s
4	ayin emphatic laryngeal occlusive	p f	emphatic s	emph. (?) k	r ś	t *þ*	

Remarks on the articulation. The ālef is a speech-sound which is heard at the beginning of an accented initial vowel in modern Netherlands and High-German. According to their place in the alphabetical arrangement *y* is a semivowel, but *w* a semi-occlusive. The fricative of partition V 4 is pronounced not only as an alveolar *ś*, but also as a palatal *š*; according to the alphabetical system the former was its original pronunciation. The emphatic *h* perhaps was a pharyngeal fricative like the *ch* in the provinces of N. and S. Holland of the Netherlands and in the High German of Switzerland; the weak *h* was a velar fricative.

The zayin in column III corresponds to Greek ζ which sometimes is *zd*, for instance in **Ἀθήναζε**, sometimes *dz*, for instance in **ὀνομάζω**, with ζ < dy. The pronunciation *zd* is confirmed by the preceding ligature for *st* in the cipher system. Were the consonants of column III in the primary alphabet palatals which arose from velars and were columns III and IV put together for this very reason? Doubts may also be roused as to column VII where we meet in Greek with ξ instead of Hebrew sāmech and with *sanpi* at the end of the alphabet in its numerical application.

Personally I tried to arrive at the production of ayin in the following way. Belonging as I do by birth to the Western provinces of the Netherlands and articulating in my youth a pharyngeal *ch (h)* I afterwards replaced it by a velar *ch*. With the help of these two articulations I added to my natural velar *k* a pharyngeal *k* (in the Hebrew alphabet perhaps IV 4). But ayin was a still deeper consonant, for in its description we find it compared with the sound at the beginning of vomiting. Compare the Netherlands rough onomatope *kotsen* for vomiting, in which word *k* represents the explosion, the *o* its deep timbre, whilst *ts* often occurs in words of sound or movement (cf. *klotsen, kletsen, ritselen, klutsen, gutsen, hutsen* and further *botsen, pats*). So then I tried to produce a similar sound in my larynx. Dr. Louise Kaiser has kindly photographed my natural *k*, my pharyngeal *k*, my effort for an *ayin* and my pharyngeal *h.*; the photos clearly showed the differences. [1])

As the reader will see in the alphabetic table, there is regularity in the Hebrew alphabet, but it is seriously obscured by some irregularities.

The principles of regularity are the following:

[1]) Unfortunately it has not been possible to publish these photographs in the present article.

A. The columns contain consonants of the same articulation-place. The predominant order is labial II, velar IV and dental VI. Column I contains the laryngeal consonants which introduce vowels; the *y* is put here, because it was characterised either by voice or voicelessness; as to the possibility of the latter case compare English *wh* and ancient Greek *rh*. Column III originally perhaps contained palatals, cognate with the following series of velars. The alveolar column, only containing *r* and *ś*, is subordinate to column VI. The original value of column VII seems uncertain.

B. The rows contain consonants of the same articulation-mode; in row 1 we find the mediae, in row 3β the nasals, in row 4, as far as the main columns are concerned the tenues *p*, *q* (i.e. perhaps the pharyngeal *ḥ*), *t*.

C. As to column I we are struck by the following facts, the consonant names ālef and hē contain the vowels *a* and *e*; the semivowel *y* reminds us of an *i*; the symbol of ayin resembles the *o* of Greek and Latin; the *u* and *y* of these languages are derived from this *o*. In these vowels we meet with the series *a* laryngeal, *e*, *i* palatals, *o*, *u* labials. The same order we find in the Sanskrit alphabet. How are we to account for this regularity?

The difficulties in the arrangement of the Hebrew alphabet are:

D. In row 4 we should expect an alternation *k* : *ḥ* parallel with *p* : *f* and *t* : *þ*. And in connection with this fact line 3α gives the impression of being an insertion. Most likely the alphabet was planned in a language which only contained an *r* and no *l*, and only one *k*, the velar one.

E. Row 2 possesses a very incoherent character; since it is placed —after the omission of line 3α—between voiced consonants (*b*, *g*, *d* and *m*, *n*) we are led to surmise that possibly in the language in which the original alphabet was composed, (perhaps an older stage of the Semitic languages themselves), this row contained voiced consonants such as e.g. *bh*, *gh*, *dh* in Sanskrit. The occurrence of *r* in row 4 need not be considered a difficulty, for *r* could have been, as in Greek, a voiceless consonant *ȓ* at the beginning of a word.

Before taking leave of the Hebrew alphabet I want to remark that in the invention of a letter-system two factors might play a part, either the phonetical arrangement as explained in the preceding pages, or the wish to facilitate the association between sound and symbol. The latter factor would then show itself in the names

TABLE CONTAINING THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL ALPHABET OF SANSKRIT

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	Vowels	Diph-thongs originally	Diph-thongs	Inter-mittent vowels	Occlu-sives	Semi-vowels	Frica-tives
1	a ā						h
2					k kh g gh ṅ		
3	i ī	e	ai		c ch j jh ñ	y	ś
4				ṛ ṝ	ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ	r	ṣ
5				ḷ ḹ	t th d dh n	l	s
6	u ū	o	au		p ph b bh m	v	

TABLE CONTAINING THE ŚIVASŪTRAS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11α	11β	11γ	12	13	14
α	a				h											h
β	i		e	ai	y		ñ	jh		j		ch	c		ś	
γ	u		o	au	v		m	bh		b						
δ							ṅ		gh	g	kh			k		
ε											ph			p		
ζ		ṛ			r		ṇ		ḍh	ḍ		ṭh	ṭ		ṣ	
η		ḷ				l	n		dh	d		th	t		s	
	ṇ	k	ṅ	c	ṭ	ṇ	m	ñ	ṣ	ś			v	y	r	l

of the characters. The relation of these two factors cannot be considered here [1]).

Passing over to Sanskrit we should remember that we find here next to the general, lexicographical alphabet a grammatical arrangement of the phonemes in the Śivasūtras. On the preceding page the table at the top shows the principle of construction of the lexicographical alphabet. The columns here contain the phonemes resembling one another in their articulation-mode, and the rows show the phonemes of the same articulation-place. The order of the rows is the regular succession of the articulations from larynx up to lips.

Note. Observe that in the transliteration *ṣ* represents an alveolar, whereas for the Semitic alphabet I have used the symbol *ś*.

The second table gives the Śivasūtras arranged vertically so that the comparison with the first table becomes easier. In order to do this, sūtra II running *kh, ph, ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, t,* must be broken up into three parts. The bottom row of the table contains the indicative letters which, added after the first letter of a certain group, indicates this total group ; e.g. *chav* indicates the six voiceless occlusives pronounced with the tip or the blade of the tongue ; *aś* indicates all voiced speechsounds etc.

Sten Konow in the article quoted has fully analysed this table in connection with its use in Pāṇini's Sūtra-Pāṭha and with the efforts to arrive at an alphabetical arrangement in the Prātiśākhyas. The irregularity in the alphabetical order of the indicative letters has likewise been taken into account, and so the author has constructed the probable historical development of these sūtras which preceded Pāṇini's scholarly activity. It seems unnecessary to summarize this detailed and careful analysis. Only upon one point I want to dwell here ; it is the internal arrangement of the sūtras, in other words the way in which the rows follow one another in our table. Here we meet with an order which strongly reminds us of the Hebrew alphabet. In both arrangements we find labials, velars and dentals in succession (see the rows γ, δ and η) ; but what I surmise to correspond to the Sanskrit palatals namely the Hebrew column *zayin, sāde* is placed before the column of the velars with which they are perhaps historically connected. On the other hand in both alphabets the alveolars precede the dentals (rows ζ and η).

[1]) Vide "Der Alte Orient", 36. Band, 1/2 Prof. Dr. Hans Bauer † : "Der Ursprung des Alphabets", Leipzig. J. C. Hinrichs Verlag 1937.

The position of the palatals (β) before the labials (γ) has two advantages: 1. the order palatals : labials in the consonants becomes parallel to the succession *i : u*, and 2. the Sanskrit palatal occlusives with their special rules of sandhi are easily put apart from the other varṇa-consonants.

As for the order *kh : ph* and *k : p* which we find in the Śivasūtras 11 and 12, in the pratyākāras it has practically no importance. It is perhaps due to the influence of the lexicographical alphabet; cf. SP. 8, 3, 37, where we meet with the expression *kupvoḥ* which is to be supplemented with *khar(i)* of sū. 8, 3, 15 as an indication of the four consonants *k, kh, p, ph*.

Of greater moment is the fact that the labials (γ) are put immediately before the velars (δ). In the sūtras 11 and 12 this position has advantages in view of the sandhi-rules bearing on the six voiceless consonants articulated with the tip or blade of the tongue. Less striking is the case of *ṅam* in Pāṭha-Sūtra 8, 3, 32 showing the gemination of *ṅ, ṇ* and *n* after a short vowel and before an initial vowel. In a case such as *pratyaṅṅ āste* the *ṅṅ* can historically be accounted for, since *pratyaṅ* is developed from **pratyaṅks*, so the length by position of the syllable is maintained; and the same argumentation holds good for *kurvann āste* with *n* < *nts*. But with the onomatopes in *ṇ* the case is quite different; at the very best we have to do here with a "phonetical analogy", but this does not explain why Pāṇini himself calls one of his books the *uṇ-ādi-sūtra*.

Very peculiar is the use of the pratyāhāra *yañ* in 7, 3, 101 sq. discussing the lengthening of a thematical *a*; practically this pratyāhāra contains the four consonants *y* (5β : *vṛkṣāya*), *v* (5γ : *pacāvaḥ*), *m* (7γ : *pacāmi, pacāmaḥ*) and *bh* (8γ : *vṛkṣābhyām*). It is very unlikely that Pāṇini in view of this sūtra only has brought the row of labials from the original last place before (above) the velars. More likely it seems to me that the Śivasūtras here have reserved the original Semitical order of labial, velar, dental.

But leaving aside these minor points for the present we may conclude that both Hindus and Semites constructed their alphabets systematically on two principles, those of the articulation-mode and the articulation-place, and we may feel some doubts concerning Bühler's hypothesis that Hindu-traders should merely have received the characters from the Semites and that no further influence as to the phonetic science should have been exerted.

The Abessinian alphabet. Prof. J. H. Kramers pointed out to me the Abessinian alphabet as causing great difficulties to the Semitists. So I consulted A. Dillmann's *Grammatik der Aethiopischen Sprache* von C. Bezold, 1899. Starting from my fundamental idea that the planning of an alphabet is in the first place a work of phonology I considered the theory expounded by Bezold of the relation between the Hebrew and Abessinian alphabets as hardly convincing. The Abessinian alphabet is not actually divided into two sections (1—13, 14—26), but into three (1—9, 10—18 and 19—26). Their mutual relation I have symbolized in a fanciful figure. The side columns (1—7 and 11—18) contain: the sonorous or vowellike consonants (printed here in heavy type), the laryngeals and the sibilants; the base (9—10 and 9 sq.) contains the ordinary mutes; the middle column (21—26) contains the emphatical sounds and two labial mutes (*ṭ, ṗ, ts, dz, f, p* or *ps*).

1 h	26 p		
l		**j** 18	
	f	z	
ḥ	ḍ	ʿ	
m		**w**	
5 š	23 ṣ	k 14	
	ṗ	ʾ	
r		**n**	
7 s	21 ṭ	ḫ 11	
8 q	g		
	19 d	t 10	
	9 b		

As for the side columns the rule holds good that at the left side one laryngeal or sibilant, and at the right side two laryngeals or sibilants are placed between two sonorous consonants (nasals, liquids and semi-vowels). As Bezold points out, the characters 11 and 12, 13 and 14, 15 and 16 are typographically connected; the same may perhaps be maintained, for *l* and *ḥ* (added middle stroke), 4 and 5 of which the form of *māi* is more elaborate, 6 and 7 with inversion, cf. Bezold, Tafel I. The Hebrew and Abessinian alphabets are undoubtedly connected, whilst the Hebrew arrangement is the original one.

ORIENTAL STUDIES AND INDIA

BY H. KRAEMER, GENEVA

Among anthropologists and ethnologists, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries (America, England, Australia), there is at present a deep interest in the huge problem of culture contact or cultural exchange. This is right, because it is nothing less than a problem of life and death for the many primitive peoples that have been drawn into the orbit of modern Western civilization with all the upheaval it causes. The destructive effect of the "acids of modern civilization" on these primitive peoples makes not only investigation, but also planning imperative. However, for the same reason, viz. the penetration and inrush of modern Western civilization and methods, the "higher" non-European civilizations as e.g. the Indian, are passing, though on a widely different plane, through the ordeal of culture-contact and cultural exchange. The object of this paper is to consider one aspect of it, viz. the peculiar part oriental studies and their unpredictable consequences are taking in this process. It might be called a study in cultural psychology in a period of revolutionary transition.

Since the end of the 18th century many generations of orientalists have been studying the ancient languages and literatures of the great oriental civilizations: Indian, Islamic, Chinese, Japanese. Painstaking linguistical, philological, archaeological research has resulted in constructing a picture of the development of these complex cultures and especially of their religious background. It is still going on, constantly busy in revising the picture. It has been and is a splendid work of spiritual conquest, of creative discovery, as arduous and obstinate as the discovery of the North and South Poles, though less manifestly romantic. It is due to the work of Western orientalists that the oriental peoples have now a clearer picture of the historical sequence of their religious and cultural development than ever before. Since the last part of the 19th century in a constantly increasing manner the small

army of Western orientalists has been reïnforced by men from the ranks of the orientals themselves. Oriental men, trained in Western methods of research and historical criticism, began to offer their contribution to the common task. As to India, names as Telang and Bhandarkar rise at once in our mind.

At present, there is a constantly growing number of oriental scholars, carefully trained in modern methods, who form with the Western orientalists a fellowship of workers for the investigation and interpretation of their own civilization. So in Egypt in the field of Islamic culture and religion; in China very vigorously under the inspiring leadership of Hu Shih; in India a band of scholars from different quarters of this vast peninsula and cultural continent, are busy in many branches: archaeology, languages, history of religion, history of philosophy, political, social and economical history, sociology etc.

One important difference—amongst others—between Western and these Eastern orientalists is that their study of one or more branches of their civilization is and must be more than dispassionate, though ardent, investigation and interpretation of the spiritual, social or political past. It is with them also the endeavour to understand and interpret their *own* past as an instrument to influence the revolutionary present in which they culturally, politically and socially are living, and to build at the same time for their cultural, social and political future, for it is their own fate and the fate of their own people and civilization that is at stake. Western orientalists can be deeply interested spectators, which encourages a detachment, so highly desirable for the scientific spirit. The Eastern orientalists can't be spectators. They belong themselves to the personnel of the arena. This endangers their detachment, but it sharpens the feeling for trends and shades that may escape the investigator, who is not himself a living part of the spiritual tradition he is studying.

The manner in which oriental scholars have cooperated in Western oriental studies has already a history, the main stages of which are 1°. mere apprenticeship, 2°. full cooperatorship in the line and spirit of Western scientific approach, 3°. an approach of their own, inspired by the exigencies of their national cultural crisis and renaissance. The dangers of a too emotionally subjective, apologetic and propagandistic handling of the problems are of course evident. The menace of turning the search for truth into a tool

for nationalist self-aggrandizement is very real. Yet, in various respects, new roads are opened, and aspects, neglected or overseen by Western orientalism, are brought to the attention of critical examination. In India a book that embodies as well the dangers as the stimulants just mentioned, is e.g. Mookerji's : A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity, 1912, which construes an Indian urge for discovery and will for domination that is the fruit of a reading of history, mainly born from nationalist wishful thinking, but nevertheless opening our eyes wider to what "the Greater India" has meant for Asia.

In the following study I propose to outline the work of a remarkable Indian scholar, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, a man of amazing abilities and of startling and stimulating interpretations, however erroneous they often may appear to us in the light of well-established facts. Sarkar is a worker in many fields, but the domain of political science is a predilection of his. J. J. Meyer, the able translator of the Kauṭilyārthašāstra, says about Sarkar in the preface to his translation, called : "Das alt-indische Buch von Welt und Staatsleben", that he is a man of genius and astoundingly at home in European literature. J. Jolly, the well-known authority in the field of Indian political science, treats in "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (1925) a series of publications on this matter from the pen of Indian scholars. He characterizes Sarkar in this article as a scholar marked by "Groszzügigkeit", although he does not entirely suppress the criticism that Sarkar might be too much influenced in his theses and conclusions by his ardent patriotism.

The chief work of Sarkar's is his : The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology, Book I. It is the second edition of a work in three parts, published for the first time in 1914, and consisting of Book I : Introduction to Hindu Positivism ; Book II : Hindu Materialism and Natural Sciences ; Book III : Hindu Politics and Economics. It is meant as an introduction to the English translation of the Nītisāra of Šukrācārya (also called Šukraniti), one of the late, medieval Indian works on political science. Sarkar published this translation in 1914 in the Sacred Books of India Series of the Panini Office at Allāhabād, and added the "Positive Background of Hindu Sociology" to it in order to give an account of his views and conclusions regarding the place of the secular element in Indian life. One of his books that deals with the same sphere is "The

Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus", 1922, which he calls himself "a study in comparative politics". In this contribution we will draw mainly on these two publications; sometimes his "The Futurism of Young Asia", and other essays on the relations between the East and the West, 1922, will also be used. However, it must be emphasized that these three works, however important they may be, do not give the slightest idea of the amazing fertility and versatility of Sarkar's mind. He is a widely travelled man, who has produced an endless stream of books and articles in various fields of investigation. In the preface to his "Positive Background", the director of the Panini office takes tens of pages in order to enumerate Sarkar's productions. Nevertheless, versatile as his mind and pen may be, above all he wants to be a positivist student of sociology, and in this article we will devote our attention to this side of his scientific personality.

Sarkar is a man of wide studies and of wide travel. From 1914—1925 he travelled, taught and studied in Europe and America in order to "extend his world-culture" as he expresses himself. About every country he visited he wrote a book in Bengali, consisting in all of 12 volumes, and called: Varttamān Jagat (the modern world). From 1926—1937 he was living in his mother-country, Bengal, acting as a professor, a writer, a stimulating reformer and organizer in the fields of economics, social life, and education.

All his books and articles, his exertions and endeavours, are clearly devoted to one end, viz. to make India equal in cultural status and achievement to the Western world. It is hence essential to our subject to discover the fundamental theses by which he is led in all his investigations and conclusions. The way in which he works out the championship of these theses, teaches us very clearly what shape Western training and scientific erudition take in the mind of a brilliantly gifted and thoroughly trained Oriental.

Sarkar's theses can be compressed in one formula, which runs entirely counter to the dominant opinion about the Oriental as being constitutionally and essentially "spiritual". It is especially in contradiction to the wide-spread notion, with scholars as well as with the European intellectuals, of the inborn spirituality of the Indians, who figure in the general conception as sublime mystics, profound metaphysicians and fervent "religiosi". A reputation which in the last 25 years appeared quite natural and in agreement with the

facts, since the noble figure of Mr. Gandhi seemed to be a vivid illustration of this spirit of India. The formula in which Sarkar expresses his view to the contrary runs as follows: during its whole cultural history India has been intensely secular and earthbound in its propensities. To picture the Indian people on account of its producing the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta philosophy, the Bhagavadgīta and the many forms of bhakti religion, as an essentially other-worldly-minded people, is, according to Sarkar's interpretation, a misguiding construction of European orientalists, at least of the older generation, and to a great extent also of those of the present generation. Max Müller especially is his black sheep, but many others are the target for his attacks and criticisms. He extracts from the documents of the past a quite different India than the spiritual India, which, as Sarkar phrases it, is the fruit of the imaginations of "orientalism in science". This other India is not mystic, but positivist or naturalistic; it is not speculative, but materialistic. With these terms which to our ears tend to have an unfavourable sound, he means that India, the land of fākir's and sādhu's, of sacrifice-experts and yogi's, has in reality been a country in which the universal type of the common clay of man, with all his instinctive needs and desires, has played as important a rôle as in other lands and climes. This is explained in his introduction to Šukrācārya's Nītisāra, which bears the title: The *Positive* Background of Hindu Sociology. In the first edition of this book, B. D. Basu, its editor, characterizes Sarkar's position with the following words: "One side of India was presented by Max Müller in his writings: India, what can it teach us? Chips from a German workmanshop, etc.; and especially through the Sacred Books of the East Series. This was the subjective, the idealistic and the metaphysical or mystical side. The other side of Indian culture—the naturalistic, the secular, the worldly, the objective side has been presented by Prof. Sarkar." Basu is too moderate, because Sarkar is far more aggressive in his attitude. It is impossible for him to deny speculative, mystical and phantastic India, but in his virulant pushing into the foreground of the political, the economic, the fully secular aspect of India, one feels that he would like to deny it. To him his refutation of "orientalism in science" means the destruction of "a vast body of idols", all born from the Western superiority complex (cf. Preface to his "Futurism of Young Asia", p. III).

Besides secularism another keyword in his interpretation of Indian culture is : energetism. This word again is the flat counterpart of a widely-spread notion about India, viz. its quietism and passivity. Isn't Buddhist Nirvana its classic manifestation ?

A constantly recurring theme with Sarkar is that India, always presented by Western historians as a typical example of inherent weakness in political creativity, evidenced by the fact that Indian history is a recital of invasions and foreign dominionships, is, on the contrary, that part of the world where Macchiavellistic Realpolitik had its most daring exponents, and in which the urge for world dominion, imperialism and colonial expansion was a dominant motive. No people of dreamers, but of energetic activists in the field of merely secular politics and self-assertion. Sarkar tells us frankly that his endeavour to establish this new emphasis with regard to Indian history and civilization is stimulated by his protest against Western "albinocracy and colonialism". This protest is his "Leitmotiv" (Preface, o.c. p. III).

Is it then sufficient to say that Sarkar is a scientific worker, guided and inspired by a fervent nationalism ? Jolly thinks so. It seems to me that this is only a partial view of Sarkar's scientific individuality. One of his favourite theses is "the doctrine of vishvashakti" as he calls it himself. He is not only a fervent nationalist, he is also a fervent cosmopolitan. By "vishvashakti" he means two things. First, his belief that humanity is fundamentally one and must be viewed and treated as a unity. He rejects utterly the tendency to place India apart. "So-called Hindu ideals there are none" (Preface on "Positive Background", p. 18). Secondly, vishvashakti signifies that India in the last 1½ centuries has come into contact with the entire globe and is a receiving as well as a giving agency in the spiritual, economic and political world-texture. We are on the way towards a world-culture, in which India will have and give its share. "The world is not complete without India" (Futurism, p. 362). As there has been in the past "the Greater India", pictured by Mookerjee, so in the future there must be a "greater India", that is to say an India which has had a part and wants to take part in the "vishvashakti of world-culture". As the "Greater India" of the past kept an open mind to all outside influences, so present India is open to the best of European and American culture. Sarkar expresses it in this way (ib. p. 305) : "Shakespeare, Goethe, Victor Hugo, Walt Whitman and Ibsen

call forth among Indians the same enthusiasm as among the Westerners. Helmholtz, Pasteur, John Stuart Mill and William James, they all have thousands of admirers and followers in India. The great philosophers of Germany from Kant and Fichte to Haeckel and Eucken are as popular in India as her own masters."

This succinct synopsis of Sarkar's tendencies in his sociological and historical research-work reveal him as a rare combination of crass realism, high-flown idealism, India-obsession and cosmopolitan omnivorism. His view contrasts strangely with Mr Gandhi's autarkist conception of a "holy" India.

Taking into account all that has been said about his fundamental theses, it is no matter of surprise that he is wholly anti-metaphysical and a-religious, if not irreligious. In direct antithesis to the standard-view about Hindu life, he pronounces as his opinion: "Human life is never governed by religion, which is everywhere a brilliant superstition, consisting in the vain effort to understand the nature of God, but by the desire and power to live and flourish by responding to the 1000 and 1 stimuli of the universe and utilizing the innumerable world-forces (vishvashakti). This desire and power is the basis of civilization, culture, Kultur or dharma and is spiritual in its very nature if anything spiritual there be" (cf. Preface: Positive Background). His credo is a positivist vitalism and an optimistic rationalism. Notwithstanding this, he presided in 1936 over the Ramakrishna Centenary Convention of Religions, and acted in 1937 as the Secretary to the International Parliament of Religions in Calcutta.

These facts are an instructive indication as to the peculiar plastic condition and the diffusive aspect of the spiritual situation in the present Orient. The most improbable mixtures and coagulations —synthesis would be an entirely inaccurate and misleading term— are possible and accepted, because the provisional unificator of all these divers factors is the elementary urge for self-assertion and for getting a place in the sun. If one would venture to identify Sarkar with one of the recognized systems of thought—which is difficult because of his cameleontic versatility—then it would probably be most fitting to classify him as a member of the widespread "congregation" of Comte-followers, as he has both a positivist-rationalist as well as a sociological strain in the texture of his scientific personality. Advocating the "new sociology" and "new indology" to which he is devoted, he wholly agrees with Comte

that ideal sociology has to become "physique sociale". Just as Comte he uses, according to his own communications (Pos. Backgr. p. 10), the word "positivist" in the sense of: opposite to religious. It is worth while to state in this connection that French sociology, its outlook and spiritual background, is one of the most influential factors in moulding the minds of Western-educated Orientals from Morocco to India.

We now turn to the works of Sarkar's we mentioned as being of the most significance for the purpose of this contribution. It will enable us to get a more concrete picture of his manner of approach and interpretation.

In "The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology" Sarkar reveals his strong and his weak sides. He offers in this book his positivist interpretation of India as a culture-complex. According to him positivism, materialism, activism were the true motors of Indian cultural development. The mythological, religious and speculative aspect of India is mere dressing-up. Attentive reading teaches that in this baffling thesis Sarkar is covertly determined by a compulsion towards comparing India with the Eur-American sphere of culture. This is apparent in the arguments used in his thesis. He maintains—and in doing so he is right—that a sound and objective comparison between Eur-American and Indian culture, which is sensitive to *historical* perspective, is impossible if the compared items are India and the Western world *after its triumphant development in the fields of science* since the 17th century. Those achievements, of which the West is so proud—viz. democracy, religious liberty, general education, its domination of the forces of nature, its inventions and material progress etc.—are, as Sarkar rightly states, of recent origin. To get a truly-historical, proper appreciation of the Hindu achievements in science, abstract or applied, the Western point of comparison must be the period in Western cultural history before it accomplished its great creative acts in science, technocracy, industrialism and democracy. That is to say, the time of the Middle Ages. If we do this, Sarkar concludes that "the Hindu scientific intellect and materialistic genius would be found to have been more or less similar to the Western" (p. 5). Speaking historically and psychologically Sarkar is here quite right, although he neglects this important element that Indian culture between the sixth century before and after Christ is an indigenous, autochthonous product, whereas the European

Middle Ages from cultural aspect represent the incorporation and conquest of the Teutonic peoples by a blending of Christianity and late-classical culture. However, leaving this aside, he is right in his emphasis. Yet, taking into account his thesis of the positivist, materialistic and activist character of Indian life, in a mythological, religious and speculative disguise, we are driven to the not easily to be conceded idea that thinking along this line the imposing religious structure of European medieval civilization is but a semblance and a travesty, whereas its hidden springs were lying in purely positivist impulses. In other terms, Sarkar's valuable stressing of the right terms of the comparison, which results in his book in a rich multitude of shrewd and illuminating observations, is coupled with and inspired by a sort of Marxian ideology (the spiritual the superstructure of the material), which is not a result of scientific observation and deduction, but is his personal vitalistic conception and interpretation of life and the world.

A second viewpoint which governs his interpretation of Indian civilization in "The Positive Background" is very interesting and noteworthy. Ancient India has condensed its cultural philosophy admirably in the well-known term: *puruṣārtha*, sometimes now circumscribed as *trivarga*, sometimes as *caturvarga*. By puruṣārtha is meant: the "desirables" of man, the fields of self-expression for man as an individual and a member of a community. Trivarga or trias comprises dharma, artha and kāma, caturvarga or tetras comprises dharma, ārtha, kāma and mokṣa. Issuing from this time-honoured purely Indian concept Sarkar points out the enormous importance which the trivarga has in Indian life, that is to say the categories of non-mokṣa, of non-transcendental, of non-mystical, secular, positive order. He maintains that this preponderance of trivarga in the totality of Indian life has with very few exceptions never yet acquired adequate recognition in the interpretation of Indian life by European scholars. Therefore the compendious literature about trivarga, produced by every generation in India, embodied in the dharma-, ārtha-, nīti-, kāma-, vārttā-, šilpašāstras and in the many branches of Indian science, has never been adequately studied as an indication of the "Diesseits"-tendency in Indian life. The predilection of Western scholars for the mokṣa-side of Indian life has, according to Sarkar, established the opinion that Hindu culture is essentially non-economic, non-political, ultra-ascetic and over-religious (ib. p. 6). Sarkar's "new indology"

intends to fill just this gap, and it is evident that he is redressing an undeniable one-sidedness of Indological studies, although he does so by becoming himself extremely one-sided. He acknowledges this silently by his emphasis on another peculiarity of Indian culture, viz. that the Hindus in every field of cultural life intended to realize a harmony or synthesis of two aspects of life: the worldly and the other-worldly (bhoga and tyāga). He is indeed too sweeping in his judgment about the neglect by Western scholars of the trivarga-aspect. H. Zimmer's "Altindisches Leben" (1879) did not only convey the impression that Indians are priests and dreamers. Long before Sarkar stressed this point of view (1914), J. J. Meyer had expressed already in 1902, in the Preface to his "Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracaritam" his opinion in the following words: "Der Hindu ist immer einerseits ein Grübler und Asket, andererseits ein sehr sinnlicher und weltlicher Mensch gewesen." Unvoluntarily therefore Sarkar favours the idea that Western scholars, before the discovery of the Kauṭilyārthaśāstra in 1909, never paid any attention to the secular aspect of Indian character and life. Nevertheless his emphasis on this aspect of Indian life is justified. Authors as Alfred Hillebrandt: "Alt-indisches politisches Leben" (1923), Masson-Oursel: "L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne" (1931), especially J. J. Meyer in the notes on his translation of the Kauṭilyārthaśāstra, and others show an open mind to what Sarkar calls his "new indology", but it is a fact that the general impression about India is built on notions of the Upaniṣads, the Vedānta, the Bhagavadgīta, Buddhism etc.; which all point to an attitude of radical world-negation. The oldest description of Indian life by Megasthenes (3d century before Christ) furnishes already the impression that the dominant trait of Indian life is not to be found in the gymnosophists (sādhū), who intrigued Alexander the Great and his generals so much, but in a vigorous state- and municipal life. By his exaggerated accentuation of the secular life Sarkar renders a real service to the understanding of India, because he forces us to be more realistic and more in conformity with the facts and often offers explanations of Indian phenomena that are really to the point, whereas at the same time he falls often in the trap of misinterpretation of well-established facts. His realism makes him sharpsighted. Thus when he says: "The ideals of the Ṛiṣis of the Vedic culture-complex are not very metaphysical or other-worldly, the atmosphere of sacrifices, hymns,

prayers and gods notwithstanding. The literature is preoccupied with the annihilation of the enemy, the seizure of enemy properties, the distribution of the booty, the expansion of one's territory, the attainment of the highest position in the society of man. It describes jealousies, ambitions, hatreds, wars, elections, harangues and rivalries for accession to the throne" (o.c. p. 125). Speaking about sacrifice as a means of coercing the gods, he says (o.c. p. 369): "Man is made superhuman. It is man and his energy that are really adored through the sacrifices", and in the self-release of Jains and Buddhists (the gods are irrelevant, and merely bubbles in the karmatic world-process) he detects "the touch of humanism and positivism". The curious consequences of Sarkar's positivist modern-mindedness is that he on the one hand becomes blind to the fundamental religious conceptions that dominate the Indian view of life, while on the other hand he sees clearly the human, all too human elements, that acquire a certain sanctification from their integration into this fundamental background, and therefore avoids the romantic over-spiritualization, to which many Western scholars are prone by their tendency to "explain" all phenomena as rectilineal elaboration of these sacred fundamental intuitions.

He becomes eloquent when he discusses the political theories of India. Urged by his desire to uncover the secular tendency of Indian life, he appeals (o.c. p. 361, 400) to European and Indian scholars alike to recognize that the dharma's and standards of the ārthašāstra's are "frankly and 100 % Machiavellian". He rightly remarks: "It is fallacious to believe that ideals or pious wishes must always be humane, holy, high-souled or philanthropic". In Realpolitik Macchiavellian ideals are literally ideals. Then suddenly he betrays his limitless positivism ("morale sans obligation ni sanction") in his diatribe on Kauṭilya: "As an exponent of Macchiavellism Kauṭilya is in excellent company, Eastern and Western (he is thinking of Hobbes, Bismarck, Richelieu, Von Treitschke etc.), and the Arthašāstra of Kauṭilya is one of the greatest works of mankind in the realm of political ethics or logic". His nationalist desire for a powerful India makes him continue in this vein: "It is a glory to the Hindu brain this powerfully conceived philosophical masterpiece it has not been excelled in any quarter of the globe. If our Mother India is great and divine, because she gave birth to a šākya, the Buddha, let us all worship

our Mother India as equally great and divine because she produced a Vishṇugupta, a Cāṇakya, the Kauṭalya or the Kauṭilya (cunning or crooked). It is in this worship that we do justice to the glorious positive background of Hindu sociology Kauṭilya completes Buddha."

To the historian of religion it is highly interesting to see how Sarkar intuitively understands that the Indian Marseillaise, viz. Bankim Chatterjee's Vande Mātaram of 1885 (Hail Motherland, Vande Mātaram, Thy art my nurse, Thyself my creed, in Thee my heart and soul, and in my limbs the spirit Thou, in mine arm Thou art strength (Šakti), Thyself heart's devotion (bhakti), Thine the images bodied forth, In temples over and all, Mother !) is the secularised, nationalist version of the primeval Indian belief in Durgā and the Mother-goddess.

Sarkar repeatedly combats another conception about India, that is always presented by Western Orientalists, viz. that in India the idea of state and fatherland is unknown as we understand it in the West, and that Indian history embodies a sequence of invasions and foreign conquests, only rarely interspersed by times of autonomous Indian rule. In his "Positive Background", in "The Political Theories and Institutions of the Hindus", in "The Futurism of Young Asia" he meets this challenge by pointing to the many invasions by Asiatic peoples (Mongols, Turks, Saracenes) to which Europe was subject. His book "The Political Theories and Institutions of the Hindus" is an ably done work, by which in spite of his exaggerations he succeeds in making two valuable contributions. He shows clearly the wealth and originality of Indian thinking on politics as contained in the nīti-literature. This is hardly known and it helps us to get rid of the idea that China is the sole Oriental country that has produced a great deal of thinking on the problems of political, social and economic life. India has been as fertile, if not more fertile, in thinking about these problems than China. Future research will reveal this more and more and Sarkar undoubtedly belongs to the eye-openers in this domain. It makes one ponder the vexing comparison between China, which was creative in thought and achieved much in politics, and India, which was as creative in thought but deficient in achievement.

The second contribution he makes through his pre-occupation with the political and social science of the Hindus is that he corrects the hyper-spiritualizing interpretation of India and Eastern life

in general, which is one of the fallacies of the modern intellectual, and one too easily nourished by the writings of Western Orientalists. The arduous labour many Indian thinkers and writers in successive generations spent on political science, public law, social science, economics, military science etc. testifies to a pluralistic India, as Sarkar calls it, with all senses open to the common realities of life. Sarkar allows himself a special pleasure in revealing the fact that the ārthašāstra's often discuss the idea of world-dominion and imperium (cakravartin, dīgvījaya, jigīṣu). He entirely neglects the religious-cosmological soil in which these conceptions have originally their roots, but gladly accepts and unscrupulously modernizes the more secularized phase of these ideas as found in the later ārthašāstra's. The concluding sentence (p. 226) of "The Political Theories and Institutions of the Hindus" is in this respect instructive. "The doctrine of sarvabhauma as the concept of federal nationalism, imperial federation or the universe-state, is thus the key-stone in the arch of the Hindu theory of sovereignty. The message of Pax Sarvabhaumica, in other words, the doctrine of unity and concord, is the final contribution of nītišāstra's to the philosophy of the State." Yet, Sarkar is entirely right when he maintains that systematic Indian thinking about the state and about politics, as for example is evident in the doctrine of matsyanyāya (the logic of the fish, i.e. the right of the strongest), the daṇḍa-theory, the theories about conquest, power-balances etc., are wholly profane, just as the Fa-chia in China or Hobbes in his "Leviathan". In "The Futurism of Young Asia" Sarkar takes another rôle. He acts as the mouthpiece of a young Asia, that is impatient with the Western sense of superiority, and asserts that virility, as a virtue, was not the exclusive privilege of the West. Here we meet the same dualism of nationalism (or Asiatism) and cosmopolitism which characterizes Sarkar. He admires Japan for its having wrung from the hands of the West the recognition of its equality and alludes to the possibility of the great cataclysm which would come when the adjustment of the relations between the East and the West would have to be submitted to the final court of appeal, the arbitrament of the sword. At the same time he pleads for judicious cooperation between the intellectuals of the Occident and the Orient in order that Asia may "recover its natural rights from the temporary aggressors and illegitimate usurpers" and that "sanity will prevail". This resolute self-assertion of Asia he treats from various

angles and aspects. It makes his book interesting reading, especially at the present when this self-assertion is no longer an aspiration, but one of the forces that shape the political development of the world.

This sketch may suffice to give an idea of Benoy Kumar Sarkar as an example of modern Indian scholarship and cultural leadership. His baffling intellectual and practical activity is wholly directed towards one end, viz. to hasten India into the status of equality in all fields of life, political, social, technical, cultural, military. In a rather naive way he betrays this feverish temper in these sentences (The Futurism of Young Asia, p. 376): "In what ways and in how many years can our literature occupy the position of French, German and English for the study of science, philosophy, history and other serious subjects in the highest classes of a university? The efforts and activities of our men of letters have to be regulated in such a manner as to focus our whole literary devotion on the realization of this single object." "The only problem before the East therefore is to try by all means to catch up the West at the Japanese rate of advance in every field of human endeavour and establish once more the foundations of equality and reciprocal respect which governed the relations between Asia and Europe in ancient and medieval times" (o.c. p. 333).

We have drawn attention in sketching Sarkar's personality to the dualism and the coincidence of irreconcilable opposites in his opinions and actions. We must go a step further. The complicated psychology of a man like Sarkar is characteristic of the state of mental fission, which the clash and blending of two cultural backgrounds in the atmosphere of a deep-seated malaise, resulting from the abhorred fact of Asia's temporal inferiority, causes in the minds of many modern-educated Orientals. It is a fate hard to bear and one that must be overcome. This mental fission accounts also for the co-existence of incompatibilities in one mind, which affects the outsider so strangely: idealism and cynical realism, cosmopolitism and extreme nationalism, anti-religious and yet glowing by a religious veneration for the divine Mother India. In this light it becomes clear why the Kauṭilyārthaśāstra, which glorifies the autonomy of politics, is Sarkar's Bible. The deepest cause of the mental fission, just indicated, is that a man as Sarkar, although well versed in Western and Eastern

literature, is rooted in neither culture and therefore cannot attain a well-established balance of mind. He is externally at home in both cultures, but does not really breathe and live in either of them. The inevitable consequence of such a situation is that, in spite of his brilliant intellectual shrewdness and his astounding knowledge, he is blind to the essential background both of Indian and of European culture.

In closing we refer to his great fellow-countryman Gandhi, who is in nearly all respects his antipode. Gandhi is intensely religious ; a thorough nationalist, but dominated by immovable religious and ethical standards ; a convinced cosmopolitan, but deeply rooted in Indian life; without any trace of mental fission, because, however wide his contacts with Western spirituality may be, he lives and moves in the atmosphere of India. The great need of the future (and already of the present) is that the so-called Western world and the Eastern world should learn to live and strive in mutual and universal cooperation and in a spirit of mutual respect ; — recognizing that the world is one and must work for one common purpose of world-order and world-integration. The East is rightly in deep-felt revolt against the self-assumed superiority of the West, and it is also in deep-felt revolt against the powerful suggestion of inferiority which this Western exhibition of superiority-consciousness engenders. It is in this climate that the mental fission we noticed in Sarkar gets the opportunity to thrive. Even the more balanced Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, contrasting so sharply with his fellow-Indian Sarkar who waxes lyrical on the superior Machiavellianism of India as evident in the Kauṭilyārthaśāstra, is in some deeplying spot of his mind a victim of this feeling of inferiority. He also desires power, as is betrayed in his words that satyagraha is the shortest way to success and that satyagraha and ahiṃsā are the best means to bring the whole world under one's subjection.

The need, at this decisive hour of world-history, is to conquer our Western feeling of superiority, to acknowledge our own spiritual crisis, to be fully aware of the oneness of all fundamental problems for the world at large, and to accept the world of the East as an equal partner in the solving of our mutual problems. This destiny, which seems still a dim future perspective, must become the standard and inspiration of our present action in the turbulent world of to-day.

SIR WILLIAM JONES
1746—1794

BY J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN—DE LEEUW, LEIDEN

On September 28 in the year 1822 Hendrik Arent Hamaker [1]) entered upon his duties as professor of oriental literature at Leiden with an address entitled: "De Vita et Merito Guilielmi Jonesii". He spoke more of Jones' merits than of his life and his oration was brimful of superlatives by means of which he endeavoured to give expression to his enthusiasm.

As in September 1946 it was two hundred years ago that this great pioneer-orientalist first saw the light, it may not be out of place to draw attention to the personal history of this great scholar. To be exact, this very remarkable man was born in London on September 20, 1746. His father, William Jones the elder, was of Welsh extraction and belonged to a family of small farmers. From Anglesey he went to settle in London and there he soon became known as a clever mathematician, and even gained the friendship of Newton and Halley. His wife, Mary Nix, was the daughter of a London cabinet-maker, who enjoyed a certain reputation as a man of parts. She was a very remarkable woman with an extraordinarily active mind and a special aptitude for algebra and trigonometry. Many of the great qualities and talents which William the younger later proved to possess he inherited from his parents. He was the youngest of three children, the oldest of whom—a son—died young.

Although his father passed away when William was only three years old, his mother managed to give the boy and his older sister a very good education. She was assisted in this task by the many friends her husband had made. By the time he was four, her little son could read any book in the English language with ease.

[1]) Hamaker was the first Dutchman to learn and then teach the Sanskrit language in the Netherlands.

When he was seven she sent him to Harrow. Dr. Thackeray was "head-master" of this school at the time and very soon noted the exceptional gifts with which the child was endowed. He said of him: "If he were left naked and friendless on Salisbury Plain, he would nevertheless find the road to fame and richess." [1])

While still almost a child he wrote works in the style of Horace and Sophocles, and his first steps in the direction of oriental studies, such as a knowledge of Hebrew and of the Arabian alphabet, date from his Harrow days.

In 1764 Jones went to Oxford. He graduated there in 1768 and took his M.A. in 1773. During this period he acted as tutor to a young nobleman, Lord Althrop, Lord Spencer's son, with whom he travelled in France, Germany and Italy.

William Jones was a man of many interests. In fact his intellectual curiosity was all-embracing. He not only spoke modern languages such as French, German, Spanish and Portuguese, but was also proficient in the classical tongues and wrote poetry in Latin or Greek with the greatest ease.

He used Latin in his correspondence with various celebrities abroad and the letters which passed between him and, for instance, H. A. Schultens are very much worth perusal.

Hendrik Albert Schultens was the son of Johannes Jacobus Schultens who was a professor at the University of Leiden from 1749 until 1778. He was born in 1749 at Herborn [2]) where his father was stationed at the time as professor at the university. After occupying a chair at the University of Amsterdam for some time he became his father's successor at Leiden as professor of oriental literature and Hebrew antiquities. [3]) Schultens, [4]) whose family had for several generations been students of oriental languages, was a very close friend of William Jones.

The correspondence between these two friends reveals the character of both in a delightful manner and also gives the reader some idea of the turbulent times in which they lived (the approach-

[1]) Lord Teignmouth: *The Works of Sir William Jones*, London, 1807, Vol. I, p. 36.

[2]) A small university town in Nassau, Germany.

[3]) His inaugural address, when he entered upon his professorial duties at Leiden in 1779 was entitled: "De studio Belgarum in literis Arabicis excolendis".

[4]) He was the third of his name to lecture on oriental literature. For his grandfather, Albert Schultens, as well as his father was a professor of that subject—the former from 1732 until 1750. In 1793—one year before William Jones—Hendrik Albert Schultens died after a protracted illness.

ing revolution) and of the difficulties with which orientalists had to contend in those days.

Another warm friend of William Jones was Count Reviczki, who later became Imperial Minister at Warsaw and then Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Part of a most delightful correspondence between these two lovers of oriental literature has been preserved and has been printed in the collected works of Sir William Jones edited by Lord Teignmouth and published in 1807.

William Jones' great interest in orientalia dates from his Oxford days. At the University he continued his studies in Hebrew and took up Persian and Arabic. He also dabbled in Turkish. Arabic pronunciation was taught him by an Arab from Aleppo, whom he happened to meet in London and persuaded to return to Oxford with him at his expense.

Jones had unusually strong powers of observation combined with great gifts of mind and heart and it is no wonder that so charming and talented a man should make many friends. The most striking qualities of his noble character were his integrity and his love of freedom. Not without reason Benjamin Franklin claimed him as a friend. In this connection we may appropriately quote a fine passage from a letter dated June 11, 1781, and addressed to his friend Schultens at Leyden: "You are not ignorant of my sentiments on this most abominable war;[1]) the enclosed imitation of an ode of Alcaeus will clearly prove my detestation of tyranny, my zeal and exertions in the cause of liberty. Literature, which is, and ought to be, ever connected with humanity, will never, I trust, be degraded by a fratricidal war between the learned, particularly those who persue the same studies. Do you therefore, though a native of Holland, preserve that affection for me, which I, an Englishman, have and shall ever retain for you."[2])

In 1770, when he was only twenty-four, he was invited most respectfully but urgently by King Christian VII of Denmark to translate into French a certain Persian manuscript, which was in the King's possession.

Finally Jones consented, although very much occupied at the

[1]) Jones hints at the War of American Independence in which Holland and England both were engaged, though on different sides.

[2]) Lord Teignmouth, Vol. I, p. 361. In Latin Vol. II, p. 424.

time, and in recognition of his services His Majesty made him a member of the Royal Academy of Copenhagen.

In 1771 Jones' first work on an oriental subject appeared, his Persian Grammar. This book made his name so well-known that only one year after its publication he was made a member of the Royal Academy—an honour which meant that he was recognized as one of the prominent figures in the scientific world of his day.

That same year Jones wrote an anonymous article [1]) criticizing Anquetil du Perron—a much older man—for his unjust and insulting attack upon the University of Oxford and some of its professors. [2]) This piece of writing was so brilliant and so sparkling in style and showed such erudition, that many readers took it for the work of some Parisian *bel esprit.*

As early as 1766 William Jones had begun to write a general survey in Latin of Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry, and although the work was complete by 1769 when he was twenty-three years old, he did not publish it until 1774, as it was his habit to take all the time he needed to correct and polish his writings with the utmost care. The volume was given the title of: *"Poeseos Asiaticae commentariorum, Libri Sex"* and resulted in his already well-known name suddenly becoming famous all over Europe and the middle East, whence literary men began sending him ancient manuscripts and the products of their own art.

In 1770 he decided to make himself independent by giving up his position as tutor to Lord Spencer's son and making his own way in the world by other means. Although he loved literary pursuits—and he did not limit himself in this field to oriental subjects, as witnesses his translation in 1778 of the discourses of Isaeus, which involved a combination of classical literature and jurisprudence—he decided to make his living by practising law. He was called to the bar in 1774 and in 1776 was appointed Commissioner of Bankrupts. That his genius was many-sided is shown by the fact that in this field too he produced a standard work—his *Essay on the Bailments*—which was repeatedly reprinted in both England and the United States after its first publication in 1781.

In a letter to Prince Czartoryski dated Feb. 17, 1779, Jones already hints at the possibility of his going to Bengal. But for

[1]) "Dissertation sur la littérature orientale".
[2]) In his translation of the Zend-Avesta.

some reason his appointment was delayed, and in 1782 we find him writing despondently but wittily: "On the whole I greatly fear, that it would have been happy for me, and perhaps for millions, if India had never existed, or if we had known as little of it as of Japan." [1])

Finally, in 1783, Jones obtained the appointment, which he desired so ardently on account of his love for oriental literature, to the High Court at Fort William—now Calcutta—and the same year he was knighted. Just before leaving England he published an English translation of the *Seven Mu'allaqāt*, with a transcription of the Arabic original. In April of the same year—in the month of his departure for the Orient—he married Anna Maria Shipley, the eldest daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The union proved a very happy one.

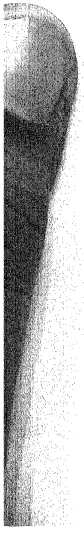
Immediately after his arrival in India, Jones—now Sir William Jones—felt the need of an organization that should function as a central body unifying all Englishmen in Bengal who were interested in oriental research. He consulted a number of people and finally decided to found a society that should coordinate and stimulate this interest. In January of the year 1784, only a couple of months after his coming to India, he was able with the aid of several enthusiastic supporters—among whom was Charles Wilkins the first Englishman to teach Sanskrit—to found the Asiatic Society in the presence of thirty prominent British inhabitants of Calcutta. By founding this association, later known as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, William Jones did an inestimable service to oriental research. The stimulating effect of the Society was enormous and the publications and lectures which it sponsored year by year did much to increase the number of those interested in things oriental, especially when in 1832, under that other great orientalist and universal scholar James Prinsep, the Society decided to publish a monthly of its own: *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

The first few centuries after Europe went to Asia were not marked by any great scientific interest in matters concerning the Far East. The centre of gravity was commerce and all else was pushed into the background. But towards the end of the 18th century things gradually began to assume a different aspect. This

[1]) Lord Teignmouth, Vol. I, p. 391.



Sir William Jones in the Year of His Death Drawn by A. W. Devis at Calcutta.



change came about simultaneously with the revival of science in Europe. It was characterized by the founding of several scientific societies such as the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (1778), the Asiatic Academy of St. Petersburg (1810), the Société Asiatique (1822) and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1823). Museums arose, often as extensions of the curio collections of which there were so many in the 18th century and which sometimes included the most extraordinary objects, *bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble.* As time went on these assemblages of all possible and impossible curiosities were put in order and sorted out into separate collections illustrating the history of art, the natural sciences, archeology or ethnology as the case might be. These became the nuclei out of which developed the present-day museums, which were at first usually attached as instructive adjuncts to some such society as those just mentioned.

The founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal must be regarded as the outcome of this general trend. Besides William Jones and Charles Wilkins, whom we have already mentioned, we must name one or two other men prominent in those early days of interest in the Orient : Henry Thomas Colebrooke, who was appointed professor of Sanskrit at Fort William in 1801, and Warren Hastings, the first Governor of Bengal, who gave the initial impulse in the direction of oriental research by introducing the study of Hindu law.

The significance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal can hardly be overestimated. It was a bridge spanning the gulf between two worlds, two outlooks on life, which stood and still stand so far apart that only a selfless effort to probe each other's problems and views can bring about mutual understanding.

For Europe it opened a window giving on the East, so that the invigorating breezes of noble truths discovered ages since in ancient India could bring refreshment to a civilization tending in the direction of materialism. For India it meant the gift of the scientific study of her age-old culture which restored her self-confidence and revived in her appreciation of the products of her own genius. Very briefly stated these are perhaps the main benefits that have accrued to the two continents from the contacts made at the end of the 18th century, though doubtless other advantages might be mentioned.

In his address given on the occasion of the founding of the Society William Jones formulates his ideals and hopes in the following words:

"When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Persia* on our left, whilst a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the production of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered with pain, that, in these fluctuating, imperfect, and limited conditions of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope, founded on opinions, which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community such a union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal*, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted." [1])

During the ten years that Sir William was in India he devoted his love and energy whole-heartedly to the Society. He was a tireless worker, and the Society could always count on his unstinted co-operation. Various articles from his pen dealt with the most

[1]) Discourse on the Institution of a Society, for Inquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia by the President; Asiatic Researches or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal; etc. Calcutta 1788, Vol. I, p. IX.

My attention was drawn to this passage by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (Calcutta), to whom I owe several particularities relating to Sir William Jones.

divergent subjects—botany, zoology, medicine, but primarily and chiefly oriental research. Under this last head we find him writing on the chronology of the Hindus, the antiquity of the Hindu zodiac, Indian chess, on the transcription of oriental languages into Roman script, on the gods common to Greeks, Romans and Hindus. Ten successive years he dealt with some aspect of oriental research in his annual presidential address before the Society. Several of these products of his brain were translated into Bengali as being of interest to the educated Indians as well as to the Europeans.

Sir William also lent his whole-hearted support and co-operation to the Asiatic Researches published by the Society. In short he was the soul and the pivot of the orientalistic activities of those days in India. In England he had already mastered Hebrew, Arabic and Persian, and during his sojourn in the Orient he added so many languages such as Tibetan, Chinese and various Indian dialects to the list of those in which he was proficient, that there were finally twenty-eight which he knew so well that he could translate a passage—from Confucius for instance—into English verse with ease. Soon after settling in India he had become so well versed in Sanskrit that in 1789 he was able to publish his translation of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala.* [1]) Every one knows how delighted Goethe was when he read the German version of this by Georg Foster. A famous quatrain expresses the poet's enthusiasm :

Will ich die Blumen des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Will ich was reizt und entzückt, will ich was sättigt und nährt,
Will ich den Himmel, die Erde, mit einem Namen begreifen,
Nenn' ich Sakontala dich, und so ist alles gesagt.

Both Sir William and Lady Jones were unfavourably affected by the trying climate of Calcutta. It was their habit to spend the summer recess in Chrishnanagur [2]) to recuperate as well as might be. In those vacation weeks Sir William was able to devote himself completely to his favourite hobbies—botany and above all oriental literature. In leisure hours he also corresponded with friends and relatives at home, writing them amusing letters in which he gave the news up to date and detailed the progress,

[1]) "Sacontala or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama by Calidas."
[2]) At present called Krishnagar.

step by step, of the Society, discussing each event as it occurred.

In 1792 he published a Sanskrit text of Kālidāsa's *Ṛtusaṃhāra* —that other pearl of Sanskrit literature. This became the first Sanskrit text to appear in print. Two years later came a translation of the *Hitopadeśa*. But the most important work from the pen of William Jones is the English version of the laws of Manu, which was published at Calcutta in 1794 under the title: *Institutes of Hindu Law or the Ordinance of Menu* (The German translation of this appeared in Weimar in 1797). Besides the Laws of Manu Jones translated other works on legal subjects, not only from Sanskrit but also from Arabic—the *Sirajiyyah*, for instance. And so he worked untiringly at his oriental studies as well as at the many tasks devolving upon him as a judge.

He had many plans on his program which he certainly would have carried out if an untimely death had not prevented him. Among his papers was found a list of subjects touching on every aspect of oriental research which he had hoped to have thoroughly dealt with either by himself or by some one of his orientalist contemporaries. It was a kind of epitome of future oriental studies covering not only India but Arabia, Persia, China and Tartary as well. He himself was not permitted to work out the scheme outlined. But it witnesses to the prophetic insight that enabled him as pioneer in oriental research to look ahead and formulate a working plan for the coming century.

There is one more important point to which William Jones was the first to call attention, namely the relationship between the Indo-European languages. This significant discovery he made known in 1786 in his third Presidential address before the Asiatic Society and it is safe to say that it was a discovery of far-reaching importance and fruitful of significant results.

In December 1793 Lady Jones was forced to leave India on account of her health, and though Sir William would gladly have accompanied her a promise which he desired to fulfil before quitting his post prevented him from doing so. He had undertaken to compile and translate a digest of Hindu and Mohammedan law, and this work, he felt, he must complete before returning home for good. He was not destined to see England again.

It is one of the tragic elements in life that so many men of genius die young. Sir William Jones was one of those all-embracing minds which have been permitted to serve science for only a short

time. Probably his tireless activity as a judge and a scholar proved too much for his physical energies in the tropical climate of Calcutta. This pioneer in oriental research—an almost unknown field of scholarship at the time—died on April 27, 1794, at the age of only forty-seven.

What a noble monument to his memory he himself has left in the Asiatic Society of Bengal—this association which may be regarded as the embodiment of his greatest gift to both East and West : Intellectual co-operation in the field of oriental research, by means of which the two extremes may find and learn to appreciate each other.

Leiden, Juli 1946.

THE VYĀLAKA IN INDIAN ART

BY J. PH. VOGEL, OEGSTGEEST

The 25th story of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*[1]) relates that the Bodhisattva was reborn in the shape of a *śarabha*, a wonderful deer remarkable not only for its beauty, strength and swiftness, but also for its frugality and compassion. Once upon a time the king of that country, mounted on a good horse and engaged in the chase, happened to see the marvellous animal and was resolved on killing it with a sharp arrow. The *śarabha* took to flight with the utmost agility "not because he would have been powerless to stand and fight his aggressor, but because he had desisted from acts of violence and anger". On his flight, meeting with a large hole on his way, the *śarabha* easily jumped over it; but the horse, hesitating to risk the leap, suddenly stopped with the result that the rider was thrown headlong into the chasm. Then the deer-shaped Bodhisattva noticed that the trampling of hoofs had ceased and concluded that some accident must have befallen his pursuer. He turned back and finding the king in his dismal plight he was filled with great commiseration. He addressed his enemy in courteous language and offered him his aid to rescue him from the precipice. The king deeply ashamed accepted the offer and the *śarabha* descended into the abyss and took him on his back. Verse 19 describes the rescue of the king in the following words:

tataḥ samabhyunnatapūrvakāyas
tenādhirūḍhaḥ sa narādhipena
samutpatann uttamasattvavegaḥ
khe toraṇavyālakavad babhāse

In Dr. J. S. Speyer's excellent translation[2]) this verse is rendered as follows: "Then, with the king on his back, he climbed

[1]) *The Jātakamālā or Bodhisattvāvadāna-mālā* by Āryaçūra, ed. by Hendrik Kern (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. I, 1891), p. 162.

[2]) *The Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth-stories*, transl. by J. S. Speyer (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. I, 1895), p. 231.

aloft with surpassing vigour and swiftness, and holding high the forepart of his body, resembled some (stone-)elephant rising in the air, as is represented on arches."

In this version the rendering of *toraṇavyālakavad* cannot be said to be very satisfactory, as it is not clear in what manner the *śarabha* mounted by the king and rising from the cleft can bear any resemblance to the supposed "stone elephant represented on arches".

The term *toraṇa* indicates the highly decorated gateways which are employed in connection with the stone railings surrounding the early Buddhist *stūpas* of Central India. It will be hardly necessary to recall the famous monuments of this type found at Bharhut and Sanchi. In the latter place the *toraṇas* of the Great Stūpa still occupy their original position; they are ascribed to the first century B.C. [1]). Mathurā too must have possessed similar ornamental gateways of a somewhat later date; but we know them only from the detached architectural members, which have come to light in considerable quantity in and around that famous city. From these loose fragments it is clear that the *toraṇas* of Mathurā, as regards their constructive and decorative features, were lineal descendants of the earlier Central-Indian monuments. This conclusion is confirmed by an *āyāgapaṭṭa* found near the Holi Gate of Mathurā on which a *stūpa* with its usual accessories—a railing or *vedikā*, a *toraṇa*, and two *stambhas* or pillars—is shown in relief. From the votive inscription incised on the tablet it appears that it is a Jaina document; but we know that the *stūpas* of the Jaina community did not essentially differ from those of the Buddhists.

The *toraṇa* shown on the *āyāgapaṭṭa* of the Holi Gate, which is now preserved in the Curzon Museum at Mathurā, presents a feature to which we must draw special attention. On close inspection it will be seen that the projecting ends of the lowermost architrave are supported by brackets in the shape of conventional lions. Specimens of such lion-shaped brackets have actually been found. Dr. Vincent A. Smith has published a very good specimen found in the Kankālī Ṭīlā which he describes as the figure of "a purely conventional winged lion with an Assyrian look". In all probability it belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period.

[1]) *Annual Report Arch. Survey of India*, 1913-14, pp. 4-9. Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi* (1918), p. 31.

The Curzon Museum contains another piece of sculpture, carved in the round, showing a lion of the same style and in the same position. But here the animal is mounted by a man holding the end of the reins in his left hand and raising his right hand as if to strike his curious mount. Judging from the tenon at the top of the sculpture it is evident that this piece made part of some monument and in all likelihood served the same purpose as the lion-bracket from the Kankālī Ṭīlā [1]).

Lion-brackets, as far as we know, do not occur in the earlier art of Central India. At Sanchi the projecting ends of the architrave are invariably supported by brackets in the shape of female figures grasping the flowering branch of a tree under which they are placed. Similar figures, known by the technical name of *śālabhañjikā*, have been found in the neighbourhood of Mathurā and were no doubt likewise employed as brackets [2]). For our present purpose it is of interest to note that a reference to such a decorative bracket occurs in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (V, 52). The poet in the course of the Bodhisattva's *mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* describes at great length the damsels of the harem who, unable to rouse the passion of their princely master, have fallen asleep in various attitudes. In verse 52 we read:

avalambya gavākṣapārśvam anyā
śayitā cāpavibhugnagātrayaṣṭiḥ
virarāja vilambicāruhārā
racitā toraṇaśālabhañjikeva.

"Another lay, leaning against the side of a window with her beautiful necklaces dangling, and seemed with her slender body bent like a bow as if turned into the statue of a *śāla*-plucker (*śālabhañjikā*) on a gateway [3])."

If we compare the graceful female figures, which still decorate the eastern and northern *toraṇas* of Sanchi, it will be recognized how appropriate a simile the poet employs in the stanza quoted. For it was no doubt such a *śālabhañjikā* which Aśvaghoṣa had in

[1]) The sculptures here mentioned are reproduced in my *La sculpture de Mathurā*. Ars asiatica, vol. XV, plates V *b* and XI *a-b*; where on pp. 93 and 96 f. further references are given.

[2]) *The Woman and Tree or śālabhañjikā in Indian Literature and Art*. Acta Orientalia, vol. VII, pp. 201-231.

[3]) *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, ed. and transl. by E. H. Johnston, 1936, vol. I, p. 52; II, p. 71. I have quoted the late professor Johnston's rendering.



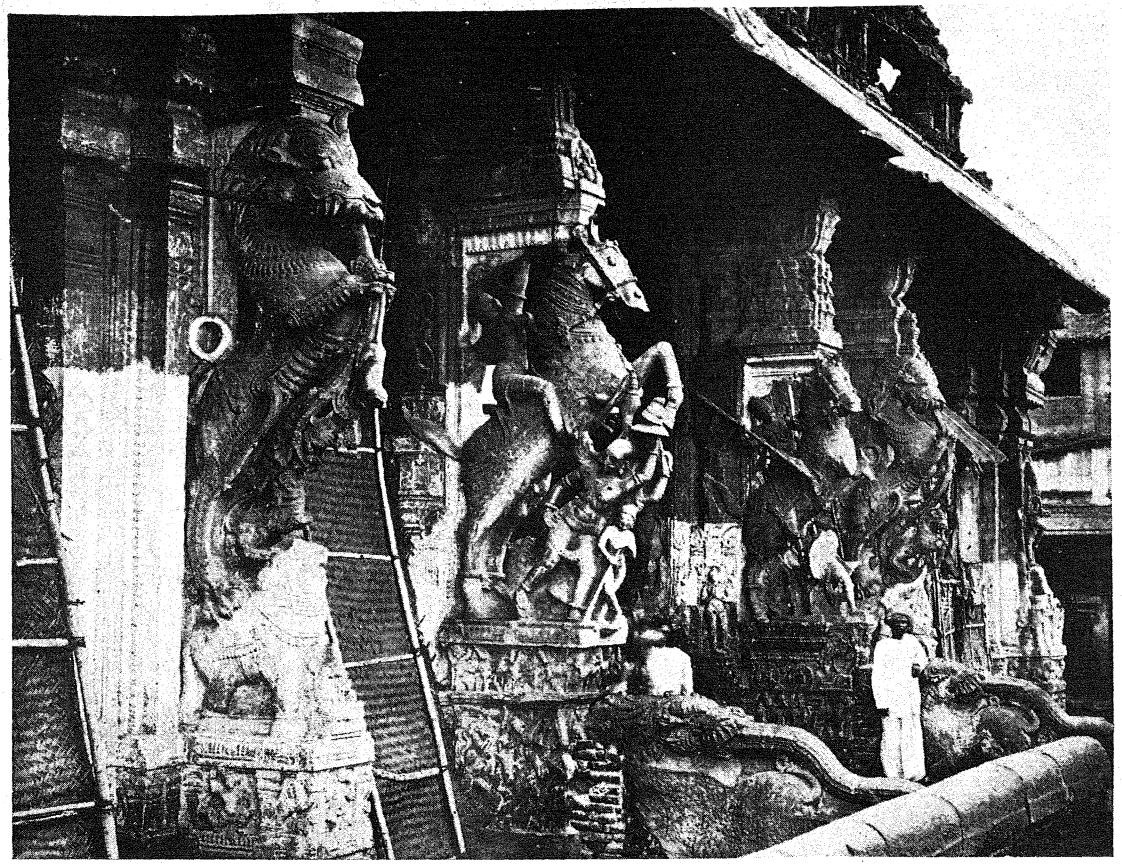
Lion-bracket in Curzon Museum, Mathurā



Leogryph with two Swordsmen, Sārnāth Museum



Leogryph with two Swordsmen, Sārnāth Museum



Madura, Great Temple, Pudu Maṇḍapa, Entrance.

mind ; it must have been familiar to him from the Buddhist sanctuaries of his time.

If in the same way we compare Āryaśūra's description of the *śarabha* in the act of rescuing the king with the lion-bracket in the Curzon Museum, we cannot fail to observe that the lion mounted by a male person and "holding high the forepart of his body" exactly answers the simile required by the situation. May we conclude that the word *vyālaka* is the technical term designating the lion-bracket of Indian art ? We shall have to consider how far linguistic evidence justifies such a conclusion.

Obviously the word *vyālaka* has been formed from the noun *vyāla*. This formation by means of the suffix *ka* is applicable to *Pāṇini*'s rule V, 3, 96 *ive pratikṛtau*. In other words, the suffix *ka* is used to designate the imitation or image of a thing ; *e.g.* the words *aśvaka, uṣṭraka, gardabhaka* meaning the figures of a horse, a camel and an ass respectively. In the *Viśvantara-jātaka*, verse 70, Jālin, the young son of the Prince, on the point of being given away to a wicked Brahmin by his too generous father, says :

ime nāv aśvakās tāta hastikā rathakāś ca ye
ato 'rdhaṃ deyam ambāyai śokaṃ tena vineṣyati.

"Here, father, are our toy horses, elephants, and chariots. Half of them you must give to Mother, that she may assuage her grief therewith [1])."

The terra-cotta toys referred to in this passage are familiar enough from any ancient site excavated in Northern India. The little horses of burnt clay are also mentioned in the *Sāvitryupākhyāna* (II, 13) to account for the alternate name "Citrāśva" borne by Sāvitrī's husband Satyavant [2]).

A *vyālaka*, therefore, must be the figure of a *vyāla*. According to the Petersburg Dictionary, the latter word can either be an adjective in the sense of trickish, malignant, wicked, or a noun meaning a trickish elephant, a carnivorous wild animal or a snake.

The first meaning assigned to the word used substantively, according to the P.D., is that of a trickish elephant or, to use the more colloquial expression, a rogue elephant. It is the male elephant driven or living apart from the herd and of savage temper.

[1]) *Jātakamālā*, p. 63. Speyer's transl. p. 87.

[2]) *Bālasyāśvāḥ priyāś cāsya karoty aśvāṃśca mṛnmayān citre 'pi vilikhaty aśvāṃś Citrāśva iti cocyate.*

But the word *vyāla* is also and perhaps more especially applied to the troublesome elephant in captivity. In the *Mātaṅgalīlā*, a work on elephant-lore by Nīlakaṇṭha, we find (III, 6) the following description of the *vyāla:*

"One who roams at night overly excited, or early in the morning cries out in excitement at the [song of the] birds, who is always trying to fly up into the air, or fanning with his stick-like tail, who incessantly lifts up his fore-limbs, and who constantly gets out of the control of his driver: know that such a one is a rogue elephant, and must not be taken, even if he is rich in quantities of all excellences."

In another chapter of the same curious book on *hastiśikṣā* or elephantology it is stated that a good mahout must know how to control the rogues [1]).

It will be superfluous to quote passages in which the word *vyāla* is used in either of its two more common meanings of a wild animal or a snake. Both in the epics and in classical works it is current; in some cases it is impossible te decide which of the two is meant. If employed in the sense of a wild animal, it is sometimes found side by side with *paśu* domesticated animals and *mṛga* wild but inoffensive animals like antelopes and deer from which it is evident that *vyāla* denotes dangerous wild beasts.

There is however some reason to assume that the word sometimes designates a distinct species of carnivorous animal. This is certainly the case with the compound *vyālamṛga* found in the epics and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. In an interesting passage of the *Śāntiparvan* (*adhy.* 15) Arjuna points out the necessity of *daṇḍa*, i.e. punishment. It is only due to fear of punishment that the wicked abstain from sin. Men worship those gods which are "slayers" (*hantāraḥ*) like Rudra, Skanda, Śakra, Agni, Varuṇa, etc., not mild deities like Brahman, Dhātar and Pūṣan. "I do not see anyone in the world living by *ahiṃsā*; for the stronger creatures live upon those that are weak. The mongoose eats the rats and likewise the cat the mongoose; the dog eats the cat and likewise the *mṛgavyāla* the dog."

The commentator explains *mṛgavyāla* by *citravyāghra* and there is some reason to assume that by this term he indicates the leopard,

[1]) Franklin Edgerton, *The Elephant-love of the Hindus*. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press (1931), pp. 59 and 106. I have quoted Prof. Edgerton's version.

called *cītā* in Hindī [1]). Those that have lived in India know that this animal is peculiarly dangerous to dogs.

In MBh. VIII, 87, 45 *vyālamṛgāḥ* are mentioned side by side with *īhāmṛgāḥ* wolves; but it is curious that here these animals occur in an enumeration of mythical beings which appear at the final combat between Arjuna and Karṇa and join either one of these two champions. This time the commentator equates *vyālamṛgāḥ* with *śaśamṛgāḥ*!

It deserves notice that the word *vyāla* is compounded with other nouns to denote certain plants or perfumes. In a compound like *vyāladaṃṣṭra* it might be taken in the sense of a snake; but in *vyālanakha* such an assumption is clearly inadmissible. The word is indeed equated with *vyāghranakha*.

The *vyālaka* of Indian art may be best described as a lion, although like the *makara* it develops into a fantastic creature in the course of its long history. We find the lion-bracket first on the ornamental thrones delineated in the sculptures of Amāravatī. We may perhaps assume that these thrones are faithful copies of royal seats existing in those days; but no specimen has survived.

All through Indian art a pair of standing lions is one of the adjuncts of the seat on which divine beings are enthroned. A well known example is the preaching Buddha from Sārnāth preserved in the local museum, a masterpiece of the Gupta period. It will be seen that here the lion has become strangely metamorphosed. The head is unnaturally large; little wings are attached to his shoulders and the tail is curved in a decorative fashion so as to fill the open space in front. Another curious development is the double horn curled in both directions. Two very fine specimens of these fantastic beasts are found on a pair of reliefs from Sārnāth, reproduced in our plates.

From the Gupta period onwards we notice another curious development. The two lions placed on both sides of divine thrones are each raised on a little elephant. It is impossible to decide whether—as sometimes has been conjectured—this may have some symbolical meaning. I am inclined to think that the artist who first introduced this change was merely prompted by the desire to fill an empty space. So much is certain that the decora-

[1]) According to the *Hindī Śabd Sāgar*, p. 1006, the word *cītā* is derived from Skt. *citraka* which is found in some *kośas* but does not appear to occur in literature. The usual Skt. word for a leopard is *dvīpin*.

tive device in its new form had success. It was employed all through mediaeval art not only in India proper but also in Java. We find it in connection with the thrones of the three seated images—a preaching Buddha between two Bodhisattvas—enshrined in the Čandi Mĕndut not far from the Barabudur.

It was likewise introduced in Tibetan art and here we notice a further evolution. In a miniature painting on silk of the 18th century we see a grand lama seated on a throne which on both sides is decorated by quite a pile of animals. First we have an elephant, next a lion, then a goat mounted by a human being. Professor Grünwedel's suggestion [1]) to connect this complicated ornament with the *Sabbadāṭha-jātaka* is ingenious but cannot be maintained.

Finally we see the *vyālaka* re-appear in the Dravidian temple architecture of Southern India. One of the most remarkable features of this architectural art consists of colonnades decorated with rows of grotesque monsters. They usually present the appearance of prancing quadrupeds of a very fanciful character. They are provided with stiff hindlegs and short forepaws, a huge head with goggle eyes and a row of sharp teeth. A long tendril-like object hanging down from their mouth develops into an elephant's proboscis. Like the *vyālaka* of mediaeval art they are raised on little elephants. These animal figures are meant to support the heavy brackets projecting from the pillars in front of which they are placed. Consequently they still fulfill the original purport of the *vyālaka* as a supporting architectural member. The technical name *yali* by which they are known has in all probability some connection with the term *vyālaka* of ancient Indian art [2]).

[1]) *Buddhist Art in India* (1901), p. 56.

[2]) Professor F. Kuiper informs me that the first meaning assigned to the Tamil word *yāḷi* is "a mythological lion-faced animal with elephantine proboscis and tusks; such an animal is also called *yāḷi-yānai* or *yānai-yāli*, *yānai* meaning 'an elephant'. The dictionaries give also the compounds *yāla-vari* 'a portion of a temple-structure where figures of *yāḷi* are set in a row' and *yāḷi-lalāṭam* 'the capital of a pillar, shaped like a *yāḷi*'.

A TIBETAN PAINTING FROM TUN-HUANG

BY P. H. POTT, LEIDEN

On his second expedition to the sand-buried cities of innermost Asia and Western China, Sir Aurel Stein visited the village of *Tun-Huang* on the Western frontier of China. He was very anxious to make a search for the hoard of old manuscripts that were stored up in a hidden room in the old temple-ruins outside the village, as people told him.

He succeeded in reassuring the guardian of this temple, the Taoïst priest Wang Tao-Shih, of his honest intentions and in inducing this guardian to give some of the manuscripts for closer examination. With a repeated appeal to the words of his "protecting saint" *Hsüan Tsang*, he was at last permitted to take with him a selection of the manuscripts and a great deal of the temple-banners for the benefit of the "Western temple of wisdom". So Stein returned from his expedition with a fine collection of manuscripts and paintings of the highest interest, of which a part was deposited in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi and a part in the British Museum, London [1]).

It was mainly the paintings which had suffered much damage. Stein found them at the bottom of a pile of manuscripts the size of a man, so that they have been compressed by a heavy load for a couple of centuries. It took much labour and patience to prepare the paintings for a further examination. But all troubles were not in vain as the collection proved to be of immense importance, mainly for the history of art and the study of Buddhist iconography. This fact added to the fame of the Tun-Huang collection Stein brought home to England. In his intricate manner Stein published his reports on his expeditions

[1]) Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay, Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China.* London 1912, vol. II, p. 20 sq.

in his standard-work *Serindia*[1]). Reproductions of many of his findings have been added to the text. Stein thought it desirable to reproduce some of the most interesting pictures in colour and on a larger size than was possible in *Serindia* and so the very fine study on *The Thousand Buddhas; ancient Buddhist paintings from the cave-temples of Tun-Huang on the Western frontier of China* came into existence under the auspices of the India Society. Apart from the 33 folio-plates and 15 plates in 4° the study consists of an introduction by Binyon and a descriptive catalogue made by Stein. For the preparation of this description Stein had at his disposal a sufficiently detailed list of all pictorial remains, compiled by Miss Lorimer during the years of his renewed absence in Central Asia and the years immediately following. This list has been included in Stein's *Serindia* (Chapter XXV, section II, pp. 937—1088).

As a matter of fact, not all the paintings could be reproduced, with the result that there had to be made a choice. Mr. Petrucci made this selection. He also devoted much skill and labour to the preservation of the paintings. It was a matter of distress that Petrucci lived not long enough to see the work completed; it was dedicated to his memory. But he had the opportunity to give a lecture on the paintings of Tun-Huang, their importance and conservation, with a description of the most representative pieces among them, in a meeting at the Musée Guimet in 1917[2]).

It was in this lecture that for the first time the learned world was informed of one of the most interesting pictures of the Tun-Huang hoard: a Tibetan painting of the Buddhist goddess Tārā with attendants. It is with this painting that we wish to deal in this essay.

The general description of the painting mentions the following details[3]):

The picture, which is preserved completely together with its frame of dark green silk[4]), is painted in tempera on strong close-woven linen. The colours have generally darkened and in some

[2]) Stein, *Serindia, Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, etc.* Oxford 1921.

[2]) Petrucci, *Les peintures bouddhiques de Touen-Houang*, Ann. Musée Guimet, Bibl. de Vulgarisation tome 41, 1916, pp. 115—140.

[3]) Stein, *The Thousand Buddhas*, pl. XXXI.

[4]) A reproduction of the picture together with its frame by Petrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

places they have been rubbed off, leaving whitish patches or the bare cloth. Owing to these causes the reproduction of the painting has offered considerable technical difficulties [1]). Hence some of the details mentioned cannot be made out in it quite as clearly as in the original.

The subject is the goddess Tārā, the Çakti or female emanation of Avalokiteçvara. The goddess, represented in her usual form as a beautiful young woman, is seated in the centre on a variegated lotus which floats on the blue water of a lake. She sits with her right knee raised and the left leg bent with the heel of the foot at the thigh of the right leg (*lalitāsana*). The right hand with the palm turned outwards in the *vara-mudrā* rests on the right knee, the left hand is raised towards the breast, both holding curving sprays with a conventional blue lotus at the end. The pose of the body slightly inclined to the right is balanced by the head leaning in the opposite direction. The sinuous line of the whole figure conforms to a characteristic tendency of Tibetan art. The flesh had been guilded, but this guilding has almost entirely been worn off.

The goddess wears a dark red skirt and stole spangled with guilded flowers. Her knees are covered with elaborately ornamented caps. Rich jewellery decks neck and breast. Above her black hair bound with scarlet fillets, is set a five-leaved tiara with a high peaked crown. A nimbus of very dark green, now almost turned to black, sets off the head, while behind the figure is shown an oval vesica with a rayed border of rainbow-like colours.

On a dark cloud above the goddess's head appears the small figure of a Buddha seated in meditation with the alms-bowl in his lap. On either side of him, on praying mats carried by dark green clouds, sit two black-haloed saints wearing the peaked hoods of Lāmas. Along the sides of the picture are ranged eight subsidiary forms of Tārā, differentiated by varying colours of flesh and dress. Their pose is the same as that of the central goddess ; the right hand rests on the knee, holding a flask, and the left carries a long-stemmed blue lotus. Interspersed between these subsidiary Tārās are shown six scenes of deliverance from calamities similar to those represented on the sides of certain Paradise paintings. While the men throughout these scenes clearly point to a Chinese

[1]) This refers to the polychrome reproduction in *The Thousand Buddhas*. The monochrome reproduction has been taken off a photograph of the British Museum.

model, the demonic deity in the centre of the foreground shows characteristic features of truly Tibetan taste. Her squat dark-blue figure sits sideways on a yellow horse, brandishing a scarlet club in her right hand. Her hair is a mass flaming upwards ; a bleeding human head hangs from her saddle-cloth. It is impossible to mistake here a conception of that monstrous type which, under the influence of Tantra doctrines absorbed from India and of its own demon-worship, Tibetan Buddhism always cherished greatly.

The occurrence of pieces of Tibetan art at Tun-Huang raises some questions regarding the route they took to this place and their dating. Sir Aurel Stein has tried to elucidate these questions [1]). As to the first problem, he remarks that it is certain from the lucid analyses of Chinese historical notices which M. Chavannes had prefixed to his interpretation of the inscriptions of *Ch'ien-fo-tung* [2]) that Tun-Huang had experienced prolonged periods of Tibetan predominance from the eighth to the tenth centuries. About A.D. 759 the territory of Tun-Huang had been conquered by the Tibetans, who, by 766 definitely established their power over the whole of Kansu. The possession of Tun-Huang was of special importance for the Tibetans, as it secured the gate for their final conquest of Eastern Turkestān towards the end of the eighth century, [3]) but the administration of the territory was left in the hands of the hereditary local chiefs or governors. It was one of these, Chang I-ch'ao, pre-eminently mentioned in the inscription of A.D. 894, who in A.D. 850 had broken with the Tibetan power and made his submission to the Chinese empire.

It is in these data that Mr. Binyon, not however without some hesitation [4]), looks for a support for his dating of the picture.

On the one hand he wishes to coordinate the Tibetan occupation of the Tun-Huang region from the middle of the eighth till the middle of the ninth centuries and the manufacture of this painting, while on the other hand he wishes to date the piece as late as possible within the limits of the *terminus ad quem* Stein fixed for the ultimate closure of the cave where the painting has been found, i.c. about A.D. 1030 [5]). So he proposes to date the picture in the tenth century.

[1]) Stein, *Serindia*, p. 816.
[2]) Chavannes, *Dix inscriptions*, p. 12 sq.
[3]) Chavannes, *Ancient Khotan* I, p. 534 sq.
[4]) Stein, *The Thousand Buddhas*, p. 3.
[5]) Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, II, p. 187 sq.



Exp. British Museum.

Tibetan Painting from Tun-Huang Representing the Buddhist Goddess Tārā with Attendants.



But there are still some facts which indicate a much later dating. First of all there is the existence of the "striking demonic figure" on the foreground of the picture. Stein remarks that the very restricted nature of Tibetan influence in the art of Tun-Huang is confirmed by the gratifying total absence in the paintings and frescoes of the Thousand Buddhas of those Tantric extravagances and monstrous obscenities which are so prevalent in the pictural representations of the *later* Lamaïstic art of Tibet [1]). But the figure on the foreground is just such a "monstrous extravagance".

Stein has failed to identify the figure in question, but he realized the limitations of his competence with regard to the iconography of Tibet [2]). In the formal description in Miss Lorimer's list (*Serindia*, II, p. 1052) the meaning of the figure is given as uncertain.

The compiler of the descriptive list could have taken advantage of the identification Petrucci established some years earlier, for it was this artist who gave the first hint for the identity of the figure under review [3]).

It is the goddess *Lha-mo*, and this goddess is of sufficient importance to deal with at some length, though I will confine myself to a few iconographical remarks [4]).

Her name, *Lha-mo*, signifies only Devī, goddess, for she is the supreme goddess. Her full and most common name in Tibetan is: "Dod-k'ams-dbang-p'yug dmag-zor-ma", meaning, "the goddess of arms in the world of sensual pleasures".

She is generally represented riding her mule across the Rakta-rgya mts'o, the sea of blood, in which the arms, legs, skulls and bones of the enemies she has devoured, are floating. She carries in her raised right hand the decorated trident and in her left the bloodfilled Nal-t'od, the skull of a child conceived in incest.

From her eyes flashes of lightning dart upwards, setting her eyebrows on fire. In her ears she wears heavy earrings, one decorated with a lion's head, the other with a snake. Sometimes she wears a tiger-skin, a black cloak and a human skin. The goddess is decorated with a diadem of five death-heads, various chains and other adornments. For saddle the mule has a

[1]) Stein, *Serindia*, p. 840.
[2]) Stein, *The Thousand Buddhas*, p. xii.
[3]) Petrucci, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
[4]) Cf. Pott, *A Piece of Tibetan Ritual-painting and Its Meaning*, Int. Arch. f. Ethn., Bd. XLIII, 1943, p. 218 sq.

human skin with arms and legs dangling in the air and the head hanging downwards. In addition the animal has to carry other things also, viz. a human head and a couple of dice hanging down its left side.

Lha-mo belongs to the group of fervent protectors of the sacred doctrine. As such she possesses a number of attributes given to her by various gods. Hevajra for instance, gave her the pair of dice, which determine the fate of human beings; from Brahmā she received a sunshade, Vajrapāṇi presented her with a cudgel, and so on.

Her appearance, name and character reveal the principal features of Kālī, the bloodthirsty wife of Çiva-Mahākāla, a quite Tantric figure, represented in a way familiar to us from paintings of much later times. This induces us to be very cautious regarding the dating of this painting, as a painting of this kind from the tenth century A.D. would be unique.

It is a hazardous task to date pieces of Tibetan painting and in cases where there are no inscriptions on them, it is almost impossible, since the Tibetan art of painting is very traditional.

Sometimes, however, there are some means of establishing a *terminus ante quem* for the production of those paintings, *viz.* in cases where historical persons have been reproduced on them as in the piece under discussion. Above Tārā's head appears the small figure of a Buddha and on either side of him sit black-haloed saints in Lāmas' peaked hoods, "the one white, the other perhaps red, but colour practically gone". Miss Lorimer, who gives this description, supposes these figures to represent *Padmasambhava* and *Çāntarakṣita.*

In this identification the wish will prove to be the father of the thought—this identification giving the opportunity to keep within the limits of the *terminus ad quem* of the walling-up of the hidden chapel—for there is nothing whatever that can support this identification. Both figures have the "peaked hoods" and in the reproduction in *The Thousand Buddhas* at least one of these hats is yellow coloured, a fact stated also by Petrucci [1]). Padmasambhava and Çāntarakṣita on the contrary do not wear the yellow peaked hat but a red cap of a very distinct form [2]).

[1]) Petrucci, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[2]) Cf. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 46 sq.; Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, Nr. 25.

The reproduction of the painting at my disposal not being clear enough, I dare not give any other identification, but in my opinion there is little doubt that at least one of the figures is a "Yellow-hat" and if this is correct, there is no possibility of dating the painting earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, *Sumatikirti*—or to call him with the Tibetan name : Tsoṅ-ka-pa—, the founder of the order of the *Yellow Hats* having lived early in that century.

We have to look for the consequences of this correction. A painting from the middle of the fifteenth century at least cannot have been hidden in a walled-up chapel ultimately closed at about A.D. 1030. The picture being found there, the chapel must have been closed up after the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

With this conclusion we touch upon a delicate question, viz. Stein's fixing of the *terminus ad quem* of the walling-up of the hidden chapel, which has already been disputed by Amedroz [1]). This author drew attention to the fact that there are two books among the pile of manuscripts dating from the middle of the fourteenth century. Stein upheld his theory by supposing those books to have been found by the guardian of the Tun-Huang caves in one of the other *cellas* and to have been added by him to the hoard of scriptures after the opening of the hidden chapel [2]). The scriptures are said to be found at the top of the pile of manuscripts. This cannot be claimed for the Tibetan painting under discussion, which has been discovered *in* or probably *at the base* of that pile.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that should it really be a "Yellow-Hat" who occupies the upper-right side of the painting, the *terminus ad quem* of the walling-up of the hidden chapel must be postponed for more than four centuries.

To reach a final conclusion it will be necessary to identify the figures at the upper side of the painting, a work of no little value but only to be carried out after a closer examination of the painting itself.

[1]) J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 194.
[2]) Stein, *Serindia*, p. 828 sq.

THE SO-CALLED SECULAR, HUMOROUS AND SATIRICAL HYMNS OF THE ṚGVEDA

BY J. GONDA, UTRECHT

As is well known, the interpretation of many a part of Vedic literature, especially of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, is a very difficult task. Of course, as the outcome of the learning of native Indian commentators and as a result of the labours of Vedic scholars in modern times, the meaning of a considerable part of this corpus is clear, but on the other hand a great many single stanzas and passages are still obscure and many a hymn has remained almost entirely unintelligible till now. Very often we meet with words, expressions, mythological or historical names, allusions to facts or incidents which we do not understand. Another and very serious difficulty concerns the reliability of native commentators: in the earlier period of Vedic studies the traditional method, which follows Sāyaṇa's famous commentary (14th century), was considered adequate, but, when it had been proved that the author of it did not possess a continuous tradition from the time when the texts of the Ṛgveda were composed and when it became clear that the gap between the poets and even the earliest interpreters (Yāska, before ± 450 B.C., and his predecessors), must have been considerable, Roth and other western scholars adhered to a method of interpreting which undervalued the information given by native commentators. Their way of dealing with these texts evoked the criticism of Pischel, Geldner and other scholars, and nowadays nobody stands by Sāyaṇa c.s. through thick and thin; but whoever shall find out objective criteria with regard to their credibility, whoever shall know exactly how far he may follow them?

There is, however, a category of errors, a source of faults and mistakes, which clings to the researches and publications of many a European writer on the texts of the Ṛgveda, their religions and ideas: too often western authors have been prone to substitute their own western views for the ideas of the old Indian poets, to intro-

duce their own modern religious and philosophical conceptions, to ascribe to the ancient ṛṣis ideas, systems and a view of life which has been elaborated on the ground of their own modern etymological, mythological, ethnological theories. Everybody who knows the contents of the Vedic texts will admit that there is an enormous gap between our civilization and that of those ancient poets, but it seems to me that nowadays we are able to cast a look at the opposite side of the gap and to understand the mentality, the religion, the thoughts and ideas of Vedic man better than western scholars who lived some 80 years ago. The chief ground for the possibility of a more complete (or rather : a less incomplete) understanding of the Ṛgveda by our generation lies in the fact that our understanding of primitive and semi-primitive culture, our insight in thought, inner life, religion, literature etc. of "primitive" man in general have been deepened.

But notwithstanding our more extensive knowledge and our deeper insight, we still use books in which we find opinions, views and interpretations which were current in former times and we often meet with remnants and vestiges of a method of considering those ancient poets and their culture and atmosphere, which appears to be antiquated.

An example will put us in medias res. A well-known sūkta of the Ṛgveda is the so-called frog-hymn, 7, 103. Here the author "praises" the frogs, which he describes as raising their voices together when the rains come, like Brahmins and their pupils repeating portions of Vedic texts: "1. The frogs that have been (quiet) during a year (like) Brahmans devoted to their priestly function have uttered their voices that have been inspired by Parjanya. 2. When the waters from Heaven came upon him (them ?), lying like a dry (water-)skin in a pool, the voices of the frogs unite (rise in concert), like the lowing of cows with calves. 3. When on the arrival of the rainy season it has rained upon them the eager, the thirsty, then, uttering (the sound) akkhala, one approaches another croaking, as a son (approaches) his father. 4. One of them accepts (the greetings) of the other when they have rejoiced at the downpouring of water, when the speckled frog, rained upon, leaps about and mingles his voice with (that of) the green one. 5. When one of them repeats the speech of another, as a pupil (repeats the words) of his teacher, all that of them they do is like a harmonized section (of the ritual), when eloquent you recite upon

the waters. 7. Like Brahmans at the over-night soma-sacrifice announcing (probably: the filling of the soma-tub) as it were around a full lake (of soma), you attend the pool on that day of the year when, o frogs, the rainy season has begun. Etc."

It has frequently been suggested that this hymn is of a humorous kind, that it is a satire on the Brahmans in which their reciting is compared to the croaking of frogs. Although this interpretation has been rightly rejected by several scholars, it may be useful to discuss this sūkta in detail as an introduction into the problem dealt with in this paper.

Even Winternitz [1]), who with good reason rejects the now obsolete interpretation, says that the hymn makes a comical impression: "das alles klingt ungemein komisch". But as early as 1871 Haug [2]) had understood the serious character of the frog-sūkta and Bloomfield [3]) demonstrated that this view is the correct one [4]). The frog who wakes up, when the rainy season comes, is, according to "primitive" and popular belief, a bringer of rain ("der Frosch ist der Prototyp eines tierischen Wetterpropheten") [5]), his croaking brings about the discharge of the waters from Heaven ("man veranlaszt eben einen Frosch zum Quaken um ersehnten Regen zu bekommen") [6]), just like the muttering of the Brahmans on the occasion of certain sacrifices and ceremonies. "The hymn obviously breathes the spirit of anxious conciliation: the frog, the symbol of eagerly craved for water, is no joking matter, and the comparisons with the Brahmans and the sacred rites are begotten of the desire to praise, and not to disparage". And Oldenberg [7]) too gave the correct view: "Das bekannte Froschlied ist eine Anrufung der mit Zaubermacht über die Wasser ausgestatteten Frösche" [8]). Winternitz, however, continues his

[1]) M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur I², p. 95.

[2]) M. Haug, Brahma und die Brahmanen, München 1871, p. 12 (see also p. 40): "Der Verfasser stellt in diesem Liede die Frösche und die Brahmanen nur deswegen zusammen, weil beide Beziehung zum Regen haben die Brahmanen (stärken) durch Auspressung und Darbringung des Somasaftes Indra so, dass er den Regen senden kann."

[3]) M. Bloomfield, J.A.O.S. 17 (1896), p. 173 ff.

[4]) See also H.H. Bender, J.A.O.S. 37, p. 186 ff.; W. Norman Brown, New Indian Antiquary, 2, p. 115 ff.

[5]) Bächtold—Stäubli, in Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, 3, 125.

[6]) Bächtold—Stäubli, o.c., p. 129.

[7]) H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 68.

[8]) L. Renou (Hymnes et prières du Veda, Paris 1938, p. 75) says: "L'intention satirique de l'hymne reste incertaine; plus probable est son emploi comme incantation pour obtenir la pluie."

remarks in this way: "Der Vergleich mit den Brahmanen soll nur eine Schmeichelei — eine captatio benevolentiae — für die Frösche (sein)". In my opinion we should not lose sight of the fact that for primitive man a close contact, a parallelism, and a mutual influence between nature and the world of man are always extant. Besides, he is accustomed to find out the exact coherence to avail himself of this knowledge. Not only a parallel event, but also the mentioning of it, may, according to primitive thought, involve a corresponding event connected with it in a magical way. Now, the word often takes the form of a more or less detailed comparison, of a simile, being an expression in language of the parallelism of the magical happening. Thus a simile sometimes has a magical character: e.g. A.V. 3, 24, 3 (for abundance of grain) "may they bring fatness here, like streams (bring) drift when it has rained" [1]). As Brahmans and their texts and formulas are very powerful—they contain brahma—, these similes in the frog-hymn may be considered as having a magical effect, as containing power. It is worth mentioning that in the 7th stanza the Brahmans perform the over-night soma-sacrifice and that in the 8th stanza they press soma: as is well known, the pressing of soma influences the coming down of the rain, the Soma sacrifice is also a "Regenzauber" [2]). "Möglich wäre es immerhin, daß hier ein ursprünglich als Satire gemeintes Gedicht später in ein Zauberlied verarbeitet wurde." This opinion of Winternitz does not seem to be correct either. It is evident that he does not wish to give up the idea of parody, which has often pleased enlightened Europeans. In my opinion, we must regard it as extremely unlikely that the author of this sūkta should have meant to write a satirical hymn or that it should have been conceived as such by his audience. Later generations, rather than the poet and his contemporaries, would seem to have understood this rain-charm as a satire.

Several scholars, however, do not follow Bloomfield. Geldner [3]) believes the sūkta to be "eine launige Schilderung": "Zweifellos ist das Lied eine Persiflage, nach Str. 10 wohl speziell gegen die Viśvāmitras gerichtet". Completely wrong is the opinion of Deussen [4]): ".... so treten die Frösche hier zur Abwechslung

[1]) See also my book Remarks on Similes in Sanskrit Literature (1939), p. 75 ff.
[2]) See V. Henry, in W. Caland et V. Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, p. 486 ff.; A. Bergaigne, La religion védique, I, p. XII; 214 f.
[3]) K. F. Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, II, p. 117.
[4]) P. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie I, I, p. 100 f.

einmal für die Götter ein, werden, wie diese, in ihren Heldentaten besungen und zum Schlusse in der lächerlichsten Weise um ihren Segen angerufen.... Das Tollste aber ist der Schluß, wo die Frösche als Hüter der heiligen Ordnung des Jahres gefeiert und um Schätze, Kühe und langes Leben angefleht werden, wie Geldner und Graßmann meinen, "um dem Scherz das Ansehen eines Gebetliedes zu geben", wie wir glauben, um die zahlreichen Stellen, in denen alle möglichen Götter um diese Dinge angerufen werden, dadurch lächerlich zu machen, daß hier die verschiedenen Frösche, der brüllende wie der meckernde, der gelbe wie der bunte, die Stelle der Götter einnehmen." Rather, as I take it, the last stanza, which asks a blessing, establishes the correctness of Bloomfield's point of view: "By means of their croaking the frogs have given us riches: the frogs giving (us) hundreds of cows shall extend (our) life at the thousandfold soma-pressing", which means: "You have helped us till now, we have praised (i.e. strengthened) you once more: so you shall continue to help us."

Moreover the first stanza is also found in the Atharvaveda, where it forms part of the well-known hymn 4, 15. This hymn and AV. 7, 18 appear to be called mārutāni in Kauś. Sū. 26, 24; Kauś. Sū. 41, 1 ff. they are specified as used together in a rite for procuring rain; ibid. 103, 3 they are used in an expiation of the portent of inundations. Nobody feels any doubt about its being a rain-charm. Now this first stanza of RV. 7, 103 is followed in the AV. by two stanzas (4, 15, 14 and 15), in which frogs are implored to speak to (or to announce) rain *(varṣam ā vada)* and to produce rain *(varṣaṃ vanudhvam)*. These stanzas, the first of which appears among the khailikāni of the Ṛgveda as an addendum to 7, 103, show how clearly these hymns were understood as rain-charms. Perhaps they are "unzusammenhängende Trümmer eines größeren, demselben Gegenstande gewidmeten anuṣṭubhliedes" [1]). As stated by Bloomfield [2]), the literary standard of the frog hymn is not higher than that of scores of Atharvan hymns; the opening in the anuṣṭubh metre, continuing with the more stately triṣṭubh-jagatī, is one of the standard devices of the Atharvaveda. The form *akhkhalīkṛtyā* (st. 3) is the only instance in the Ṛgveda of the change of final *a* to *ī* in composition with *kṛ-*;

[1]) A. Hillebrandt, in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1889, p. 406.
[2]) Bloomfield, o.c., p. 176.

in the Atharvaveda we find *phalīkaraṇa-* by the side of *vātīkṛta-* and *vatīkāra-*, which are obscure.

I do not understand, why it would be ridiculous, if the old Vedic poet, who believed the frogs to be bringers of rain, addressed to these animals his "prayers" and charms to secure this greatest desideratum of the Indian agrarian. The Atharvaveda contains indeed a great many hymns and stanzas which appeal to animals and plants for help. AV. 6, 100 is used by Kauś. Sū. 31, 26 as a remedial rite against poisons, with the aid of earth from an ant-hill etc., in stanza 2 the water-producing ants *(upajīkā)* are implored to yield this fluid, which it seems can be depended upon as a cure. AV. 6, 136 appeals to a herb *nitatnī* to fix the hair. AV. 4, 37 appeals to a plant called "goats-horn" to drive demons out of a person possessed. Plants are implored to give complete exemption from sickness: e.g. 6, 95 where the *kuṣṭha-* "the flower of immortality", is requested to "make this man free from disease". Etc., etc. That the frog is a bringer of water is apparent also from the rite of drawing a frog, a water-plant and a reed over the place of the fire-altar, which forms part of the Agnicayana [1]: the frog yields protection from conflagrations and is employed as an instrument to extinguish fire. A variation of this theme is the use of the frog as a cure for fever: AV. 7, 116, 2, a charm against fever, reads: "he (the fever) that attacks.... let him attack this frog." The rite is described by Kauś. 32, 17: a frog has to be fastened under the bed of the patient who is rinsed off, so that the water may wash the fever down upon the frog. Now, these rites are regarded as serious by everyone who writes about them. Why should we consider the frog-hymn as a humorous satire? Perhaps, because we are not prepared to find a serious frog-hymn or rain-charm in the Ṛgveda? There are still other arguments. Haug [2] informs us that in times of great drought, when the eagerly expected rain will not come, twenty or thirty Brahmans go to a river and recite this and the preceding hymn. Now, this combination with RV. 7, 102 is interesting. The sūktas 7, 101 and 7, 102 are dedicated to Parjanya, the divine figure which presides over the rain-clouds. 7, 101, 5 Parjanya is implored to send rain: *mayobhúvo vṛṣṭáyaḥ santv asmé supippalā' óṣadhīr devágopāḥ*, "may

[1]) See A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, p. 164; and, especially, Bloomfield, Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda, Am. J. of Phil. 11, p. 342 ff.
[2]) Haug, l.c.

beneficent rain be ours, and fruitful plants guarded by the gods". By his action grass is produced : 7, 102, 1 ; he puts the germ in plants, cows, mares and women : 7, 102, 2, etc. It seems to me that the use of both 7, 102 (which is only a short sūkta) and 7, 103 in the same rite or rites may account for the presence of the frog-hymn in the Ṛgveda : the sūkta dedicated to the frogs, which are Parjanya's animals (see Vāj. Saṃh. 24, 21), may have been inserted in the corpus because it is connected with one or two hymns that celebrate the god himself. Already in Yāska's time the sūkta's 7, 102 and 7, 103 were connected : Yāska's explanation runs (Nir. 9, 6, 7) as follows : "Vasiṣṭha desiring rain praised Parjanya, the frogs acclaimed him. He perceiving the acclaiming frogs praised them with song. That is what this stanza means." Other native interpreters agree with Yāska : Bṛhaddevatā 6, 27 : "the hymn 7, 103 praises the frogs" [1]). And Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the hymn says : *saṃvatsaraṃ daśa parjanyastutiḥ saṃhṛṣṭān maṇḍūkāṃs tuṣṭāva vṛṣṭikāmenaitat sūktaṃ japyaṃ.* Finally, I refer to the passage in the Suparṇākhyāna (9, 3), quoted by Bloomfield [2]) and to the passage in the Harivaṃśa, Vi. 95, 23, which appears to be strongly reminiscent of RV. 7, 103 : *plavaṅgamaḥ ṣoḍaśapakṣaśāyī virauti goṣṭhaḥ saha kāmināībhiḥ—rco dvijātiḥ priyasatyadharmā yathā suśiṣyaiḥ parivāryamāṇaḥ.*

Now, although the sūktas of the Ṛgveda are mainly songs of praise and invocations of the gods, and although they are used to accompany the oblation of offerings, we meet with a number of texts, which differ from the greater part of the "hymns". Part of them deal with magical practices : 10, 58 and 60 are incantations to preserve life ; 10, 183 is a charm to procure offspring ; 10, 161 and 163 are spells directed against disease ; 10, 162 a spell against a demon destructive of unborn children ; 10, 166 is directed against enemies, 10, 145 against a rival wife, 1, 191 against poisonous vermin ; 7, 55 is meant to induce sleep. It strikes us that most of these sūktas which properly speaking belong to the sphere of the Atharvaveda, belong to the tenth book ; 1, 191 and 2, 42 and 43 which deal with augury are the last hymns of the first and second books. Here we ought to ask, how we may explain the presence of these texts in the Ṛgveda. Winternitz appears to be satisfied by stating that "es sehr bedeutsam (ist), daß neben den

[1]) Cf. also Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, p. 135 Macd.
[2]) Bloomfield, o.c., p. 179.

Hymnen an die großen Götter und den Opfergesängen auch solche Zauberlieder aufgenommen worden sind" [1]). When we try to solve this question, we ought to take into account the fact that in Vedic times "religion" and "magic" are interlaced in an almost inextricable way. Again and again we meet with real magic in hymns addressed to the gods and in spells and charms we often find invocations of personal powers that are supposed to have a will. Sometimes the ancient interpreters betray their doubt or despair in regard to the character of a sūkta ; the author of the Bṛhaddevatā, for instance, says (8, 64 f.) à propos of RV. 10, 161: "(this sūkta) is a remedy destructive of consumption ; this hymn of Prājāpatya's (Prājāpatya Yakṣmanāśana is considered to be the seer of this sūkta) is spoken of as destroying "royal consumption". Yāska considers that the hymn is addressed to Indra-Agni ; some, that it is addressed to the divinities expressed by name". The combination of the magical element and the invocation of the gods to lend their assistance is very clear: "1. I release thee by oblation, to live, from unknown yakṣma (consumption) and from royal yakṣma. If now seizure has seized him, from it, o Indra-and-Agni, do you release him. 2. If his life-time is almost past or if he has died, if led away even to the presence of death, I take him from the lap of Perdition (Nirṛti-) ; I have won him for a life of a hundred autumns. 3. With an oblation I have taken him, that Indra may lead him unto autumns 4. Live increasing during a hundred autumns a hundred to you (shall, may) Indra, Agni, Savitar, Bṛhaspati (give)" The first four verses are almost identical with AV. 3, 111, 1—4 ; the fifth stanza is AV. 8, 1, 20. Now, AV. 3, 11 is used by Kauś. (27, 32 f.) in a general healing ceremony, and (58, 11) in company with 4, 13, 1 and others, in a rite for length of life. Part of the stanzas (1—4, and 8, 1, 20), however, were used by Brahmans who devoted themselves to the study of the Ṛgveda and prescribed by one of them, Āśvalāyana, in his Gṛhyasūtra (3, 6, 4) among the texts which had to be recited during an oblation of boiled rice grains to bring about the recovery of one who was ill, suffering or affected with consumption. In Śāṅkh. Śr. Sū. 16, 13, 4 the Ṛgvedic sūkta is used to heal the yajāmana. It is probable that these originally popular verses were embodied in the Ṛgveda, when the Brahmans

[1]) Winternitz, o.c., p. 96.

had taken possession of the corresponding rites, or had recognized them. It is apparent from the Ṛgvidhāna (4, 16) that the Ṛgvedic hymn continued to be used as a "charm".

It has, however, been suggested by several scholars that it might be possible to distinguish between those parts of the Ṛgvedic texts in which the magical element is predominant and those parts in which there is none. Some scholars are under the impression that the hymns in which the magical element predominates contain a non-magical kernel which has been enlarged and recast afterwards. According to them, several magical texts in the Ṛgveda must be considered as hymns or songs of a non-magical character, to which ensuing generations have added charms and incantations. I quote Winternitz [1]) à propos of RV. 6, 75 : "ähnlich dürfte auch das Lied RV. 6, 75 ursprünglich ein Schlachtgesang gewesen sein, den man in einen Schlachtsegen umgewandelt hat. Während nämlich einzelne Verse dieses Liedes von großer dichterischer Schönheit und namentlich durch kühne Bilder ausgezeichnet sind, bewegen sich andere Verse ganz in der trockenen, kunstlosen Sprache der Zauberlieder. Nicht wie ein Zauberlied, sondern wie ein Schlachtgesang klingen die ersten drei Verse : (he adds a translation)". It is to be feared that his view is rather subjective. I do not take it for granted that the second stanza especially is quite unlike a magical text : *dhánvanā gā' dhánvanājíṃ jayema dhánvanā tīvrā'ḥ samádojayema | dhánuḥ śátror apakāmáṃ kṛṇoti dhánvanā sárvāḥ pradíśo jayema.* In the Atharvaveda we find many stanzas of the same character : anaphorical construction of the verse is a much used device in its magical texts [2]), e.g. 4, 10, 2—3 ; 11, 1—2. The optative mood is found also in Atharvanic texts. Moreover, 1 b *sá tvā vármaṇo mahimā' pipartu* "let the might of the armour protect you" sounds like AV. *sá tvā rāṣṭrā'ya súbhṛtaṃ bibhartu* "let him bear you, well-borne, unto kingdom" ; cf. also AV. 8, 5, 22 f *sa tvā rakṣatu sarvataḥ ;* pādas beginning with *sa tvā* and containing a 3d person of the imperative are rather numerous. As to the third stanza the words *yóṣeva* are found also AV. 12, 3, 29c *yóṣeva dṛṣṭvā' pátim ṛ'tviyā yā'*, and RV. 5, 80, 6 b ; 9, 46, 2 b ; 96, 24 b. The words *sámane pārāyantī* are like *sámane pārayiṣṇúḥ* AV. 6, 92, 2 d. Granting Winternitz is right in stating the literary

[1]) Winternitz, o.c., p. 96.
[2]) See J. Gonda, Stilistische Studie over Atharvaveda I—VII (1938), §§ 20 f., especially § 24.

merits of these stanzas, I would remind the reader of the high degree of literary endeavour represented by a considerable number of Atharvanic texts. The war and battle charms of the Atharvaveda are characterized by their extent and vigour, and some of them contain stanzas of outstanding aesthetic merit. AV. 5, 20 and 21, for example, dedicated to the war-drum and quoted by Kauś. 16, 1 and 2 in a battle-rite to infuse terror into the army of the enemy, are, in the main, beautiful poems: 5, 20, 5. "When the wife (of the enemy) hears the voice of the drum that speaks to a far distance, let she suppliant and starting up by the sound, snatch her child to her arms and run, frightened at the clash of deadly weapons." To put it shortly: I do not agree with the stand-point that the metrical texts of the Veda contain either hymns and songs of high literary merit ("Verse von großer dichterischer Schönheit") or dry and artless magical formulas: as I see it, we meet with many a magical text of the same aesthetic qualities as the beautiful non-magical stanzas, which Winternitz admires with good reason. The same is true of spells and charms in the literature of other peoples.

I will not dwell any longer upon these magical texts. Besides the invocations of the gods and a number of incantations etc. some "secular hymns" are said to form part of the Ṛgveda: "Und noch bedeutsamer ist es, daß sich auch einige ganz weltliche Gedichte unter die heiligen Lieder und Opfergesänge des Rigveda gemischt haben" [1]). In this paper I will deal with this subject, the "secular hymns" in the Ṛgveda, and especially with the humorous, derisive and satirical texts, which many a scholar admits. Winternitz is indeed not the only one who has that opinion. Renou [2]) holds that "le Ṛgveda ne manque pas de poèmes assez différents de ceux-là, et dont on se demande comment ils ont fait leur chemin à travers la composition scripturaire: des dialogues dramatiques, des poésies philosophiques, mystiques, incantatoires, des chansons rythmant le travail, des ébauches de satire". Another well-known scholar, Macdonell, in the Introduction to his useful Vedic Reader [3]) says: "Hardly a score of the hymns are secular poems." In a chapter "Secular Matter in the Rigveda" he deals with "secular hymns; mythological dialogues; didactic

[1]) Winternitz, o.c., p. 96.
[2]) Renou, o.c., p. 5.
[3]) A. A. Macdonell, A Vedic Reader for Students, p. XXV.

hymns; riddles; cosmogonic hymns; "praises of gifts"; geographical data; historical data; occupations; amusements." In my opinion, the head-line at the beginning of this chapter does not bear on a considerable part of its contents. About half a dozen sūktas consist of speculations on the origin of the world through the agency of a Creator different from any of the ordinary gods, nay, one of them (10, 129) says that the world has arisen without any creative action or cooperation of a god or personal power: "by the creation of this (universe) the gods (come) afterwards". The statement that the existent was produced from the non-existent is found in RV. 10, 72, 2 and 3, where it says that Brahmaṇaspati forged together this world like a smith; then arose in succession the earth, the spaces, Aditi and Dakṣa, and after Aditi were born the gods, who brought forth the sun. Other passages show that in the cosmological speculation of the authors the sun was regarded as an important agent of generation. Its nature became more and more abstract till at last it became a supreme god. In 10, 121 it is Prajāpati, who measured out space, who makes heaven and earth stand firm, who was the first-born of all beings and who acts as creator of the earth. In the cosmogonic views of the Brāhmaṇas which, carrying on these speculations, require the agency of a creator, this creator is Prajāpati or the personal Brahmā, who is not only father of gods, men, and demons, but is the All. It would appear to me that we have no motive to call the cosmogonic sūktas of the Ṛgveda secular because the powers and agents acting in them are distinct from the ordinary gods.

According to Macdonell "one of the most noteworthy" of the secular poems is the long wedding hymn 10, 85. But to "primitive" or "semi-primitive" man marriage is not a "secular" matter. Marriage to him is a transition into a new state of life, a crisis, and as such marriage is exposed to dangerous fullness of power [1]). The potencies revealed in sex intercourse arouse anxiety and inspire fear, so they must be restrained. In Vedic times too cohabitation with a virgin was a dangerous act, because the gandharva Viśvāvasu was believed to be the possessor of her: therefore the husband ought to recite the following stanza (RV. 10, 85, 22, cp. 21 and AV. 14, 2, 33): "Raise from here, O Viśvāvasu; with homage we

[1]) See, e.g., G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation (1938); ch. 22, 6.

praise you ; seek another, wanton (maiden), unite the wife with the husband". In the Gṛhyasūtras a period of chastity for the newly-married couple is prescribed, and as the Vedic marriage ceremonies do not contain any suggestion that by a previous rite the danger of interference with virginity was removed, the first nights may have seemed too dangerous a period to allow of immediate consummation of the marriage [1]). And as it is in the power of the bride to bewitch the young husband and his family, he recites RV. 10, 85, 44 : "Be not of evil eye, nor bringing death to your husband, (but) bring luck to the cattle, (and) be kindly disposed and full of splendour ; give birth to heroes, love the gods, be friendly, bring luck to (our) two-footed ones and to (our) four-footed ones". Moreover, the transition to marriage demands not only measures of defence, but implies also an "induction" of power. Thus the communal meal, being in widespread use, is known also in the Vedic marriage ritual [2]).

The fact that the bridal couple take their meals together means community, but it is just as much a sacrament : a power is introduced into life and is at the same time controlled ; "for rites are always creative, but also always regulative ; they signify not only the piercing of a fountain, but further the laying of a channel for its stream" [3]). The "induction" of power may be a magical act : for instance the rite called aśmāropaṇa which is performed by the bride and bridegroom together under the direction of a priest, who makes them step onto a stone with their right feet, saying : "Come, step you both on (this) stone ; be firm like a stone." But in other stanzas gods are invoked to lend their assistance and to grant the prayers of the couple : RV. 10, 85, 47 "Let the All-Gods, let the Waters unite our hearts ; let Mātariśvan, let Dhātar and Deṣṭrī unite us !", 45 I "Cause this (woman), o bountiful Indra, to be lucky and a mother of sons". Now, RV. 10, 85, 6—17 describe the wedding of Sūryā (the daughter of the Sun) and Soma, the Moon, which is regarded as the divine prototype of human marriage ; part of the verses of 10, 85 are used to accompany wedding rites. These few remarks will do : Vedic marriage

[1]) See A. B. Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, p. 376.

[2]) I refer to Winternitz, Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell, Denkschr. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Cl., 40 (1892), p. 79 f.

[3]) Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 201.

was a sacramental communion and it is quite inaccurate to call the Sūryāsūkta a secular poem.

"There are also five funeral hymns (10, 14—18)", Macdonell continues, "four of these are addressed to deities concerned with the future life; the last, however, is quite secular in tone". Fortunately, Winternitz [1]) gave utterance to a different opinion: "Daß aber Verse für rituelle Zwecke verfaßt und doch von hoher dichterischer Schönheit sein können, das beweisen die Totenbestattungslieder." Indeed, the verses of this sūkta are used in the ritual: "Go away, Death, along a distant road which is yours here, other than that the gods go upon, I speak to you having sight and hearing; do not hurt our progeny and our heroes", this initial verse is used several times in Kauśika. "2. Come, obstructing the track of Death, assuming a lifetime that will be extended further on. Increasing in children and riches, become pure and cleansed, o you who are worthy of sacrifice." This stanza is used in a ritual effacing of the footsteps (e.g. Kauś. 71, 19; Mān. G. S. 2, 1, 13), lest the dead man and the powers of Death should follow the living. Other stanzas (11 ff.) are recited to earth: "Be to him easy of access; cover him as a mother her son with her skirt", and to the dead man: "Let Yama there make seats for you." To put it briefly: funeral rites and the verses accompanying them were not a secular matter to the Vedic Indians. For all that, granting that the hymn as a whole is not dedicated to Indra, Agni or to any of the other gods that are addressed in the greater part of the sūktas, we find the names of Mṛtyu, Dhātar (5), Tvaṣṭar (6), Pṛthivī (11; 12), Yama (13). Besides, the Bṛhaddevatā gives the following explanation (7, 10 ff.): "The (next) four (stanzas: 10, 18, 1—4) are (in) praise of Death and are applicable to the funeral ceremony. Stanza 10, 18, 3 prays for a long life for those who have escaped death; 5 is addressed to Dhātar, 6 to Tvaṣṭar" and concerning the stanzas in which no deity is mentioned, this text has (16 f.): "One should state the deity of 10, 18, 7—9 to be Death. For in the formulas (in which it is) not expressly mentioned, one should state the deity from the ceremony. When there is lack (of a deity) from the evidence of the formula and the ceremony as well, Prajāpati is the deity." If Macdonell had intended to argue that the contents of RV. 10,

[1]) Winternitz, Gesch. der ind. Litt., p. 84.

18 are of a different character as compared with the greater part of the hymns of the Ṛgveda, he should have expressed himself otherwise ; the term "secular" may cause misapprehension.

Moreover, may we expect to find profane or secular texts, in the sense modern man attaches to these terms ? Is it possible to distinguish between "secular" or "profane" and "non-secular", between "temporal" or "secular" and its opposite in times that saw the origin of these Vedic sūktas ? In my opinion it is not, certainly not in the way we can make such distinctions as far as modern literature is concerned. In a society, where characteristic primitive aspects of the human state of mind and of human culture are predominant—and the Vedic poets were members of such a society—, the religious, the magico-religious element cannot be detached from the other provinces of culture, from the other domains of human thought and activity. In a "primitive culture" the various provinces of culture, such as religion, art, science, social life etc. are not (not yet) independent and separate domains of thought and action. For modern, western, intellectual man—but this modern man is an abstraction—many a human activity lies beyond the reach of religion, and many an event or natural phenomenon is explained and studied by him without religion, but to primitive man the range of the religious and magico-religious is much wider [1]).

But let us pass in review some of the so-called secular sūktas of the Ṛgveda. The first example of "weltliche Gedichte" in the Ṛgveda, mentioned by Winternitz [2]), is 9, 112 : "So finden wir z.B. RV. 9, 112 mitten unter den Somaliedern ein satirisches Gedicht, welches über die mannigfachen Wünsche der Menschen spottet. Möglich, daß es nur dadurch Aufnahme in die Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā gefunden hat, weil ein witziger Diaskeuast darauf verfallen ist, jedem Vers den höchst unpassenden Refrain : "Dem Indra ströme Soma zu" anzuhängen." The sūkta may be translated as follows : "1. Different indeed are our skill and talents ; the functions of the human beings are of many and different kinds : the carpenter wants a thing that is broken, the physician somebody who is wounded, the brahman one who presses out the soma,—for

[1]) I refer also to G. van der Leeuw, L'homme primitif et la religion (1940) ; the same, Wegen en Grenzen, Studie over de Verhouding van Religie en Kunst (1932) ; Th. W. Danzel, Kultur und Religion des primitiven Menschen (1924).
[2]) Winternitz, o.c., p. 96.

Indra, o soma, flow abundantly. 2. With dry plants (to fan the fire ?), with wings of birds, with stones (anvils) and fire-flames the smith looks for one who possesses gold (to buy something),—for Indra etc. 3. I am a poet, papa is a doctor, mamma grinds the grain ; with various talents, with our knowledge we all wish to obtain property, we run after (it) like (herds after) the cows, —for Indra etc. 4. The carriage-horse longs for an easy-going carriage, seducers laughing (assent), the masculine member the hairy female genitals, the frog water,—for Indra etc.". Winternitz is not the only scholar who does not accept the burden. Graßmann [1]) was of opinion that the 4th stanza was a later addition ; besides, he remarked : "Dies humoristische Lied gehört ursprünglich nicht hierher. Es hat mit dem Soma (the general subject of the 9th book) nichts zu thun und ist nur durch den hier ausgelassenen Refrain den Somaliedern angepasst." It is, however, an awkward method to mutilate a text before exhausting all means to interpret it rightly. Von Schroeder [2]) argued that ensuing generations tried to efface the secular character of the song by adding to each stanza the words "For Indra, o soma, flow abundantly", which do not go with its contents. Hillebrandt [3]) too strikes out these words. Other scholars, however, defended them : Deussen [4]) by arguing that they have a satirical character : "Daß Gott Indra eigentlich, so gut wie andere Leute, ein Egoist ist, dem es vor allem darauf ankommt, tüchtig Soma zu trinken, das lag am Ende in seinem ganzen Charakter, aber man durfte es doch nicht sagen, es wäre denn in der Weise des satirical rogue, welcher RV. 9, 112 launig schildert, wie alles in der Welt dem eigenen Vorteil nachstrebt" It is, however, an incorrect statement that Vedic man did not dare to say that Indra was fond of soma and that drinking was a very important business to him. The Ṛgveda is studded with passages that point out the contrary : 1, 5, 6 "To the drinking of soma you were born, Indra" ; 7 "let the swift juices of the soma enter you, Indra" ; 1, 8, 7 "(Indra,) whose belly, which more than anyone else's drinks soma, swells like the ocean" ; 1, 9, 1 ; 2 ; 1, 21, 1 ; 1, 32, 3 etc. etc. Geldner [5]) characterized

[1]) H. Grassmann, Rig-Veda, übersetzt usw. (1876), II, p. 464 and 285.
[2]) L. von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, p. 49.
[3]) A. Hillebrandt, Vedachrestomathie, p. 34. See also R. Pischel, Vedische Studien, I, p. 107. [4]) Deussen, o.c., p. 97.
[5]) Compare K. Geldner und Ad. Kaegi, Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda, p. 167. See already R. Roth, Yāskas Nirukta etc. (1852), Erläuterungen, p. 74.

the sūkta as a "humoristische Auslassung über das Treiben der Menschen um Geld zu gewinnen". But did he overlook the fact that in the Ṛgveda there are a great many allusions to the personal interest of the poet and his employers ? Did he forget that Vedic literature had no other aim in view than the influencing of powers, the favour of the gods, the granting of wishes, the destruction of enemies, the driving off of evil, the striving after personal advantage of any kind: prosperity, a long life-time, children, wealth, influence, health ? Cp., e.g., RV. 1, 4, 9 "we incite you, Indra, that we may acquire riches" ; 1, 6, 10 "we ask Indra for gain, either from this world or from heaven" ; 1, 10, 11 "drink, o Indra our soma, do thou prolong our life, let the ṛṣi obtain a thousand" ; 1, 29, 1—7 "hold out to us, o Indra, the prospect of a thousand of beautiful cows and horses" ; 1, 53, 11 "let us praise you, possessing many heroes (sons) by your aid, prolonging our life-time in future" ; 1, 54, 11 "do thou, o Indra, bestow upon us vigour that increases prosperity, a great might, a strong power to domineer men ; protect our patrons, save the lords who institute sacrifices, help us to obtain riches, refreshment (food-of-vigour) and children" ; 1, 84, 20 ; 1, 131, 7 etc. etc.

According to Von Schroeder [1]) this sūkta is the text of a mimic play ; in an extraordinarily long argumentation he tries to show that during the Vedic Soma-sacrifice festivities and pageants must have been in use, and that mimic plays formed part of these intermezzos between the sacrificial ceremonies. Thus this little sūkta becomes a wild scene of revelling by a masked crew of vegetation-spirits dancing to music and singing the words of the text. I cannot agree with Von Schroeder [2]).

As Pischel [3]) rightly remarks, this sūkta is of a popular character. "Diesen volkstümlichen Charakter drückt der Refrain aus. Es (9, 112—114) sind Lieder, die beim Somapressen gesungen wurden und für ihre Volkstümlichkeit treten auch die Namen ihrer Verfasser ein: Śiśu Āṅgirasa und Kaśyapa, Namen, die zum Atharvaveda in naher Beziehung stehen, d. h. dem Veda, der in das Leben des Volkes am tiefsten eingegriffen hat. Den Refrain streichen, heißt also die Lieder ihrer Eigenheit völlig berauben." In this connection I refer to Sāyaṇa (ad RV. 9, 112, 1): *ṛṣir etadādibhis*

[1]) L. von Schroeder, Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda (1908), p. 408 ff.
[2]) See also A. B. Keith, J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 998.
[3]) Pischel, l.c.

tribhiḥ sūktair aparisravataḥ somasyājāmitvāya manaso vinodanaṃ kurvann āha

Indeed the tone of 9, 112—114 which are additions to the 9th book [1]) differs from that of the greater part of the sūktas. And this peculiar character has given rise to misunderstanding. As I see it, this sūkta is not a satire or a humorous text: the author describes the various ways in which people seek their own advantage; the brahman shows his desire to win a rich patron just as others seek other things to meet their needs. Between the lines one should read: "Indra, give them (give us) the things they (we) long for, each in his own way"; the author adds: "for thee, o Indra, who art fond of soma, this beverage must flow abundantly"; for the more Indra drinks the more he will be able to help the poet and his employers. My interpretation does not differ much from the explanation given by Oldenberg [2]), which I discovered afterwards: "Die Vermutung ist nicht gewagt, daß die Pointe sein Wunsch war, seinerseits zu erlangen, was ihm so notwendig war, wie das Wasser dem Frosch. Und da er uns verrät, daß er *kārúḥ* war, so ist weiter vielleicht zu vermuten, daß es im ganzen Lied die Worte *brahmā' sunvántam icchati* sind, die im nächsten Zusammenhang mit seinen eigenen Bedürfnissen stehen. Zieht man dann noch den Refrain vom strömenden Soma in Betracht, so ergibt sich, meine ich, daß wir hier den Text für das Wunschsomaopfer eines Brahmanen haben werden, der einen *sunván* suchte, — vielleicht dann weiter auch andrer Leute, die für ihren Beruf Kundschaft wünschten. Während der Soma durch die Seihe floß, wurde das Lied von den *nā'nādhiyo vasūyávaḥ* vorgetragen. Es war bestimmt der *dhī* dieses *vasūyú* die Erfüllung zu sichern."

It would appear to me that this sūkta (9, 112) with respect to tone and atmosphere is a counterpart of RV. 8, 80, the sūkta of the girl Apālā. The words *índrāyendo pári srava* occur also 8, 80, 3d, and the "nursery-word" *tata* "papa, father" is found only in these two parts of the Ṛgveda. The following is a translation: "1. A girl going down for water also found soma in the stream; taking it home, she said: "To Indra I will press you, to Śakra I will press you." 2. (To Indra): "You, my dear Lord (?) [3]), who

[1]) See H. Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda. I. Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena, p. 202.

[2]) Oldenberg, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1909, p. 79 f.

[3]) *Vīraka-*, the translation is not certain. Though the explanation, given by F. Edgerton (J.A.O.S. 31, p. 149), is convincing as far as the word *dhenukā-*

go yonder, looking at every house, drink this tooth-pressed (soma), accompanied by grain, gruel, cake and a recitation of praise. 3. We wish to know thee, (but) we do not understand thee" ; (to the soma :) "gradually, as it were, quite gradually, as it were, flow abundantly for Indra, o soma". 4. Will he be able (to do it), will he do (it), will he make us better (happier) ? Shall we, who were hostile to a husband, go and meet Indra ? 5. (To Indra :) "These three surfaces, o Indra, cause to grow over : the head of (my) father, the field, and here upon my belly. 6. Yonder field of ours and this body of mine, and also my father's head, all these make hairy." 7. In the hole of the chariot, in the hole of the cart, in the hole of the yoke, o thou who hast strength a hundredfold, having cleansed her three times, thou hast made Apālā sunskinned."

The popular character of this sūkta has been seen also by Hillebrandt [1] : consider the naive way in which the girl tries to come into contact with the god, the simple offerings : a cake and mush, the undoubtedly primitive method of pressing the soma [2], the sort of defects which the girl wishes the god to cure ; far from being world-shaking, they are of great moment in the domestic circle. Consider also the popular style of the sūkta, the simple narrative in the first stanza, etc. The Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (1, 220) [3] interprets this sūkta as a story (itihāsa) : "Apālā Atreyī had moles or a bad skin. She desired : 'May I get rid of my bad complexion.' She saw this sāman ; with it she praised. Going down to the tīrtha (a descent into a river), she found a soma-stalk. This she chewed Indra ran thither She recited : "A girl etc. (vs. 1)"" It is, however, also possible to follow the itihāsa related by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and to identify Apālā and the girl in the first stanza. While Yāska called this sūkta an itihāsa (see Bṛhaddevatā (6, 107), Śaunaka considered it as a hymn addressed to Indra. In a sense, both ancient interpreters are right. I do not mention the modern interpretations [4] and to save space will only

"female of any animal (or of the human species)" is concerned, and although R.V. 5, 2, 5 *maryakā-* probably means "male", being obviously contrasted with female animals (here the hypocoristic meaning might be possible too), this does not imply the meaning "male par excellence" for *vīraka-*.

[1] A. Hillebrandt, Lieder des Ṛgveda (1913), p. 37.

[2] See also Von Schroeder, W.Z.K.M. 23, p. 270 f.

[3] The text has been communicated and translated by H. Oertel, J.A.O.S. 18, p. 26 f.

[4] See Oertel, o.c., p. 26 and Oldenberg, Ṛgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten, II, p. 142 for previous discussions of this sūkta.

set forth my own view. Adhering in the main to the opinion of Hillebrandt [1]), I believe that the text describes the story of a girl who suffered from hairlessness (and perhaps also from skin-disease). According to the Dharmaśāstra (see Manu 3, 8) [2]) no one is allowed to marry such a girl, because she will bring misfortune to her husband The mention of the baldness of her father and of the barrenness of the field, omitted by the Bṛhaddevatā and Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, must be regarded as an "Analogiezauber". The sūkta relates an event which was regarded to be historical; it must have been used by girls, who were in the unfavourable condition meant by Manu 3, 8. By reciting the sūkta and by offering the simple gifts (a cake etc.) they hoped to rouse into action the mysterious power which the sūkta contained, and to bring about the miraculous cure of their disease, mentioned in the last stanza of it. Now, this last stanza occurs also in the nuptial texts of the Atharvaveda (14, 1, 41), where it is used during the ritual bathing of the bride [3]); see also Āp. G. Sū. 4, 7—8. Besides, it is used by the Mānava G. Sū. (1, 8, 11) in the rite of sprinkling the bride with water after she has been accepted by "the receiver". The same text (1, 10, 7) describes the rite which is alluded to in RV. 8, 80, 7: "having placed the bride under the left yoke-hole he sprinkles water on her (through the hole)" [4]); it orders, however, another verse to be used. It seems to me that here the Brahmans in their official ceremonies borrowed a rite from popular ceremonies [5]) —which they did frequently—; these popular ceremonies we can learn from the contents of Ṛgveda 8, 80, which itself represents the verses people used whilst performing them. The making use of the rite of the yoke [6]) and the mention of Indra's name in the sūkta may have caused its being inserted in the corpus of the Ṛgveda.

The next sūkta we deal with is the so-called hymn of the drunken Indra, RV. 10, 119. When we peruse some works on the Ṛgveda,

[1]) Hillebrandt, Lieder des Ṛgveda, o.c.

[2]) Cp. also Gobh. G.S. 3, 5, 3 *nājātalomnyo 'pahāsam icchet.*

[3]) See Von Schroeder, W.Z.K.M. 22, p. 228. I refer also to Winternitz, Das altind. Hochzeitsrituell (see n. 6).

[4]) See M. J. Dresden, Mānavagṛhyasūtra, Diss. Utrecht 1941, p. 43.

[5]) Cp. Von Schroeder, W.Z.K.M. 22, p. 224. Śāṅkh. G.Sū. 1, 12, 6 Apālā is called a woman whose marriage was a very happy one, see also Von Schroeder, p. 227.

[6]) See also Winternitz, Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell usw., Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien 40 (1892), p. 43.

we see that the opinion prevails that this sūkta is a monologue of Indra when one day he was drunk after having drunk too much of the soma-juice. "In dem Lied RV. 10, 119 führt uns ein Sänger den trunkenen Indra vor, wie er einen Monolog hält und überlegt, was er machen soll" — "So will ich's machen, nein, so", "ich will die Erde hier, nein, ich will sie dorthin setzen" usw. —, wobei jede Strophe mit dem vielsagenden Refrain endet: "Habe ich denn vom Soma getrunken?" [1]) According to Geldner [2]) this sūkta would be a "Selbstlob des betrunkenen Indra". Hertel [3]) regarded it as a "dramatisches Lied: Selbstgespräch des trunkenen Indra", Keith as "the boast of the drunken Indra" [4]); Renou [5]) remarks: "il s'agit d'un personnage ivre (peut-être Indra?)". Other scholars said rightout that in their opinion the poet wanted to make fun of the god: "Die Krone dieser Verspottungen des Indra aber bildet doch wohl das berühmte Lied 10, 119, in welchem der Gott auftritt, stark von Soma angetrunken, in seligster Geberlaune, zu den tollsten Streichen aufgelegt und mächtig renommierend, wobei der schwer übersetzbare, rülpsartige Refrain (*kuvít sómasyā'pām íti*) den Schlüssel dieser seltsamen Situation liefert" [6]). According to Von Schroeder [7]) the text is a joke, "ein Scherzspiel, ein Scherzmonolog, dazu bestimmt, eine festfrohe (Opfer)-versammlung in heiterer Weise zu ergötzen Es gehörte zum Bestande der Opferfeste (und) bildete nur die künstlerisch vollendete Prägung eines wahrscheinlich uralten Scherzes".

Other authors, however, called the correctness of this wide-spread view in question. Oldenberg [8]) argued that the words *devébhyo havyavā'hanaḥ* (st. 13) are not used in connection with Indra. Another scholar [9]) regarded our sūkta as "ein altes Trinklied, in dem ein vedischer Sänger die begeisternde Wirkung des Somatrankes auf seine eigene Person schildert". Winternitz [10]), however, rightly rejected the idea of a profane drinking-song, since the soma was

[1]) Winternitz, Gesch. der ind. Litt., I, p. 75.
[2]) Geldner, Kommentar, p. 202.
[3]) J. Hertel, W.Z.K.M. 18, p. 152.
[4]) Keith, J.R.A.S. 1911, p. 1004. See also the same author's Religion and Philosophy etc., p. 132.
[5]) Renou, o.c., p. 98.
[6]) Deussen, Allg. Gesch. d. Phil. I, I, p. 99.
[7]) Von Schroeder, Myst. u. Mimus, p. 364 f.
[8]) Oldenberg, Ṛgveda, Noten, I, p. 339; see already A. Ludwig, Der Rigveda 5, p. 488.
[9]) E(ugen) H(ultzsch) (?), Literarisches Zentralblatt 1909, 19.
[10]) Winternitz, W.Z.K.M. 23, p. 114, no. 1.

not a popular intoxicating liquor ; moreover, he says, the stanzas 7—12 cannot have been uttered by a human being. It is a pity that we are not sure about the meaning of the last verse ; if we may translate it by "from my house I go invigorated as Agni to the gods" (*gṛhó yāmy áraṃkṛto devébhyo havyavā'hanaḥ*)—this translation was suggested by my assistant, Miss H. J. de Zwart—this stanza might give us a valuable hint in favour of the opinion of Bergaigne [1]) who held that "le personnage qui décrit les effets du soma sur lui-même n'est autre en réalité que l'auteur même du morceau". Also Vodskov [2]) assumed that the poet describes the experiences of a brahman. The Danish scholar, however, regards the sūkta as ironical : ". . . . den almindelige Drankerlogik og Drankerfantasier, som Rig-Veda selv traeffende og sagkyndigt ironiserer med i 10, 119".

It would appear to me that it is the poet's own drunkenness which is described, not, however, a vulgar state of intoxication, but the ecstasy of a man, who intentionally had drunk a sufficient quantity of soma to intoxicate himself, and who after having reached the state of inebriety experienced a supranormal state of being, a sort of omnipotence and bliss. When we peruse the sūkta, supposing an ecstatic being to be the person who speaks, then, I believe, we do not meet with anything unintelligible. As is well known, the exaltation of the ecstatic confers an extraordinary powerfulness [3]) ; even nature seems to be dominated by him : cf. vs. 9 and 10 of our sūkta. This power may involve destructive rage (cf. vs. 10), extraordinary energy (cf. vs. 9), productive capacity (cf. 10, 5). The ecstatic does not think ; revelation comes to him (cf. vs. 4). It seems as though the whole world were moving within him (cf. vs. 6—8). He does not walk, he soars (cf. vs. 2 ; 3 ; 12), he or his "soul" becomes released from the clog of earth. It is said of ecstatics that they believed they could leave their body as if it was a corpse (cf. vs. 11).

Although I regard the book on ecstasy etc. in Vedic India written by Hauer [4]) as more than once overshooting the mark—his interpretations of the texts are not always convincing, he often tries to read more in them than I should like to do—, it has (after

[1]) A. Bergaigne, La religion védique I (1878), p. 150 f.
[2]) H. S. Vodskov, Sjaeledyrkelse og Naturdyrkelse, I, Rig-Veda og Edda (1897), p. 274, n. ; cp. p. 273.
[3]) See, e.g., Van der Leeuw, Religion, p. 308 f. ; 432 ; 488.
[4]) J. W. Hauer, Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis (1922).

occasional remarks by Oldenberg [1]) and Garbe [2]) been proved that ecstatic practices then existed [3]). In regard with RV. 10, 119 Hauer does not disagree with the view of those scholars who have called it "the drunken Indra" [4]) : RV. 10, 119, das "den Rausch des Indra beschreibt". He adds however : "doch ist ja wohl schon die Beschreibung der Wirkung des Soma auf Indra ein Beweis dafür, daß ihn der Opferer an sich selbst erprobt hatte". I think, a comparison with other texts of the Ṛgveda, where we hear about practices which we may consider as ecstatic, will convince us that it is the ecstatic himself who speaks and who describes his own experiences. To begin with, I refer to RV. 10, 136, the sūkta of the *keśin*, "the long-haired one". It has already been remarked by Oldenberg [5]) that this sūkta describes "das orgiastische Treiben der alten vedischen Welt, noch unveredelt von dem Erlösungsdurst, der die Asketen buddhistischer Zeiten bewegte, noch ganz in die rohen Formen wilden Medizinmännertums gebannt". The medicine-man, the precursor of the doctor, but of the priest also, possesses a power that is superior to himself. In him, when he has attained the state of ecstasy, extraordinary power manifests itself (cf. vs. 6) ; he is filled with the god or possessed (cf. vs. 2 ; 5). Then he can go up into the aether or soar into the atmosphere (cf. vs. 3 ; 4), and his body completely loses its sense of orientation ; it seems as though it is nowhere at all, but is simply hovering in space [6]). He crosses the sea (cf. vs. 5) ; he takes alcohol, opium and other poisons as means of bringing about ecstasy, and these drinks etc. he sublimates into the beverage of the gods (cf. vs. 6) ; he is united with the gods : "in the drunken you can see plainly that there is a link with God" [7]) (cf. vs. 4 ; 5).

Now, in 10, 136 the ecstatic is called a muni. Afterwards a muni is especially an ascetic or a devotee who has taken the vow of silence, but here it is clearly a man who is driven by an (inward) impulse, who is inspired or possessed. This meaning of the word, found also in other Vedic texts, corresponds with that of the

[1]) Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 400 f.
[2]) R. Garbe, Sāṃkhya und Yoga (Grundriß), p. 34 f.
[3]) See also Bender, J.A.O.S., 43, p. 60 f.
[4]) Hauer, o.c., p. 137 f., cf. also p. 143.
[5]) Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 404.
[6]) See Van der Leeuw, Religion, pp. 218 ; 488.
[7]) Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 489.

cognate terms in Greek: *μάντις* "a seer or diviner", *μαίνομαι* "I am beside myself, I rage", *μανία* "inspired frenzy; enthusiasm, madness". RV. 7, 56, 8 the host of the Maruts is compared to a muni: *dhúnir múnir iva* "boisterous as a muni", an expression which may point to ecstatic practices. AV. 7, 74, 1, a text, used by Kauś. 32, 8 in a healing ceremony, mentions "the root of the divine muni": roots are attributes of primitive doctors; compare also RV. 10, 97, 6, where the man to whom the herbs came is called a *vipra* "an inspired and ecstatic man", *bhiṣaj* "a doctor" and "a killer of evil beings and dispeller of disease". The Ait. Br. 6, 33 relates the story of the muni Aitaśa [1]), who saw the life of Agni, about which he began to "chatter" to his sons; one of them, approaching him, seized his mouth, saying: "our father has taken leave of his senses". The muni answered him: "go hence!, you have been a sluggard in spoiling my speech; I was about to make the cow of a hundred (years of) life, man of a thousand (years)" The prattle of Aitaśa [2]) is life, the author adds. So, madness and extraordinary power are characteristics of a muni.

Now, these "hymns", 10, 119 and 10, 136, are to a great extent similar in aim and tendency. In both the sūktas the person speaking soars into the atmosphere, leaving his body behind in both, he is master of space and can dominate nature and do marvellous deeds. That the ecstatic aspired to a higher state of being, to divine existence and immortality, that he hoped to attain supernatural power, the company of the gods etc. etc., and that he considered the soma to be a means of reaching that power and that state of being, is evident from a sufficient number of texts. I refer to RV. 8, 48 which is a glorification of the property of the soma to produce ecstasy. In the first stanza the poet praises the delicious food he has drunk, "meditatively and with the right intelligence", the food which gives him *varivas:* "room, freedom, comfort". In vs. 2 he says: "You have entered us, be unlimited, avert the anger of the gods; o soma, who enjoys the fellowship of Indra, may you increase our wealth" The third stanza is quite clear: "We have drunk soma, we have become immortals, we have attained to the light, we have found the gods. Evil cannot touch us nor can man do us any harm, o you that are im-

[1]) See M. Bloomfield, The Atharva-veda (Grundriß), p. 98.

[2]) The text is found among the 'apocrypha' (khilāni) of the Ṛgveda, see Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda (1906), p. 159 f.

mortal!" In stanzas 4 and 7 the poet asks the soma to prolong his life-time, in 5 he implores the drink to grant him protection [1]). In the sixth verse he asks: "make me brilliant just like fire that has been produced by attrition then being in a state of intoxication I bend my thoughts towards you". 9. "You are the guardian of our body, in every limb you have your seat" 11. "Weakness and disease stand aloof, they fled, the exhausting ones, they have been afraid. The powerful soma entered us: we have come (to the place), where they prolong their life-time (where one prolongs)". Now, the fourth pāda of this stanza appears also in the AV.: 14, 2, 36d, after the verses which the young husband uses to drive off the gandharva who had dominated the bride [2]): ".... we have made the gandharva go up from here; that god has gone to the highest place; we etc." Moreover, it is found Mān. G.S. 2, 7, 5d (where *prataraṃ na āyuḥ*), where it forms part of a stanza used on the creation of the ceremonial sleeping on the ground (pratyavarohaṇa), when the period, in which the snakes are very dangerous, is over. [3]) Besides, the pāda occurs RV. 1, 113, 16d, in a hymn dedicated to Uṣas: "Rise, the living vital spirit has come to (into) us; darkness has gone away, light comes. She made free the way that the sun might come, we have come etc.", "d.h. wo ein neuer Lebensabschnitt, ein neuer Tag beginnt" [4]). In the same way the person who after the period in which the serpents are extremely dangerous lies down again on his usual couch on the soil, and the man who after having driven away the gandharva takes possession of his wife, are said to enter a place or a state in which they "prolong" their life-time; they enter a new phase. So does the man who has drunk soma. The 12th verse reads: "The soma, o Fathers, which has been drunk in our hearts, entered (us who are) mortals, itself being immortal...." 13. "You, o Soma, joining our fathers, have penetrated earth and heaven...." 14 and 15 ask the soma for help and protection.

An important text is also the second part of RV. 9, 113, called by Grassmann [5]) a "Bitte an den Soma um seliges Leben". The following is a translation of stanzas 7—11: "7. Where is

[1]) See also Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, II, Kommentar, p. 126.
[2]) See the remark by Whitney—Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā (1905), p. 760.
[3]) See Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, p. 78; Keith, Religion and Philosophy etc., p. 382.
[4]) Geldner, Der Rigveda, I, p. 136.
[5]) Grassmann, Rig-veda übersetzt etc., II, p. 286.

unexhausted (unextinguishable) light, in the world where the sunlight is placed, put me, o, you that are purified in that world, which is immortal and imperishable. 8. Where is king the son of Vivasvat (i.e. Yama, the king in the realm of the blessed dead), where is the interior of heaven, where are yonder flowing waters, there make me immortal. 9. Where one moves according to one's wishes, in the celestial vault of heaven, where are the luminous worlds, there make me immortal. 10. Where are desire and satisfaction (Wo Wünsch zugleich Erfüllung ist [1])), where is the highest abode (firmament) of the sun, where are welfare and satisfaction, there make me immortal. 11. Where are bliss and delight, joy and pleasure, where the longing for love (pleasure) has been satisfied, there make me immortal." Every stanza of this little text is followed by the pāda *índrāyendo pári srava*, which we know already from RV. 9, 112 and 8, 80. Grassmann struck it out: "Der hier ganz ungehörige Refrain 'dem Indra ström', o Indu (= Soma), zu' ist hier weggelassen". I do not believe, however, that this burden does not fit in with the text [2]): there is an intimate relation between the soma and the ecstatic who drinks it on the one hand, and Indra, the soma-drinking god, on the other. Indra is the friend of the munis: RV. 8, 17, 14 "O Lord of the home, (you are) a firm pillar and an armour for those that dedicate themselves to soma, the juice of the soma is the conqueror of all the castles, Indra is the companion of the munis." Cp. also 8, 58, 7 "When I come with Indra to the highest abode (firmament) of the sun (and) to his home (*úd yád bradhnásya viṣṭápaṃ gṛhám índraś ca gánvahi* [3])), then we may, after having drunk of the soma, stay there together, three times seven (days) in the abode of our companion." The opening stanzas of RV. 5, 30 contain a curious passage: "1. Where is the hero? Who saw Indra with his easily-moving chariot hurrying on with his fallow steeds? He, the bearer of the vajra, who, looking for a man who has expressed the soma, will come, invoked by many to that house with wealth and help. 2. Secretly I looked out for his track [4]), looking for the

[1]) Grassmann, o.c., II, p. 287.

[2]) Hillebrandt, Lieder des Ṛgveda übersetzt (1913), p. 37 adds the translation of the burden to every stanza.

[3]) Grassmann, o.c., I, p. 486 translated: "Wenn zu des lichten Rosses Haus und Stätte Indra geht mit mir".

[4]) "Es handelt sich um das Aufsuchen und Finden der Fährte Indra ist verschwunden und der Sänger von v. 2. berichtet, daß er Fußspuren gesehen und verfolgt habe" (Hillebrandt, Lieder, p. 47, n. 2).

mighty (track ?) of one who planted down his feet (?) [1]). I asked other men, and they said to me : if we are careful, we, men, may come to Indra [2]). 3. During the libation of the soma we will proclaim your deeds, o Indra, ... Here the liberal one comes riding along, leading his whole host." Now, part of these three verses seem to bear upon an invitation addressed to Indra to come to a soma-offering, but the other part makes us suspect that mortal men are going to the god. At all events, it is clear that the men meant in the second stanza yearn for the company of the god and that the soma helps them to attain their aim. RV. 4, 17, 16 and 17, the poet urges Indra to become a companion of himself and his fellows, to be a protector, a visible ally of those that have something to do with soma, to have mercy upon them, to be their friend and father and to give them strength. RV. 10, 43, 1 it is said that all the songs of the poet embrace Indra like women their husbands ; perhaps these words also show the existence of a longing for the company of the god, yearned for by means of ecstatical practices.

So it would appear to me that RV. 10, 119 describes the experiences of the man who has drunk soma and believes he has become a companion of Indra, to be able to do supernatural deeds and to have reached higher life. But is it possible to account for the existence of the view that this sūkta contains a description of Indra himself ? Perhaps. This view is not a modern one, we already find it in the native exegetical works. In his introduction to the sūkta Sāyaṇa says that Indra, drinking the soma *labarūpam āsthāya*, i.e. [3]) in the guise of a quail, was seen (discovered) by the ṛṣis and then praised himself with this sūkta, without doubt to recover his own shape. So, Sāyaṇa adds, Indra in the guise of a quail is the ṛṣi of the "hymn" and at the same time the god to whom it is dedicated. We find the same tale, in a somewhat extended form in the commentary of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya [4]): *Indro hi labarūpam āsthāya somarjīṣaṃ pibann ṛṣibhir dṛṣṭaḥ somasyātipriyatvaṃ svavaibhavaṃ ca vai varṇayann ātmānam anena sūktena stutavān*

[1]) Compare Hillebrandt, l.c., n. 3.

[2]) Translated by Hauer, o.c., p. 120: "Den Indra möchten wir als erleuchtete Männer erreichen".

[3]) According to the usual translation, see e.g. H. Oertel, J.A.O.S. 46 (1926), p. 192.

[4]) See Macdonell, Kātyāyana Sarvānukramaṇī etc., Anecd. Oxon., Aryan Ser. I, 4, p. 161.

itītihāsavidaḥ prāhuḥ, evaṃ ca lābam aindraṃ tataḥ kāyam iti devatānukramaṇīyaṃ saṃgacchati. And Durga gives proof of his being acquainted with this tale: commenting on the Nirukta 7, 13 he says: *labasūkta sa eva labo bravīti.* Now, the anukramaṇī's, the lists containing the "authors" of the sūktas and a brief indication of their contents, inform us that the subject of this "hymn" is *labasyātmastutiḥ* and that the poet who has been inspired with it was *laba aindra; labasyātmastutiḥ* means, of course, "a 'self-praise' of Laba". Besides the Bṛhaddevatā, 10, 40, has: "the sūkta 10, 119 is addressed to Laba". As the "authors" of the sūktas are known in this list by two names, their own and their patronymics: Madhuchandas Vaiśvāmitra etc., it is self-evident to interpret *aindra* as "son of Indra". The derivative *aindra*, though it is especially a patronymic adjective or an adjective of that kind used substantively, may also denote a connection or relation of the most general kind: AV. 5, 8, 2 has *imá aindrā́ atisarā́(ḥ)* "the over-runners (?) of Indra's"; Ait. 6, 4, 3 *aindram śaṃsati* "he recites (a litany) to Indra". So we may assume that the word also denoted "an adorer or follower of Indra" [1]), just like *śaiva-* "an adorer of Śiva", *raudra-* etc. So, as I take it, the interpretation "Laba, who adheres to Indra" does not seem impossible. As a supplemental hypothesis we might suppose that ensuing generations considered the word *aindra-* to be a patronymic. Here the stories about Indra assuming the shape of an animal may have given rise to this reinterpretation: the Jaim. Br. (1, 363) relates that Indra in the guise of a monkey disturbed a sacrifice by snatching away the sacrificial cake. A parallel of this story is the tale which describes the god as drinking, in the shape of a ram, the soma of Medhātithi (Jaim. Br. 2, 79; 3, 233) [2]). According to the Bṛhaddevatā (4, 93 f.) "Indra once desiring praise became a francolin partridge and taking up a position on the right quarter of the seer as he was about to set out, uttered a cry. He recognizing him (Indra) in the form of the bird, praised him with RV. 2, 42 and 43": "das ist natürlich spätere Erfindung" [3]). It has been very properly shown by Hillebrandt [4]) that such metamorphoses are part of Indra's māyā and are expressly

[1]) Cp. Pāṇini, 4, 1, 112; 3, 95.
[2]) See Oertel, l.c.
[3]) Geldner, Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert, I, p. 298.
[4]) Hillebrandt, W.Z.K.M. 13, p. 317.

referred to in passages like RV. 3, 53, 8 ; 6, 47, 18 etc. It might be supposed that *laba* was eventually interpreted as "quail" by a commentator who kept aloof from ecstatical practices and the group of men who devoted themselves to striving after a higher life by means of ecstasy.

Another sūkta, which in my view has been wrongly interpreted by a number of scholars, is RV. 10, 97, an address of a "doctor" to his herbs. To save room I do not translate in full the rather long sūkta [1]). Many a reader of the Ṛgveda has been surprised to see this sūkta, which does not contain a praise addressed to one of the gods, included in the corpus.

Geldner and Kaegi [2]) quoted Roth [3]) : "Das Lied kann als weitere Probe der heiteren Gattung gelten, welche zu unserer Erfrischung da und dort in den Veda Eingang gefunden hat. Der Doktor und Apotheker in einer Person, der freilich als Dichter keine großen Ansprüche machen kann, treibt sein Handwerk nicht ohne Humor. Er macht namentlich kein Hehl daraus, daß nicht Menschenfreundlichkeit vorzugsweise ihn zur Praxis treibe, sondern daß der Gewinn der wesentliche Gesichtspunkt sei (V. 4. 5. 8)" Von Schroeder [4]), who also quoted this passage, agreed with the author of it so far as the pretended humorous character of the sūkta is concerned : the poet "zeigt feinen Humor und eine liebenswürdige, poesiegewürzte Komik." But he regards it as a drama : "Eine Art Soloscherz, — den Mimus eines Medizinmannes, der sich samt seinem Kräuterkästchen in heitrer Weise vor einer Zuschauermenge produziert, die wir uns als erholungs- und erheiterungsbedürftige Festgenossen eines der großen Opferfeste, vermutlich eines recht volkstümlichen Festes, zu denken haben" In his opinion the doctor acting a comical part appears with a man who plays the part of a sick person and a collection of herbs ; he has to entertain the public, dancing and singing the words of this text. "Er tut das in sehr würdiger Form, — und doch ist man versucht, sich des Quacksalbers zu erinnern, der seine Panacee anpreist." I believe the view of Von Schroeder to be wide of the mark [5]). I have not been able to find out anything humorous or

[1]) I refer to the translation by Roth and Von Schroeder, from which I differ in details.
[2]) K. F. Geldner und A. Kaegi, Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda, p. 176.
[3]) Roth, in Z.D.M.G. 25, p. 645.
[4]) Von Schroeder, Mysterium und Mimus, p. 369 ff.
[5]) I refer to Winternitz, W.Z.K.M. 23, p. 115.

comic in the text, though I must admit, of course, the readiness of Von Schroeder to make fun of serious things. To come to a right understanding of the sūkta we must compare some texts of the Atharvaveda, especially 8, 7. I quote a number of stanzas from both the texts: AV. 8, 7, 1: "Those that are brown, and that are white, the red and the spotted, the swarthy and the black herbs all (of them) we address"; RV. 10, 97, 1: "The herbs which are born in former times as the first ones, three periods before the gods, of them that are brown I will remember the 107 *dhāmāni* ("± divine power, authority, divine person, domain etc."). AV. 8, 7, 2: "Let them save this man from the consumption sent by the gods" : RV. 10, 97, 4: ".... may I (with the aid of the herbs) acquire your life, o man", 8 "they wish to save your life, o man." AV. 8, 7, 3: ".... they have made the sinful consumption disappear from every limb"; RV. 10, 97, 10: "The herbs have expelled any defect of the body (or: illness from the body)" and 12: "You drive out consumption from that person, over whose limbs and joints you move on, o herbs". AV. 8, 7, 5: "What power is yours, you powerful ones, (what) heroism and what strength is yours, with them, o herbs, free this man from this consumption; now I make a remedy" (cf. also 10, 14); RV. 10, 97, 7: "That (herb) which possesses the strength of a horse, that which contains soma, the invigorating, the powerful, all (these) herbs I have obtained that he may regain his health". AV. 8, 7, 7: "Let the prudent ones come hither, companions of my word, that we may make this man overcome the difficulty" (cf. also 10, 19): RV. 10, 97, 14: ".... you all, united, help this word of mine!" and 21: "Both those who hear this (word of mine) and those who have gone far away, do you all, plants, come together and give strength to this (man)." AV. 8, 7, 11: "Let the purchased, very powerful plants that are praised save cow, horse, man, beast in this village" (cf. also vs. 15); RV. 10, 97, 20: "The two-footed ones and the four-legged ones of us, may they all be healthy"; 22: "For whom the brahman gets us (wants us), that man we rescue". AV. 8, 7, 13: "However many (may be) these herbs upon earth, let them, thousand-leafed, free me from death, from distress"; RV. 10, 97, 2: "A hundred are your *dhāmāni* (see 1), o mothers, a thousand your 'sproutings', therefore you possess a hundred strengths; make me free from disease" and 15: "Both (the herbs) that bear fruit and those that are without fruit, (the plants) without flowers as well

as those that bear flowers let them release us from distress".

Nobody calls in question the serious character of AV. 8, 7: it is a magical text addressed to the plants, a spell to increase their healing power. In the Kauś. Sū. (26, 33 ; 40 note) it is used in a remedial rite with an amulet made of splinters of ten kinds of trees. Some of the stanzas of RV. 10, 97 are found in other texts of the Atharvaveda : 18 ab corresponds to AV. 6, 96, 1 ab: "The herbs whose king is Soma, numerous, of a hundred-fold wisdom (?, aspect ?)" ; 15 cd to AV. 6, 96, 1 cd ; 16 to AV. 6, 96, 2 and 7, 112, 2. The text AV. 6, 96 is used in a remedial rite against reviling by a Brahman, against dropsy, etc. (Kauś. 31, 22) ; 7, 112 is a spell to release a man from guilt and distress. As for RV. 10, 97, 70: "Let not be harmed who digs you up" compare Kauś. 33, 9a. The only important point in which RV. 10, 97 and AV. 8, 7 are different is the repeated mentioning of the personal interest of the medicine-man. But as to that, I may be allowed to refer to my remarks à propos of RV. 9, 112.

The native tradition has rightly considered this text as a serious one : according to the Bṛhaddevatā (7, 154) RV. 10, 97 is "(in) praise of plants", "in (its) employment this (hymn) of Bhiṣaj is applicable to the cure of consumption". The name of the author, Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa (!), is also related in the Anukramaṇī, which calls the sūkta an *oṣadhistutiḥ*. The Ṛgvidhāna, a text which teaches the magic use of a great number of Ṛgvedic sūktas, has (3, 42, 8—4, 1, 3) : "The blessing RV. 10, 97 one should mutter, firm in one's vows, and worship the herbs continually during six months, always, and, having, in the autumn, worshipped Rudra one should likewise worship the herbs : diseases will not (hurt) him, nor indigestions etc."

There remains one problem with regard to this sūkta : is it possible to account for the fact that it forms part of the Ṛgveda ? We may perhaps attach some value to the fact that the sūkta is quoted in Brāhmaṇas : it has been made use of in the official ritual. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (7, 2, 4) says that, as a part of the ceremonial arranging of the fire-place (Agnicayana [1]) the ground must be ploughed, sprinkled and sowed upon. The text argues explicitly that the pouring out of the water, the sprinkling of the ground aims at the bringing about of rain : 2. ".... jarfuls

[1]) Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, § 83.

of water are (poured out) ; for rain is water : it is rain he thereby bestows on it". Then, § 13 one has to sow all kinds of herbs on the ground. (14) "All herbs means all food ; he thus puts all (kinds of) food into him" Then in § 19 we read : "And, again, why he sows all (kinds of) herb(-seed) ? The gods at that time, being about to consecrate him (Agni-Prajāpati) (and to make him fit to accomplish his task in a perfect way [1])), in the first place healed him by healing medicine ; and in the like manner does this one now (i.e. the man who sows all kinds of seed) : he, too, consecrates him (A.-P.) (and makes him fit to etc.)." In § 25 f. it reads : "he pours out 15 jarfuls of water, he sows with 15 verses taken from the Ṛgveda (i.e. with ṚV. 10, 97, 1—15)". Then two stanzas are quoted and explained. In § 28 it reads : "These verses (that is the two verses just explained and 13 stanzas following) have one and the same explanation with regard to this (A.-P.), how he may heal him, and preserve him." So our magical text has been made a means to heal Agni, to preserve and to consecrate him, and by doing so to make him fit to accomplish his task in a perfect way. And as such the text forms part of the great number of texts used in the Śrauta-rites. Besides, Āśv. Śr. Sū. 4, 9 makes use of our "hymn" in a quite natural way : in a healing or propitiating ceremony, which has to be performed when the consecrated yajamāna falls ill. We may perhaps suppose that the insertion of the text into the tenth book of the Ṛgveda has been caused by its being used in these rites.

A very fine sūkta is RV. 10, 34, the "hymn of the gambler" who, unable to resist the fascination of the dice, deplores the ruin he has brought on himself and his family. This beautiful poem is neither a didactic hymn [2]), nor a "nicht-religiöses Gedicht" [3]), nor a "Mimus" [4]). As to the hypothesis defended by Von Schroeder (who has seen in this sūkta a dramatic monologue, which, accompanied by dances of the personified dice, served as an interlude in the sacrificial rites to remind the spectators of the danger of

[1]) As to this meaning of the verb *saṃskṛ-* see my remarks in : The Meaning of the Word *alaṃkāra* (A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in Honour of F. W. Thomas, 1939, p. 108 ; 111).

[2]) Macdonell, Vedic Reader, pp. XXVI and 186 ; cp. also Bergaigne, Religion védique, III, p. 177 (written by "un véritable poète moraliste").

[3]) Winternitz, Gesch. d. ind. Litt., I, p. 97. See also Renou, o.c., p. 90.

[4]) Von Schroeder, Mysterium und Mimus, p. 377 ff. See also Hertel, Z.D.M.G. 23, p. 331 f.

dicing), we must remark that the ritual is silent about (such a) use. Nowhere does a ritual text give any directions for the performing of the "hymn of the gambler". This silence gives rise to a serious objection, for these texts, as is well known, are very exact and usually go into details: thus, the mimic fight which had to take place during the Mahāvrata [1]) is prescribed in detail by them.

According to native tradition (Bṛhaddevatā 7, 36—37) this sūkta is called "the praise of dice", the 1st, 7th, 9th, 12th stanzas praise the dice, the 13th praises tillage and admonishes the gambler, the other stanzas, however, blame the dice. The Anukramaṇikā, too, calls it an *akṣakṛṣiprāśaṃsā ca, akṣakitavanindā ca.* Von Schroeder [2]) criticizes this tradition: ".... so ist das nicht einmal eine ganz korrekte Inhaltsangabe, denn von einem Preise der Würfel kann doch nicht wohl die Rede sein, wo ihre dämonische Schädlichkeit so eindrucksvoll geschildert wird; und die Ackerbau wird doch nur ganz nebenbei erwähnt". This criticism, however, will not hold. For in keeping with Indian usage the said four stanzas may be called an akṣastuti (Bṛhadd.). Mention of characteristic deeds, commemoration of exploits and qualities, stating of powerfulness, enumeration of names and epithets, all these may be considered as praise. Praise is a "confirmation" of divine power, in the literal sense of the word: a consolidation of the power, of the will, with which man finds himself confronted. "So the Botocudos repeat incessantly: "the chief, he knows no fear". This is neither assertion nor poetry, but a carmen, a confirmation of the chief's power [3])." Many "primitive" peoples regard the praising of their ancestors as a means of influencing their "situation". To praise does not imply that one asks nothing of the god or of the power to which the praise is addressed: on the contrary, his aid and favour are sought. So, in the said stanzas the poet describes the power of the dice: "1. The dangling ones, born high in a windy place make me mad (*mādayanti* 'excite, make mad, gladden') as they roll in the dice-hole. Like the draught of the soma from Mūjavat, the enlivening vibhīdaka has pleased me. 7. The dice are hooked, piercing, deceitful, burning (tormenting) and cause (the gambler) pain (others) they beat back the victors and are sweetened with honey owing to their

[1]) See, e.g. Keith, Religion and Philosophy, p. 351.
[2]) Von Schroeder, o.c., p. 378.
[3]) Van der Leeuw, Religion, p. 430.

magic power over the gambler. 9 though without hands, they overcome one who has hands, etc."

Now, the Ṛgvidhāna has a long description of the magic use of this text (3, 9, 5—10, 3): "One should make fragrant with perfumes three dice coming from the vibhīdaka tree, and, having put them in the open air, strew them with flowers. Then, that night, having put his feet together, he should, standing up, mutter the praise of the dice, and he should, in the night, mutter in thought the first stanza of that hymn (RV. 10, 34, 1). Then, at daybreak, when the sun has risen, while praising (the said text) he should go to the gambling-place. This verse he should mutter constantly: then he will vanquish, not be vanquished by others (cf. RV. 10, 34, 6). He should touch the man he wishes to conquer by the head and mutter the rest of the sūkta (vs. 2—14): then he will vanquish other men, not be vanquished by anybody." So, the "author" of the Ṛgvidhāna regards our text as a magic means to come off victorious in the gambling-place. The sūkta itself does not give us many arguments in favour of the view that it would have always been a text "for success with dice". Perhaps we might gather it from the final stanza: "Pray make friendship, be gracious to us. Do not forcibly bewitch us with magical power. Let your wrath, your enmity now come to rest. Let another now be held in the power of the brown ones." But on the other hand it is possible as well that the gambler does not adjure the dice to bestow their favour upon him, but to release him totally from their magical power. The admonition in the 13th stanza ("play not with dice, apply yourself to tillage"), too, points to the latter alternative. Perhaps we may take another argument from the fact that the three or four "spells" or "prayers" for success in gambling with dice which we find in the Atharvaveda (4, 38, 1—4; 7, 50; 7, 109 and perhaps also 2, 2) are different in character. For, although AV. 7, 109, 1 has "this homage to the formidable brown one" and "may he be gracious to us in such a plight" (cf. 7d), we find in these texts a good many of genuine Atharvanic stanzas and tirades, e.g. AV. 7, 50, 1 "As the thunderbolt always strikes the tree irresistibly, so may I today slay the gamblers irresistibly with the dice", cf. 5 cd; 8 "my winnings in my right hand, victory is placed in my left"; 9 "o you dice, give (me) fruitful play"; 7, 109, 3d "let them (the Apsarases) subject the rival gambler to me", cf. also 4 cd, 6d "may we be

lords of wealth", etc. This sort of spells and magical similes does not form part of RV. 10, 34.

Be that as it may, the serious and religious character of the sūkta is, I believe, beyond doubt and its use in magical rites is shown by the Ṛgvidhāna. That it was meant to be a magical text accompanying a rite by its poet, however, is not to be proved conclusively, but I am inclined to adhere to the opinion expressed by Hillebrandt [1]: "Wie es scheint, dazu bestimmt, die Beschwörung eines Mannes zu begleiten, in den der Würfeldämon gefahren ist."

I do not intend to treat at full length the very difficult sūkta RV. 10, 102, which has been dealt with by several scholars. According to Geldner [2] we have in this text the following story: Mudgala, an old gentleman, begins a chariot-race, although he does not possess a racing-chariot, but has only an ordinary ox-cart. Moreover, he has only one single steer, although two are necessary. Instead of the second ox he puts the yoke upon a block of wood, or a wooden ox (thus Geldner translates the word *drughaṇa-* in vs. 9), which also appears to smash up the competitors. As Mudgala himself is too old to drive, his young and courageous wife, Mudgalānī or Indrasenā, holds the reins; she wins the race. Von Bradke [3], too, regarded the sūkta as a description of a jolly race: according to him it is meant to be a diatribe, a personal satire on the hero and the heroine of this mock-heroic event, on their cart and team, their lucky and unlucky escapades. Von Schroeder [4], again, firmly believed that this text is to be considered as "ein wirkliches Drama", "eine Art Scherzdrama oder Mimus, die Burleske eines Wettrennens mit höchst überraschendem Ausgang, ein Scherzwettrennen oder ein Wettrennscherz, wie man es nennen mag". His view, however, presents difficulties: in the stanzas 2 and 4—11, which are attributed by Von Schroeder to the bystanders and spectators, the verbal ideas are, in general, expressed by forms which denote the historical past: most of them are imperfects that cannot be used except of such facts as have lost their actuality to the speaker. But apart from that, I cannot place any confidence in his construction [5]. While reading the

[1] Hillebrandt, Lieder des Ṛgveda, p. 109.
[2] Geldner, Vedische Studien, II, p. 1 ff.
[3] P. von Bradke, Z.D.M.G. 46, p. 445 ff.
[4] Von Schroeder, Mysterium und Mimus, p. 346 ff.
[5] See also the reviews of this book.

sūkta I have not been able to find "eine ganze Reihe komischer Kontraste, origineller, heiterer, ja grotesker und burlesker Momente".

It is not, as Von Schroeder holds, likely that the subject-matter of this sūkta was invented ad hoc, "dazu bestimmt das Publikum des Rennplatzes bei dem großen Feste zu ergötzen", for the native commentators report an itihāsa which is not unworthy of attention: Yāska (Nir. 9, 23 = 9, 2, 3) informs us that Mudgala, an ṛṣi and son of Bhṛmyaśva, put his bull and a *drughaṇa-* to his cart, took part in the *saṃgrāma* (which in all probability means: "took part in the contest, entered the war") and won the race (*āji*); "to that event the sūkta alludes". The commentator Durga adds a remark about the supernormal power (*aiśvarya*) with which Mudgala drove the *drughaṇa-*. Since the names of Bhṛmyaśva and his son Mudgala, and also the name of Indrasenā (as a daughter-in-law to M.) occur in purāṇic texts [1]), where they are presented to us as members of the royal house of the Pañcālas, we may assume that some legendary fact underlies the information given by the commentators. The subject-matter, in the period in which a real drama existed, was rarely invented ad hoc; the Indian poets preferred the recasting of ancient legendary or mythological matter to free invention of completely new themes. Moreover, the mysterious and much-discussed *drughaṇa-*, which probably cannot be interpreted otherwise than "a wooden mace" [2]), occurs in a magical rite against calumny, discussed in the Kauśika Sūtra (46, 2 and 3): the head of a *drughaṇa-* is tied to the neck of the person who is to be protected; an amulet in the shape of the head of such a mace may have the same protecting purpose. So, I venture to ask with proper reserve: was the *drughaṇa-* in RV. 10, 102 a mascot and was the sūkta a text used as a spell to arrive at the goal of a race or of a chariot-expedition, in spite of impediments of any kind, especially of impediments caused by adversaries (cf. RV. 10, 102, 3; 5)? Bloomfield did not believe that the sūkta gives the description of a race: according to him, the theme is a serious battle or a contest for booty. Referring to his expositions, I add that one of my pupils, who falls in with Bloomfield's views, proposes to interpret

[1]) I refer to F. E. Pargiter, J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 1328 f.

[2]) Cf. also Pāṇini 3, 3, 82: "combined into a compound with *dru-* the word *ghana-* denotes an instrument". See the note by Whitney and Lanman: Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā, p. 408.

the word *gaviṣṭi-* (v. 2) in its original meaning: "the wishing for cows". Now, an argument in favour of this view may be derived from the version of the tale related by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (p. 158): "Mudgala's cattle were stolen by thieves, with the exception of an old bull; having put this animal to one side of his cart, and the *drughaṇa-* to the other, he pursued the thieves leaving it to the *drughaṇa-* to drive the vehicle, and regained the cattle". Moreover, while there are a number of battle-texts in the Atharvaveda, we do not possess a magical "hymn" which might be a close parallel to this sūkta [1]), when regarded as describing a race. On the other hand we may ask [2]), what use there is in the mention of the accident (v. 7), what is the good of the other unusual incidents (the part of the woman etc.), when the theme is a mere battle. So, for these reasons too we may perhaps believe that the text has in view the achievement during a raid under enormous disadvantages.

For want of space I must refrain from dealing with the dānastutis which cannot be considered as secular texts either. With regard to the so-called battle-hymns of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvamitra I cannot adhere to the view expressed by Keith [3]), *viz.* that we can reasonably attribute them to the "some more secular poetry" included in the Ṛgveda. The hymn 7, 83 e.g., of which the verses 4 and 6—8 celebrate the victory of Sudās, is clearly an attempt to put pressure upon Indra and Varuṇa: succour, o gods, in the war which is near at hand as you have assisted Sudās in the former battle. The mention of the successful historical event must make active and incite the powers which are relied upon to bring about a new victory.

Most scholars agree that the collection of the Ṛgveda must have been some time in the making. To the nucleus which is formed by books II—VII other parts were added, finally the 10th book, containing a certain number of a different type besides sūktas of the same kind as those of the other books. Now, many a scholar held that the 10th maṇḍala which also differs, both in linguistic details and metrical form, from the bulk of the saṃhitā, must therefore be of a more recent origin than the rest of the collection.

[1]) The text A.V. 6, 92 (cf. also 19, 25), being a charm to endow a horse with swiftness, is of a different character: it only puts quickness in the horse to win a race.

[2]) When we are not inclined to accept Bloomfield's interpretation in its entirety.

[3]) Keith, The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice, 1924, p. 17.

But it is quite possible that into this maṇḍala were incorporated old material as well as newer texts that contain more recent linguistic forms. However, it is not only possible, but even highly probable that in a part of the 10th book and in a certain number of hymns of the other books we possess remainders of the religious literature of other circles and groups of ancient Indian society than those brahmanical priest-families who concentrated on their own hieratic matter and their own rites. And this different origin may account for at least some of the linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of the text. If my view is right, we see that, besides the "official" brahmanical texts and rites there existed unorthodox, at least unofficial currents, rites and "literature". But we also see that the brahmans at an early period incorporated a number of these texts in their own collection. As early as the period in which the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā was formed the brahmans made it their study to borrow and to bring under their control religious matter that had been the property of groups, "congregations" and individuals which they had thus far considered as outsiders.

THE GAME OF DICE IN ANCIENT INDIA (THE VIBHĪTAKA GAME)

BY K. DE VREESE, DELFT

The game of dice in Ancient India, important as it has notoriously been both in secular and religious life, has already at an early date since the origin of Indology attracted the attention of Indianists. Such distinguished scholars as Roth, Weber, and Bühler *pro virili parte* dealt with the various problems raised by the gambling-scenes as known from literature [1]). In the absence of sufficient positive data, however, no exhaustive study of the subject could be undertaken for a long time. Fresh manuscript materials published meanwhile enabled Lüders in 1907 for the first time to treat the problem of dicing in India in full and to discuss all questions connected with it [2]). As far as the positive outcomes are concerned, the results of Lüders' inquiries supplied by Caland [3]) and Keith [4]) on some points of secondary importance have since been adopted by Indology. Yet, regarding one kind of the games which seem to have been en vogue, *viz.* the vibhītaka game, the eminent German scholar did not get any farther than hypothetical conclusions. Neither Caland nor Held [5]), who was the last to deal with the subject, succeeded in overcoming the existing difficulties in a convincing manner.

Difficult as the problems are which the other modes of gambling

[1]) R. Roth, Über das Würfelspiel bei den Indern, ZDMG. 1848, pp. 122—5; A. Weber, Indische Streifen, Leipzig 1868—79, Vol. I, pp. 274—307; G. Bühler, Report 1877, pp. 8—9; cp. R. Roth, Vom Baum Vibhīdaka, Gurupūjākaumudī (Festschrift Weber), Leipzig 1896, pp. 1—4; G. A. Grierson, Guessing the Number of the vibhītaka Seeds, JRAS. 1904, pp. 355—7.

[2]) H. Lüders, Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien, Abh. d. Kön. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Vol. IX, No. 2, Berlin 1907.

[3]) W. Caland, Zum altindischen Würfelspiel, ZDMG. 1908, pp. 123—8.

[4]) A. B. Keith, The Game of Dice, JRAS. 1908, pp. 823—8.

[5]) G. J. Held, The Mahābhārata, An Ethnological Study, London and Amsterdam 1935, Chapter V: Gambling, pp. 243—293.

offer, they are indeed less complicated than those connected with the vibhītaka game. Though the materials available for the inquiry into their nature are in part scanty, they at least facilitate the solution of the actual difficulties by the fact that they allowed only one method of playing. In the case of the vibhītaka game, on the other hand, two varieties seem to have existed side by side, if not from the very outset, at least for a certain time. This having been misunderstood or overlooked so far has been a source of confusion in endeavouring to unriddle the vibhītaka problem. The principle underlying both varieties of playing is the same for both of them, it is true; yet, the divergences in realizing this principle are of a nature to confuse the issue both concerning the manner of playing and the technical terms used. As the one variety of the vibhītaka game seems to have been exclusively practised in secular use, whereas the other is mentioned in secular as well as in ritual connection, I propose, for the sake of convenience, to call the former the secular vibhītaka game and to apply the term ritual game to the latter, although it was not exclusively played in the ritual. In the present study only the secular game will be treated, the ritual game being reserved for further research.

The vibhītaka game, as is well-known, has been called after the vibhītaka, the fruit of the homonymous tree botanically known as Terminalia Bellerica, which was used as a die [1]). According to Roth's statement the vibhītaka fruit had about the size of a hazel-nut [2]). Besides the natural fruits imitations of wood or even gold seem to have been in use [3]). A rather large quantity of these nuts was necessary to perform the game. Leaving aside the data supplied by the ritual literature, which in this connection are equally applicable to the secular game, the use of a comparatively great number of vibhītakas is to be derived from the Akṣasūkta, in which a large quantity of nuts is alluded to (*yó vaḥ senānī'r maható gaṇásya*) and even the very number used is mentioned (*tripañcāśáḥ krīḷati vrā'ta eṣām*) [4]). Again, a considerable number of vibhītakas is suggested by the Epic, in which it is told

[1]) See Roth, ZDMG. II, p. 123; id. Gurupūjākaumudī, p. 1 ff; Bühler, Report, p. 8 f.; Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 355 ff.; Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.

[2]) That the vibhītaka fruit cannot have been of the size of a nutmeg indirectly follows from the fact, that in playing false a vibhītaka nut was sometimes swallowed by the gambler; cp. below p. 354.

[3]) See Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 827—8.

[4]) Rigveda X, 34, 8 and 12; in the latter verse *tripañcāśaḥ* shows what has been the average quantity used in playing.

that heaps of dice were thrown down by Śakuni in his match against Yudhiṣṭhira: *mahāmāyaḥ Śakuniḥ pārvatīyaḥ sabhāmadhye pravapann akṣapūgān | amāyinaṃ māyayā pratyajaiṣīt* [1]). All data furnished by literature point into the same direction and, even if this were not the case, this conclusion ought to be drawn from the technique of the game which, as will be seen, can only be played with a comparatively large quantity of vibhītaka nuts.

The quantity of vibhītakas mentioned constitutes the stock with which the game is played. In literature it is referred to as *durodara* [2]), a word of uncertain etymology, but the actual meaning of which may be deduced with certainty from the context. Indian tradition as represented by Nīlakaṇṭha, the Amarakośa, the Medinīkośa, and Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṃgraha explains *durodara* by *dyūtakāra* and *paṇa*, if masculine, and by *dyūta*, if neuter [3]). These meanings of *durodara* have been adopted by the Petersburg Dictionary, which added to them a fourth meaning of dice-box [4]). Nīlakaṇṭha, on the other hand, in one passage interprets *durodara* by *pāśa*, a term belonging to the *pāśaka* game [5]). As far as the meaning *dyūta* is concerned, there can be no doubt of the statements of the Indian commentator and the lexicographers; this interpretation is indeed appropriate [6]). As to the rendering *dyūtakāra* and *paṇa*, on the contrary, they are in all probability the result of a misunderstanding due to the fact that the term *durodara* no less than the game in which it figured was obsolete in the time of Nīlakaṇṭha and the lexicographers, whose explanations in this respect are to be judged accordingly. In my opinion in those places where *durodara* has been explained as *dyūtakāra* (*-kārin*, *-kṛt*) by Nīlakaṇṭha and the lexicographers, the meaning "store or heap of dice" should be substituted for it. This inference may be made from several passages of the Epic, with the *naikabhāvatā* of which Nīlakaṇṭha seems not to have been conversant.

[1]) MBh. III, 34, 4; Nīlakaṇṭha: *pūgān samūhān*.

[2]) Alongside of *durodara* the form *darodara* is found; see P.W. s.v.

[3]) Nīlakaṇṭha ad MBh. VII, 130, 20; II, 58, 9; Amarakośa ed. Bombay 1862: 3, 171; Medinīkośa ed. Calcutta: *r* 269; Hemacandra, Anekārthasaṃgraha ed. Calcutta: 4, 257.

[4]) This meaning, however, has been omitted in the concise Petersburg Dictionary.

[5]) Nīlakaṇṭha ad MBh. VIII, 74, 15 quoted by Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note 4.

[6]) See MBh. II, 56, 14; II, 58, 15; II, 61, 1; VII, 122, 7; IX, 11, 5; cp. VII, 133, 4 and VIII, 82, 32.

In MBh. II, 58, 9 it is told how Vidura, when sent by king Dhṛtarāṣṭra to invite Yudhiṣṭhira to a dicing-tournament, winds up his message saying: *durodarā vihitā ye tu tatra mahātmanā Dhṛtarāṣṭreṇa rājñā | tān drakṣyase kitavān saṃniviṣṭān ity āgato 'haṃ, nṛpate, taj juṣasva.* Nīlakaṇṭha, as already observed, explains *durodarā* by *dyūtakārāḥ*, an interpretation presumably affected by his taking *kitavān* in the meaning of *dhūrttān* or *kapaṭinaḥ*, though from the context it is clear that *kitava* is used here in the usual sense of "gambler" without any special pejorative meaning[1]). Roy's translation, too, seems to be based on the equalization of *kitava* with *dhūrtta* and may besides have been brought about by his misunderstanding of the verb *vihitā*, which he translates by "brought hither" [2]). It is obvious that neither the rendering *durodara* by "gambler" nor the interpretation of *kitava* by "cheat" suits the context. Taking the tenor of the whole passage in question into consideration I accordingly hold the view, that the verse should be translated: "The heaps of dice, which have been arranged there by the magnanimous king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, at those thou wilt see the gamblers seated [3]). It is therefore that I have come hither, O king! Be thou pleased with this!" So Vidura concludes his invitation by pointing to the gamblers already seated at the dice and ready to begin the match, at any rate a suitable way to induce Yudhiṣṭhira to comply with the request of king Dhṛtarāṣṭra [4]).

The view put forward above as to the meaning of *durodara*, when masculini generis, is confirmed by another passage of the Epic. In MBh. III, 13, 12—13 Kṛṣṇa declares that, if he had been present at the fatal dicing-match, he would have restrained Śakuni and his pretended friends by force and would have destroyed the *durodaras* there present: *na cet sa mama, rājendra, gṛhṇīyāṃ madhuraṃ vacaḥ | pathyaṃ ca, Bhāratāśreṣṭha, nigṛhṇīyāṃ balena tam || athainam apanītena suhṛdo nāma durhṛdaḥ | sabhāsado 'nuvartteraṃs tāṃś ca hanyāṃ durodarān.* Here again Nilakaṇṭha comments *durodarān dyūtakārān*, though the context does not require a person, but a thing. Just as in the former instance

[1]) Cp. MBh. III, 34, 3: *tan māṃ śaṭhaḥ kitavaḥ pratyadevīt Suyodhanārthaṃ Subalasyaputraḥ*, and Nīlakaṇṭha's comment *kitavo dyūtakāraḥ*.

[2]) The Mahābhārata translated by Protap Chandra Roy, Vol. II, Calcutta 1884, p. 156.

[3]) In the apodosis *teṣu* should be supplied.

[4]) Cp. Roy l.l., whose translation is in keeping neither with the preceding nor with the subsequent verses.

durodara means here the heap of dice, the concrete game, in opposition to *durodara* neutri generis, which denotes the game in an abstract sense. Roy's translation of this verse is likely to be due to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary [1]).

Again, corroborative evidence may be derived from two passages where battle gave rise to a simile with game. In Indian literature, as is well-known, fighting and gambling are not unfrequently compared with one another [2]). In the Epic there was the more reason to suchlike similes, because here battle and dicing were in causal relation to each other. Hence the thought of warfare evokes that of playing, and conversely. So, in MBh. VII, 130, 20 Droṇa compares the army with the *durodara* and the arrows with the dice : *senāṃ durodaraṃ viddhi, śarān akṣān, viṣāmpate | glahaṃ ca Saindhavaṃ rājaṃs ; tatra dyūtasya niścayaḥ.* Once more Nīlakaṇṭha explains *durodara* by "gambler" [3]), an interpretation also adopted by Lüders [4]) and Roy [5]) though in absolute defiance of logic because general as well as gambler remain outside the comparison. It is not the two gamblers, but the two games which are compared with each other. The *tertium comparationis* is lying in the instrumental meaning of both the words *senā* and *durodara :* as with the army a battle is fought, so with the *durodara* a game is played. The idea of the army, the laoí and hómilos of Homer, suggests by itself the notion of the store of vibhītakas, used in playing. The other passage alluded to is MBh. VIII, 74, 15 where Arjuna compares his bow *Gāṇḍīva* with the *durodara*, his battle-car with the dicing-circle, and his arrows with the *glahas* [6]) : *adyāsau Saubalaḥ, Kṛṣṇa, glahāñ jānātu vai śarān | durodaraṃ ca Gāṇḍīvaṃ maṇḍalaṃ ca rathaṃ prati.* The *tertium comparationis* is clear : as is fought with the bow, which provides arrows, so is played with the *durodara* which procures dice. In this place Nīlakaṇṭha, in contrast to his former interpretations, explains

[1]) *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 47: "And, O foremost of kings, if he had rejected my gentle counsels offered as medicine, then, O best of the Bharata race, I would have compelled him by force ; and if those who wait at his court, professing to be his friends but in reality his foes, had supported him, then I would have slain them all, along with those gamblers there present !"

[2]) Cp. J. Huizinga, Homo ludens, Haarlem 1940, Chapter V.

[3]) *Durodaraṃ dyūtakāriṇam.*

[4]) *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

[5]) *Op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 390 : "At present, however, O king, know these combatants for players."

[6]) On the meaning of the term *glaha* see below, p. 7 ff.

durodara by *pāśa*, which is sure to be wrong, as already stated by Lüders who himself renders it by "gambler", but which at the same time reflects the actual meaning, if applied to the vibhītaka game which the famous commentator of the Epic no longer knew [1]).

The real meaning of *durodara* being settled, the question arises what the principle was which ruled the game, and what was the technique in realizing it. Its principle the vibhītaka game shares with the pāśaka and the other games known so far, as may be concluded from a *kārikā* in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali on Pāṇini II, 1, 10 already treated by Lüders [2]) and Keith [3]). From Patañjali's terse explanation so much is clear at least, that before playing the dicers mentioned what they thought that the result of their playing would be, expressed by the word *pūrvokta*. If the event agrees with the *pūrvokta*, it is said *kṛta*, i.e. the *pūrvokta* is realized, and the game is won; if otherwise, the game is said *kali* and lost [4]). From this it follows that the terms *kṛta* and *kali* have not an absolute, but only a relative value. Again, no other terms than *kṛta* and *kali* are found in this connection, which has been overlooked both by Lüders and Caland.

The event of the game being determined by two terms only *a priori* suggests, that it was a matter of odd and even. This surmise, already raised by Bühler [5]), meets with confirmatory support from different sides. From several places indeed it is evident, that one die was the cause of loss. In the Akṣasūkta [6]) the unlucky dicer complains that he drove away his devoted spouse in consequence of one *akṣa* exceeding the *pūrvokta*: *akṣásyāhám ekaparásya hetór ánuvratām ápa jāyā'm arodham*. In the Pāyāsisuttanta of the Dīghanikāya [7]) it is told, how a gambler playing false swallowed each *akṣa* which brought about the loss of his game: *āgatāgataṃ kaliṃ gilati*. As it is added that by acting thus each lost game was converted into victory, the difference between *kṛta* and *kali* must consequently have amounted to one only. Apart

[1]) *Durodara* masculini generis seems to be used metonymically in MBh. II, 60, 8 and V, 2, 10.
[2]) *Op. cit.*, p. 37.
[3]) *Op. cit.*, p. 925.
[4]) Cp. Held, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
[5]) Report, p. 8 f.
[6]) Rigveda X, 34, 2 quoted by Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[7]) Dīghanikāya XXIII, 27 (ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, London 1890—1911, vol. II, p. 348) quoted by Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 62, who gives a different explanation.

from this indirect evidence a more direct datum is furnished by the Epic which in III, 34, 5 positively shows, that the issue of the game was conditioned by the alternative odd or even: *akṣāṃś ca dṛṣṭvā Śakuner yathāvat kāmānukūlan ayujo yujaś ca | śakyaṃ niyantum abhaviṣyat ātmā, manyus tu hanyāt puruṣasya dhairyam* [1]).

Given the alternative *yuj* or *ayuj* on the one side, and *kṛta* or *kali* on the other, the point of issue is what was the procedure by which the *pūrvokta* was realized; i.e. what has been the game proper. To this question the Epic gives an unambiguous answer. In MBh. II, 59, 8 Śakuni, defending himself against Yudhiṣṭhira's remark that gambling is *nikṛti* (ib. śl. 5), mentions the *glaha* as that factor in the game which decides, and on which the result of the game is dependent: *akṣaglahaḥ so 'bhibhavet paraṃ nas, tenaiva doṣo bhavatīha, Pārtha* i.e. "it is the *glaha* of dice which overcomes our adversary; it is this alone, through which fault arises here, O son of Pṛthā! [2])". This remark made by Śakuni clearly shows that the *glaha* was the essential element in the technique of the vibhītaka game. The game is played in *glahas: glahaṃ dīvyāmi Draupadyā* [3]); *eṣa no glaha eva eko vanavāsāya* [4]); *tān glahe sarvān avasthitān* [5]), *mithyāglahe nirjitā vai nṛśaṃsaiḥ* [6]); *imāṃ sabhā-madhye yo vyadevīd glaheṣu* [7]). All these instances prove the *glaha* to be the technical term for the act of playing the vibhītaka game.

As in the case of the word *durodara*, the purport of the term *glaha* may be deduced from those passages, where battle is compared with game, and *vice versa*. In MBh. II, 56, 3 Śakuni, while endeavouring to prevail upon king Dhṛtarāṣṭra to grant permission for a dicing-match with Yudhiṣṭhira, declares: *glahān dhanūṃsi me viddhi, śarān akṣāṃś ca, Bhārata | akṣānāṃ hṛdayam me jyāṃ, ratham viddhi mamāsphuram*, i.e. "Do thou know that the *glahas* are my bows, and the *akṣas* my arrows, O descendant of

[1]) Cp. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 57, who fails to draw this conclusion.

[2]) Wrong is the translation by Roy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 159: "O son of Pṛthā, it is the staking at dice, which may be lost or won, that may injure us; and it is for that reason that gambling is regarded as a fault." Differently Lüders *op. cit.*, p. 27: "Der Wurf ist es, der unsern Gegner besiegt; durch ihn nur entsteht hier ein Über, O Sohn der Pṛthā!"

[3]) MBh. II, 65, 39.

[4]) MBh. II, 76, 22.

[5]) MBh. II, 65, 31.

[6]) MBh. V, 48, 91.

[7]) MBh. II, 71, 5.

Bharata; do thou know that the *akṣahṛdaya* is my bowstring, and the *āsphura* my battle-car!" [1]) Here, consequently, the battle-car is compared with the dicing-place, the bow with the *glaha*, the bow-string with the skill in dicing, and the arrows with the dice themselves. The *tertium comparationis* as to the bow being compared with the glaha is evident: as on the bow depends the quality of the shot, so the quality of the play is dependent on the *glaha* [2]). In MBh. VIII, 74, 15 already quoted above, Arjuna, when comparing his fight against Duryodhana with the dicing-match between Yudhiṣṭhira and Śakuni, equalizes the *glahas* with the arrows, the *durodara* with the bow, and the dicing-circle with the battle-car: *adyāsau Saubalaḥ, Kṛṣṇa, glahāñ jānātu vai śarān | durodaraṃ ca Gāṇḍīvaṃ maṇḍalaṃ ca rathaṃ prati.* Here it is the factor of never missing which prompted the comparison of the *glahas* with the arrows: in the same way as Arjuna's arrows never miss the mark, so the *glahas* unfailingly kill the opponent in gambling [3]).

In addition to the similes discussed above the tenor of *glaha* becomes clear from those places where it is used in a metaphorical sense. So in MBh. VII, 130, 20 Drona says: *senāṃ durodaraṃ viddhi, śarān akṣān, viśāmpate | glahaṃ ca Saindhavaṃ rājaṃs; tatra dyūtasya niścayaḥ*, i.e. "Do thou know, O king, that the army is the *durodara*, the arrows the dice, and the Sindhu-king the *glaha;* the latter it is on which the decision of the game depends [4])." Here, the Sindhu-king Jayadratha, being the general of the army on whom rests the decision of battle, is called the *glaha* on account of its being the determining factor in playing. The same idea is expressed in MBh. VI, 114, 44 where Bhīṣma is called the *glaha* of the Kauravas: *tāvakānāṃ jaye Bhīṣmo glaha āsīd, viśāmpate | tatra hi dyūtam āsaktaṃ vijayāyetarāya vā*, and in MBh. VIII, 87, 31 where Karṇa and Arjuna are said to be the *glahas* of the

[1]) Cp. Roy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 152: "Know, O Bhārata, that betting is my bow, the dice are my arrows, the marks on them my bow-string, and the dice-board my car."

[2]) Nīlakaṇṭha explains *glahān* by *paṇān*, which is to be taken in the meaning of *dyūta;* cp. his comment ad MBh. II, 59, 8: *pāśādhīno glahaḥ paṇo jayaparājayarūpo vyavahāraḥ;* see below p. 9 f. and cp. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[3]) Cp. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and Roy, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 279: "To-day, let the son of Subala, O Krishna, know that my shafts are the dice."

[4]) Cp. Lüders *op. cit.* p. 27, and Roy, *op. cit.* vol. VII, p. 390, who renders *glaha* by "stake".

[5]) Cp. Lüders, *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

two armies: *tāvakānāṃ raṇe Karno glaho hy āsīd, viśāmpate | tathaiva Pāṇḍaveyānāṃ glahaḥ Pārtho 'bhavat tadā || ta eva sabhyās tatrāsan prekṣakāś cābhavan sma te | tatraiṣāṃ glahamānānāṃ dhruvau jayaparājayau || tābhyāṃ dyūtaṃ samāsaktaṃ vijayāyetarāya ca | asmākaṃ Pāṇḍavānāṃ ca sthitānāṃ raṇamūrdhani.*

Linguistic facts added to the above data permit to trace the contents of the term *glaha* more closely. Linguistically speaking the word *glaha* belongs to the root *glah-* which is identical with the root *grah-* "to grasp", whence follows that *glaha* is identical with *graha* "a grasp [1])". Already at an early date the form *glaha* must have been confined to the domain of gambling, as is attested by the figura etymologica *glahaṃ grahati* "prensum prendere" which is only used in the gaming sphere as opposite to *grahaṃ grahati* which occurs as early as the Vedic literature (RV *grābhaṃ grabh-*) in the common meaning "to grasp" [2]). The verb *glah-* alone, too, in the middle form *glahate* [3]), has continued to exist as a technical term in gambling, besides its nomen actionis *glahana* [4]). In later times a compound *glahīkaroti* is found [5]). In the same way as *graha* may be used as the member of a compound, e.g. *soma-graha*, so *glaha* is composed with *akṣa* in *akṣa-glaha* "grasp of dice". Side by side are used in different sphere: *grah-, grahati* or *-te, graha, grahaṇa*, and *glah-, glahati* or *-te, glaha*, and *glahana*. The meaning of both of them is "to grasp, a grasp, grasping", but the second series has at an early time been limited to the province of gambling to express the act of grasping in a technical sense. The verb *glahate* used with the accusative *akṣān* still betrays its original meaning [6]). Soon, however, this idiom was affected by the semasiologically cognate and more general *dīvyati* [7]).

The connection of *glaha* and *graha* being lost, on the one hand, and the vibhītaka game having passed out of use in the course of time, on the other, made the word *glaha* to be understood neither by Nīlakaṇṭha nor by the lexicographers. Nīlakaṇṭha and the Amarakośa, it is true, explain *glaha* by *paṇa* in the meaning of

[1]) See Pāṇini III, 3, 70, and cp. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and Caland, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
[2]) See P.W. s.v. *gra(b)h-* and *grabha*.
[3]) The active form is found in MBh. II, 71, 18: *aglahiṣyat*.
[4]) See P.W. and Schmidt Nachträge, s.v.
[5]) Haravijaya, ed. Kāvyamālā no. 22: 2, 63 according to Schmidt, Nachträge, p. 174.
[6]) MBh. VII, 130, 18—19.
[7]) MBh. II, 61, 1; II, 71, 18.

dyūta in a narrower sense [1]); their rendering, however, does not shed any light on the actual contents of the word as a technical term of the vibhītaka game [2]). Lüders' interpretation of the word, though based on the identity of *glaha* and *graha*, cannot be considered as altogether satisfactory [3]). Caland, again, was nearer to the truth when drawing the vedic *vicinoti* into the question, but failed to elaborate his view [4]). The meanings given by the Petersburg Dictionary, finally, are for the most part erroneous owing to a misunderstanding both of the texts where it is found and the explanations by Nīlakaṇṭha and the Amarakośa. Roy's translations of *glaha* are equally due to a misinterpretation of Indian tradition. When, however, we combine the conclusions drawn from the textual and linguistic materials as discussed above with those which may be derived from the commentative and lexicographical data, insufficient as they are, the result cannot be doubtful. The *glaha* is the grasp made by the gambler from the *durodara* and subsequently thrown down [5]) upon the *adhidevana* [6]) to be counted [7]). If the number of dice grasped proves to be odd or even in agreement with the *pūrvokta*, the game is won; if not, it is lost. As a rule the game is played in more *glahas*, as is the case in the first match between Yudhiṣṭhira and Śakuni which consisted of twenty *glahas* [8]); in special cases, however, one *glaha* is agreed upon, as in the second dicing-scene of the Epic [9]).

[1]) Nīlakaṇṭha ad M.Bh. II, 56, 3 : *glahān paṇān;* II, 59, 8 : *akṣaglaha iti pāśādhīno glahaḥ paṇo jayaparājayarūpo vyavahārah;* II, 65, 31 : *glahe paṇaviṣaye;* II, 76, 22 : *eṣa no glaha evaiko vanavāsāya : saṃprati eka eva paṇa ity āha eṣa iti;* II, 76, 24 : *pratijagrāha taṃ Pārtho glaham : aṅgīcakāra;* Amarakośa ed. Bombay 1862 : 2, 45 *dyūto 'striyām akṣavatī kaitavaṃ paṇa ity api | paṇo 'kṣeṣu glaho*, wrongly explained by the scholiast as follows : *paṇaḥ, glahaḥ iti dve dyūtajaye yad bhāṣabandhena grāhyam tasya;* cp. for the latter meaning of *paṇa* ibid. 3, 46.

[2]) There is one instance of Nīlakaṇṭha giving of *glaha* a technical explanation, *viz.* MBh. II, 76, 24 *glahaṃ jagrāha Saubalaḥ; pāśaṃ pātitavān;* as, however, Nīlakaṇṭha in commenting the terms of gambling always has in mind the pāśaka game, this datum possesses only an indirect value.

[3]) See Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 26 ff.

[4]) Caland, *op. cit.*, p. 127; I agree with Caland that *vicinoti* means "sondern, ausscheiden", but I doubt whether it is to be considered as a technical term which is identical with *glahate;* cp. Atharva Veda IV, 38, 2 quoted below.

[5]) In this connection the verb *kṣip-* is used, *e.g.* M.Bh. II, 56, 3.

[6]) On the *adhidevana* see Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff.

[7]) It is this counting of the dice probably which is alluded to in Atharva Veda IV, 16, 5 *sáṁkhyātā asya nimiṣo jánānām, akṣán iva śvaghnī ní minoti táni;* cp. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[8]) See MBh. II, 59—65.

[9]) MBh. II, 76.

In order to complete the scheme of the procedure when playing, it is necessary to discuss the question whether the dicers took turns in making the *glaha* or not. The visualization of the game as given by the Epic is in this respect anything but clear. Lüders assumes that they played alternately, but does not adduce sufficient evidence of his view [1]). Caland, on the other hand, supposes that the rôle of one of the players was merely passive [2]). There is, indeed, no denying that the available data on this point are rare; yet, there is, I think, sufficient evidence to show that each dicer made a *glaha* in turn. This conclusion, already suggested by MBh. VII, 130, 18 *iha no glahamānānām adya tāvaj jayājayau*, and VIII, 87, 32 *tatraiṣāṃ glahamānānāṃ dhruvau jayaparājayau*, is to be drawn from MBh. II, 61, 1 *Śakune, hanta, dīvyāmo glahamānāḥ parasparam;* II, 76, 24 *pratijagrāha taṃ Pārtho glahaṃ, jagrāha Saubalaḥ;* V, 2, 9 *sa dīvyamānaḥ pratidīvya cainam* [3]); V, 2, 11 *sa dīvyamānaḥ pratidevanena akṣeṣu nityaṃ tu parānmukheṣu;* II, 60, 7 *yena māṃ tvaṃ, maharāja, dhanena pratidīvyase;* II, 65, 14 *pratyadīvyata* [4]). Indirectly it may be inferred from the Nalopākhyāna which represents the performing of the *glaha* as conditioned by *saṃkhyāna;* however false this may be in itself, as will be seen below, yet it is not to be overlooked as it presupposes that they played by turns, since otherwise such skill in counting would have served no useful purpose and, accordingly, would not have given rise to the theory suggested there [5]).

When proceeding now to outline the course of the vibhītaka game according to the data treated above, we get the following figure. After the *sabhā*, should there be one, has been prepared, and both the *dyūtamaṇḍala* and *adhidevana*, already fully described by Lüders [6]), have been made, the vibhītakas are strewn down from the *akṣāvapana*, the *pātra* to preserve the dice [7]). They constitute the stock to be played with, the *durodara*. Now both the

[1]) *Op. cit.*, p. 60.
[1]) *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
[3]) Ed. Calcutta v. l. *pratidīvyad enam.*
[4]) I agree with Caland (*op. cit.*, p. 127) that from *pratyadīvyata* it does not follow as a matter of course that there was played alternately, as it may simply denote the participating in the game in a passive way; considered, however, in connection with the other places quoted, there can be no doubt that the act of playing itself is meant.
[5]) See Nalopākhyāna XX (MBh. III, 72); cp. below p. 12 f.
[6]) *Op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.
[7]) See Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

dicers take their seat face to face, arrangements are made with regard to the number of *glahas*, the stake and individual wishes [1]), and the match begins. Supposing that A is the first to play, two cases are possible : if his *glaha* is right, the game is won and finished, and a fresh game is played ; if, however, his *glaha* is wrong, the game continues and it is the turn of B to make a *glaha* from the *durodara;* if B's *glaha* is correct, the game is over and another game is started, but if his *glaha* proves to be wrong, it is the turn of A again and so on. In the case that A is the first to play and wins, and consequently another game is played, it is B who is the first to make a *glaha* and so on. Accordingly, in the special case that a match of one *glaha* only is agreed upon and A wins, the rôle of B is of a merely passive nature. From the available data it is not clear what is done with the dice after they have been thrown down upon the *adhidevana* and counted ; from the explanation given by the Saṃkṣiptasāra *dyūtakale yatrākṣaḥ prakṣipyante tad akṣāvapanam* [2]) it may perhaps be inferred that they were once more put into the *akṣāvapana*.

As stated above and expressed in the verse already quoted *akṣa-glahaḥ so 'bhibhavet paraṃ nas | tenaiva doṣo bhavatīha, Pārtha* it is the *glaha* which constitutes the determining factor of the vibhītaka game. Accordingly, the question may be posed in how far the vibhītaka game was a game of chance or not, and if so, how far it was conditioned by human computation. In this connection attention has been called to the dicing-match of the Nalopākhyāna. In this famous episode of the Epic, as is well-known, it is told how king Nala being possessed by the evil genious Kali, continuously lost against his brother Puṣkara [3]) but won as soon as he had received the *akṣahṛdaya* from king Ṛtuparṇa [4]). From the context it is clear that by *akṣahṛdaya* is meant the ability to add up in a moment a greater quantity of things. This has induced Lüders [5]) and Caland [6]) to believe that the vibhītaka game was a mere matter of counting. Tempting as this conclusion may be, yet it cannot be right. It is true that in the Nalopākhyāna the

[1]) In this connection the word *samaya* is found : MBh. II, 57, 4 *akṣān uptvā devanasya samayo 'stu, Yudhiṣṭhira;* cp. *vyavasāya* in MBh. II, 76, 15 and 23.
[2]) According to Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[3]) Nalopākhyāna, chapt. VII (MBh. III, 59).
[4]) Ibid. chapt. XXVI (MBh. III, 78).
[5]) *Op. cit.*, p. 57 f.
[6]) *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

saṃkhyāna is represented as a means to influence the event of playing. This cannot be called in question. But what is wrong, is that from this datum no deduction at all can be derived as to the real game. The version of the facts as told in the Nalopākhyāna is sure to have been affected by idealizing motives not unknown in suchlike tales, and has possibly come into existence under the influence of the story of king Rtuparṇa whose skill in counting may have been based on reality as Grierson has endeavoured to show [1]). It hardly needs saying, that it is absolutely impossible humanly speaking to count in a moment the number of dice while making the *glaha*. In the most favourable case, given always the same *durodara*, a certain routine gained in the course of time might have made it possible to make every time the *glaha* wished for, though in that case it is no longer a matter of counting as meant in the Nalopākhyāna. Consequently there remains only the factor of hazard which alone, I think, made the game so attractive to the gamblers.

That the vibhītaka game was indeed a game of chance is actually attested by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on MBh. II 59, 8 *akṣaglahaḥ so 'bhibhavet paraṃ nas | tenaiva doṣo bhavatīha, Pārtha.* In explaining the latter *pāda* of this verse Nīlakaṇṭha remarks: *na tv atra svecchayā kapaṭaṃ karttuṃ śakyaṃ daivādhīnatvād akṣapātasyety arthaḥ.* Though Nīlakaṇṭha, in commenting the verse in question, had in mind the pāśaka game as usually, as appears from *akṣapātasya* and from his explanation *akṣaglaha iti pāśādhīno glahaḥ* in the preceding *pāda*, yet his interpretation preserves its full value as far as the principle is concerned which both the vibhītaka and pāśaka game have in common.

The hazardous character of the vibhītaka game may finally indirectly be inferred from the fact, that magic powers were thought to be active in it. According to the Atharva Veda IV, 38, 1-3 [2]) victory in gambling is ascribed to the interference of the apsarā, who is consequently invoked to grant success by her *māyā: udbhindatī'm saṃjáyantīm apsarā'ṃ sādhudevínīm | gláhe kṛtā'ni kṛṇvānā'm, apsarā'ṃ tā'm ihá huve* (1) *vicinvatī'm ākirántīm apsarā'ṃ sādhudevínīm | gláhe kṛtā'ni gṛhṇānā'm, apsarā'ṃ tā'm ihá huve* (2) *yā'yaiḥ parinṛtyaty ādádānā kṛtáṃ gláhāt | sā' naḥ kṛtā'ni sīṣatī' prahā'm*

[1]) *Op. cit.*, p. 355 ff.
[2]) Atharva Veda Saṃhitā, herausgegeben von R. Roth und W. D. Whitney; Zweite verbesserte Auflage besorgt von Dr. M. Lindenau, Berlin 1925, p. 74.

āpnotu māyáyā | sā' naḥ páyasvaty aítu mā' no jaiṣur idám dhanám (3). Here the *apsarā* is represented as a power which grants or denies victory or takes it away. It is the *apsarā* who makes the *kṛta* in the *glaha* (*gláhe kṛtā'ni kṛṇvānā'm*), who grasps the *kṛta* in the *glaha* (*gláhe kṛtā'ni gṛhṇānā'm*), and who takes the *kṛta* away from the *glaha* (*ādádanā kṛtaṃ gláhāt*) [1]). This utterance by the praying gambler leaves no doubt as to the true nature of the game.

On comparing the vibhītaka game with the pāśaka game, which has been so lucidly analysed by Lüders [2]), the relation between both of them becomes clear. In the vibhītaka game a *glaha* is made from the stock of dice, conditioned by its agreement with the *pūrvokta* and based on the principle of odd or even ; after the *glaha* has been made, the dice are cast upon the *adhidevana* and counted over. In the pāśaka game, on the other hand, the *durodara* is replaced by three marked rectangular and quadrilateral prismas which are thrown up as in modern dicing ; after they have fallen down, the sides turned upwards are counted ; if the number of dice counted is in agreement with the *pūrvokta*, the game is *kṛta* and won ; if not, it is *kali* and lost. In the vibhītaka game stress lies on the act of grasping, in the pāśaka game on the act of casting. However different, accordingly, both of the games may seem, yet the connection between them is sufficiently palpable : in the pāśaka game the original large number of dice has been substituted by a small number of dice upon the sides of which a certain number of eyes have been marked : symbols have in part been substituted for the concrete vibhītakas. The priority of the vibhītaka game as compared with the pāśaka game may hence be concluded. This conclusion is not affected by the fact, that in Mohenjo-daro dice have been found resembling the *akṣa* of the pāśaka game, since the culture of Mohenjo-daro represents a wholly other stage of civilization [3]).

The secular vibhītaka game is determined by two factors only, viz. *kṛta* and *kali*. The terms *tretā* and *dvāpara*, so well-known from literature both as names of special *glahas* and special *yugas*, are not in place in the secular vibhītaka game, but belong to the other variety of the game already referred to.

[1]) In my opinion the reading *ādadānā* should not be altered into *ādadhānā*, as proposed by Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 48 referring to the reading of Sāyaṇa and one MS.

[2]) *Op. cit.*, p. 4 ff.

[3]) See E. Mackay, The Indus Civilization, London 1935 : Chapter VII, p. 179.

ṚGVEDA X, 95. PURŪRAVAS AND URVAŚĪ

BY H. J. DE ZWART, UTRECHT

Literature: Geldner, Vedische Studien I, 243. Windisch, Vhdl. der 33. Philol. Vers. 28. H. Oldenberg, Z.D.M.G. 39, 72; G.G.A. 1890, 420; 1909, 68; Ṛgveda-commentary. Bergaigne, 2, 92. Hertel, W.Z.K.M. 18, 148; 23, 287; 346; 25, 182. Arnold, Pop. Studies in Mythology etc. (London 1900). Bhagavat, Key to interpret the Veda. Ludwig, Über Methode 35; S.B.B.G.W. 1897 XX; 1909 X; 1899 IV. Z.D.M.G. 40, 715. Winternitz, W.Z.K.M. 23, 120. Keith, J.R.A.S. 1911, 990; 1913, 412. Hertel, I.F. 31, 131. Geldner, Commentary. v. Schroeder, Mysterium und Mythus im Ṛgveda. Hillebrandt, Lieder des Ṛgveda, Göttingen 1913. Renou, Hymnes du Ṛgveda.

The dialogue-hymn RV X 95 has been discussed very often already, but, in spite of our understanding of the text which has in many respects undoubtedly improved, the explanation cannot be considered as definitive. The interpretation of this hymn being often dependent on the conception one has with regard to the situation as a whole, the qualities of the characters, the nature of the hymn and the relation to the later versions, I will make some remarks concerning these questions before giving a commentary upon the text.

Oldenberg's Ākhyāna-hypothesis, which appears to me to be sufficiently refuted by Hertel (W.Z.K.M. 23, 273) surely relieves the interpreter, by the supposition of connecting prose, of the obligation to look for a proper connection between the stanzas, but in this case appears not only to be without any justification, but even a misappreciation of the artistic conception and an impediment for a right understanding of the dialogue, where the verses succeed one another so strictly, often taking up words of the preceding sentence, where the situation remains the same, and where the text never suggests a pause. For the same reason I

reject Geldner's and Hertel's idea, viz. to consider several lines as describing itihāsa-verse, spoken by the narrator. There may have been an introduction in prose, although it is just as well possible that the myth was known well enough to make the scene clear without further explications. The question of ritual application, which can be discussed in hypothetical terms only (cf. von Schroeder, M. und M.) and that of supposed dramatic performance, concerning which I share Hertel's opinions, I do not deal with here.

Further, with most of the interpreters, I share the opinion that the later versions undoubtedly have preserved the kernel of the Ṛgveda-story—the essential traits are recognizable in all versions, and without these Ṛgveda X, 95, especially lines 3—5, is unintelligible.

Finally some remarks about the characters. I refuse to impute to Urvaśī that trait of cruelty, nay, sadism, which is ascribed to her generally (with the exception of Hertel) ; as will appear from my translation, the Ṛgveda-hymn is very well comprehensible without this trait, and in the later versions nothing points in this direction—on the contrary, there are several (Śat. Br., Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu Pūr.—and especially Kathāsarits. and, of course, Kālidāsa) which clearly show her pity and unchanged love for Purūravas. The fact of her leaving Purūravas is inevitable and is neither his fault nor hers ; I fully agree with Geldner who points out (Ved. Stud. II, 272) that the earthly mission of an Apsaras is brought to an end by her pregnancy ; the ruse of the Gandharvas, then, is only the inducement, not the deeper motive of her departure. It is certainly true that, in contrast with Purūravas, who speaks agitatedly, interrupts himself and is much confused, she keeps to plain reasoning ; the lines spoken by her are of a much simpler construction than those of Purūravas ; often the four parts of a stanza are four complete short sentences. But, to me, her words make an impression of being calm and wise rather than cold and indifferent.

The course of the dialogue I see, after my interpretation of the text, as follows :

P. asks U. for an interview (1).

U. declares this to be useless, she has disappeared for ever (2).

P. : "A cowardly ruse made me loose you (3) ; you were happy with me" (4).

U.: "Yes, in everything I followed your will" (5).
P.: "(And nevertheless you've left me?) Alas, it's true, the other Apsaras, too, first came to me (6) and then fled away again" (8).
U.: "They came to you out of curiosity, for they will look after your son (7); their flight was nothing but coquetry" (9).
P.: "U., stay with me for a long time; I, a man of noble birth, have begotten a child by you" (10).
U.: "You surely are of noble birth and have begotten a child by me—but I cannot stay" (11).
P.: "And our son, would not he cry for his father?" (12).
U.: "If he does, I will tell you so and send him to you" (13).
P. threatens to commit suicide (14).
U.: "No woman is worth that a man should do such a thing because of her (15). Be satisfied with the four years you've had me, as I'm satiated with the food I've taken on the earth" (16).
P. tries a last entreaty to U. (17).
U. refuses this, but consoles him with the prospect of heaven (18).

Commentary.

1) *haye jāye:* here I follow Geldner (Ved. St.). Ludwig, Z.D.M.G. 40 (1886) 715 thinks that, where *tiṣṭha ghore* must be parenthesis because of the accent, *manasā* must be combined with *jāye*, and consequently translates: "Ich komme zur Besinnung", with which many later authors agree (e.g. Hertel, Hillebrandt, Renou). That *jāye manasā* could possibly have this meaning seems to me highly improbable; on the other hand, *manasā* taken with the following *vacāṃsi...kṛṇavāvahai*, in spite of the parenthesis, is very well explainable. In none of the different versions of the story (see Geldner, Ved. Stud.) Purūravas is said to be demented, let alone that he comes to his senses again when meeting Urvaśī. Expressed is only that he "rambles about as if mad" and (Śat. Br.), that he is *ādhyā jalpan*. And, to my thinking, at the beginning of this dialogue he certainly does not recover his senses, but still is *ādhyā jalpan*—in stanza 1) he interrupts himself, in lively painted nervousness: "O my wife, reasonably—stay, you cruel woman: —we must speak to one another," just as he does in stanza 10).

Na mayas karan again with great liveliness, negation ahead: positive notion + negation = the opposite of that notion: no

joy = sorrow; "if we do not speak these words now, they would not bring us joy—i.e. we'll be sorry". That *mantrā ete* could be said with regard to earlier words that have not been mentioned seems to me improbable, and so I translate *paratare ahan* with "in the future" and not with "formerly".

2) *Kim etā vācā kṛṇavā tavāham.* "Why should *I* speak such words to *you*?"; for the following reasons I prefer this translation to that which is always given: "What am I to do with these your words?"

a) *Etā vācā* evidently takes up *mantrā ete*, and consequently does not refer to P.'s words, but to the proposed interview.

b) *Tavāham* is placed with great emphasis at the end of the sentence as a strong contrast: I, the Apsaras to you, a mortal man, a contrast which is not shown to full advantage in the other translation.

3) In 3) a/b I would not take *na* as a particle of comparison, by which conception this line is commonly seen as two further comparisons, picturing U.'s disappearance, uttered by P.; but with Hillebrandt (who follows Sāyaṇa) as a negation. However, it appears to me that 3) a/b ought not to be connected, as H. does, with 2) c/d, but with 3) c/d, and should be translated: "The arrow, the weapon of the quiver, was not of any use to me nor....; (for) in an *avīra*, unmanly (against which nothing could be done by a man) design...." So the sharp separation between 3) a/b and 3) c/d is avoided. Moreover, a striking feature in this dialogue is that almost all stanzas we may ascribe with certainty to U. join in very precisely to the phrases spoken by P. (often even with repetition of one or more of P.'s words, so in stanzas 2, 5, 9, 13, 15); P., however, does not answer her, does not debate, but as it were follows the jumping-about drift of his own excited thoughts. Therefore, I think it improbable that here he instantly should amplify U.'s words (thus admitting that she is *durāpanā;* and that while his aim is to win her back!). Oldenbergs explanation (commentary), followed by none of the other interpreters, namely that stanza 3) should be ascribed to U., whereby he translates: "Wie ein Pfeil etc. bin ich aufgeblitzt angesichts deines *avīra kratu*" does not fit into the situation as we must imagine it on the ground of the later versions, above all the Śat. Br.; that such an integral trait of the story as the requirement that P. may not show himself naked to her, and the ruse of the Gandharvas through which

nevertheless this happens should be a later addition, or should have originated from a wrong interpretation of the Ṛgveda-passage is a supposition which, if anyhow possible, should be avoided.

6) What is the meaning of this stanza? Most interpreters consider it as a depiction of the flight of the other Apsaras from P., when he meets them on his wandering (Geldner as itihāsa-verse, Hillebrandt as allocution of P. to the Apsaras); they then translate *sasruḥ* with "zerliefen, liefen fort". Von Schroeder takes it as a reminder of P. of his first meeting with U., where the other Apsaras, too, were present, and gives for *sasruḥ* the translation "reisen", in the remark: "dahergeflogen kommen". Oldenberg considers this stanza as a question of P., whither formerly the other Apsaras have gone, together with the disappearance of U., "die A., die so schnell einhereilten — wo sind die geblieben?", and thus translates: "einhereilen". In all these translations the connection with the following stanza of U. is anything but clear; that is why Geldner supposes a gap in the context; v. Schroeder transposes stanza 7); Hertel ascribes stanza 6) to U., and sees the course of events as follows: U. (6): the (other) Apsaras fled from you; (7) I (on the contrary) even am with child by you. In itself this is plausible enough, but, in my view, it cannot be inferred from the Sanskrit text. Hillebrandt thinks of connecting prose. Even assuming the possibility of the presence thereof in this hymn, I do not think it probable just between these stanzas, because, by Hillebrandts interpretation, the context only becomes clear if one supposes that a very important phrase of P., e.g. a question about his son, should have been communicated in prose, and not a depiction of the situation, change of the scene or something like that.

I prefer to consider this stanza as a question of P., why the Apsaras showed themselves to him just now, and then fled from him again; at the same time a comparison with U., who first came to him, and after four years left him again; and thus translate *sasruḥ* with "streamed, swum (to me)". With stanza 7) U. then answers: they were curious about you, they knew about my relation to you, "they will be present at the birth of your son".

7) It is, in my opinion, impossible to consider *āsate* as a past tense, because *asmin* is then unexplainable; when Āyu is born already, the expression *asmin* is wholly unintelligible, unless he

is present, of which there is no indication. When, however, he is not yet born, U. can say *asmin* with a gesture to her womb.

8) P. does not react on the preceding stanza, which nevertheless contains the announcement of his future fatherhood; here lies a difficulty, hence the supposition of a gap in the context (Geldner, Ved. Stud.), of connecting prose (Hillebrandt) or transposition of the preceding stanza (v. Schroeder). One could think that P. does not react because he knows already, but this conflicts with all later versions of the story, nor is anything pointing in this direction to be found in the Ṛgveda-hymn itself. In my view this, again, is an example (if a very strong one) of P.'s scarcely listening to U. during the whole dialogue, and how, in great confusion, he follows the drift of his own thoughts. But, in fact, he has heard it, as turns out later on. Moreover, the whole interview shows clearly that his son does not mean very much to him now—he wants to win back U.; when he mentions his son he does so as an argument to get her back.

tarasantī na bhujyus. Sāyaṇa gives the gloss *mṛgī*, but, as Oldenberg remarks, this is a guess. *tarasantī*, in connection with the following *atrasan*, very probably means "shy, skittish" (see Oldenberg). But when Oldenberg then sees in *bhujyus* "vielleicht ein Natter", that, too, is a guess. With regard to the following stanza of U., where she seems to take up both comparisons of P., in opposition to *rathaspṛśo aśvās* the *krīḷayo aśvāso*, in opposition to *tarasantī bhujyus* the *ātayo* that brush up their feathers, I would see in *bhujyus* a swan that, after his neck, is called "flexible". A swan also is called *cakra*, after his curved neck; Homer has **δολιχόδειρος**. For the omission of the substantive, compare *hari* for "lion"; *Śiva* is spoken of as "the blue".

10) In connection with stanza 11), where U. says that P. vainly tries to persuade her, I think it right to consider stanza 10) as a wish of P. that U. may stay with him for a long time: "may U. live long bringing me the pleasures of love", "may U. during a long time of her life bring me the pleasures of love", whereby he interrupts himself with: *janiṣṭo apo naryaḥ sujātaḥ*, most interpreters translate here: "may a noble son be born from the water". I prefer to translate: "a man of noble birth (in stanza 14, too, P. speaks of himself in the 3rd person, there with *sudevo*) has begotten a son (*janiṣṭo* absolutely) by the water (*apo*, abl. sg., U.? or in a gynaecologic sense?; *āpaḥ*, however, often means female deities). By

this translation the connection with the following verse is clear. To P.'s *naryaḥ sujātaḥ*, U. assents with *jajñiṣe gopīthyāya*, to P.'s *janiṣṭo apo* with *dadhātha ma ojaḥ*, and with 11) e/d she says that his wish, expressed in 10) a/b is impossible, because he has not listened to her.

11) *dadātha ma ojaḥ:* with Sāyaṇa : you have given your virile strength (*apatyotpādanasāmarthyam*) to me.

12), 13) *cakraṃ na* in stanza 12) and 13) has created many difficulties. In the first place I do not think it probable that *na* should figure as a comparative particle in 12) and in 13) as a negation. *Cakran* most probably has to be explained in connection with the root *krand: cakrat* a nomen with intensive-reduplication. Perhaps one may see herein the bird that later on is called *cakra* or *cakravāka ?* Cf the greek **ὄλολυς**, also with reduplication. In that case the first *cakraṃ na* is an incomplete comparison : "whining (moaning) like a *c.*". U., who continually expresses herself much more distinctly than P., completes the metaphor : *cakran na krandad.* When *na* is considered as a comparative particle, I think it impossible to take *vartayate* as dat. part., as generally is done so far ; I therefore take it as 3rd pers. sing. praes, and *krandad* as nom. sing. part. *Prati bravāṇi*, then, stands alone, and the rest of the stanza is the object : "I will impart to you : he (the child) sheds tears...." This translation further has the advantage of the complete parallelism between *prati bravāṇi* and *hinavā.*

16) This stanza commonly is considered as a derision of P. by U. ; Oldenberg calls it "wenig erheblig", even speaks of sadism, and suggests the possibility of a refusal of offered food, that might be mentioned in the ākhyāna-prose. Von Schroeder says : "Wie P. sentimental und gar tragisch wird, beruehrt sie das offenbar nur hoechst unangenehm. Sie lehnt diesen Ton kuehl und spoettisch ab." But in my opinion derision is out of the question here ; on the contrary, this is a consolation and a wise advice of U. 16) c/d, then, is to be considered as a comparison : "for four years I spent my nights with you ; I am satisfied with the drop of butter I enjoyed once a day ; be you satisfied as well with the time I have lived with you. By this explanation, further, the transposition of stanzas 16) and 17), as suggested by Geldner, is superfluous. That *tātṛpāṇā carāmi* could mean : "now I'm satisfied and go away" (Von Schroeder, Hertel), is impossible, as Oldenberg rightly observes.

Translation.

P. 1) O my wife,—stay, you cruel woman!—let us speak to one another reasonably; if these our words remain unspoken, it will be to our grief, later.

U. 2) Why should I speak to you? I've gone away, like the first of the dawns, Purūvaras, return home! Difficult to be caught I am, like the wind.

P. 3) Of no use to me was my arrow, the weapon of the quiver, of no use the fast riding that wins cows and hundreds of treasures. In an unmanly design there was a flash, like a lightning, and the Gandharvas uttered a bleating like a lamb.

P. 4) Bringing in the morning goods and food to her father-in-law, when he desires so, from the adjacent house, she has obtained a home where she enjoyed herself day and night, possessed by me in love.

U. 5) Thrice a day you've possessed me, and against my will, too, you've taken me. I followed your wish, Purūvaras; then you were the king of my body.

P. 6) S, Ś, S. G., the lotuslike, C., streamed (to me) like pink grease-paint, and mooed their loudest like milk-cows.

U. 7) When he is born, the women will surround him, the rivers that sing their own glory have made him grow, *like* the gods, o Purūravas, have strengthened you for the violent struggle, the annihilation of the enemies.

P. 8) But when I, a mortal man, would mix with the immortal women, who had given up their (swanlike) appearance, they recoiled from me like a shy swan, like mares bumping against the chariot.

U. 9) When a mortal, full of desire for the heavenly women mixes with them, like they want him to do, they coquette like swans, with their body, playing and biting like mares.

P. 10) May the water-woman, who flashed like a lightning, Urvas'ī, livelong bringing me the pleasures of love—a mortal man of noble birth has fecundated the water-woman.

U. 11) Indeed you are born to protect, and you gave me your virile strength, but I, who knew, informed you on that day—you, however, didn't listen to me. Why do you speak in vain?

P. 12) When will the son, when he is born, want to see his father, shedding tears (moaning) like a cakravāka, when he has understood everything? Who has separated the married couple, of one mind, the fire still burning in the house of the father-in-law?

U. 13) I will inform you : he sheds tears, moaning like a cakravāka for cherishing love and I will send to you that of you which we have with us ; go home, you will not win me, you fool.

P. 14) Should your lover depart for ever, to go to the farthest distances, should he lie in the womb of destruction, the wild wolves, should they devour him....

U. 15) Purūvaras, do not die, don't depart from here, not must devour you the wild wolves. Friendship with women is impossible, their hearts are like hyenas'.

U. 16) When, in changed appearance, during four autumns I passed my nights among mankind, once a day, I ate a drop of butter : thereof I'm still satiated.

P. 17) Urvaśī, who pervades the air, goes through heaven, I, her lover, invite her. May the gift of the well-prepared offering reach you ; return, my heart is scorched.

U. 18) So the gods speak to you, son of Iḷā : here you are a child of death, your offspring will venerate the gods with sacrifices, in heaven you, too, will find happiness.

MUNDA AND INDONESIAN

BY F. B. J. KUIPER, LEIDEN

1. The Munda languages [1]), which constitute the smallest of the linguistic families of India, are nowadays spoken on the Chota Nagpur Plateau, in the adjoining districts of Madras and the Central Provinces, and in the Mahadeo Hills [2]). As early as 1853, Logan had pointed out some similarities between Munda and Further Indian languages; E. Kuhn and other scholars amply discussed them, but the exact nature of these relations remained undecided until, in 1906, Father Wilhelm Schmidt [3]) and Sten Konow [4]) brought forward weighty arguments in favour of a genetic relationship of Munda to Mon-Khmer and other Further Indian dialects. Schmidt proposed to denote the whole group of these languages by the general name "Austro-Asiatic". At the same time, however, he pointed out a number of analogies with the Indonesian, Polynesian, and Melanesian languages (which he comprised under the generic name "Austronesian"). Since he ascribed all these similarities to linguistic relationship in the traditional sense of the word, supposing a parent language to have existed from which, in the very remote past, the Austro-Asiatic and the Austronesian branch had split off, he had to invent one more new term which was to embrace these two linguistic sub-families and decided upon "Austric" (*op. c.*, p. 69 f.).

[1]) The Munda dialects are denoted by the following symbols: Bh. = Birhor, GB. = Gadaba of Bastar, GV. = id. of Vizegapatam, J. = Juang, K. = Kurku, Kh. = Kharia, Kw. = Korwa, M. = Mundari, N. = Nahali, S. = Santali and So. = Sora. All words not especially marked are taken from Santali.

[2]) See in general Sten Konow, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, p. 7 ff. I write Munda, Mundari, Kurku (for Muṇḍā, Muṇḍārī, Kūrkū etc.), for the same reason that Sanskrit, Dravidian, etc. is usually written instead of Saṁskṛta, Drāviḍian. The orthography of the various Munda dialects has been conformed, as far as possible, to the spelling system of Santali.

[3]) See "Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentral-asiens und Austronesiens" (Brunswick 1906); cf. also "Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache" (Abh. K. Bay. Ak. Wiss., I. Kl., vol. 22, part 3, 1904), p. 759 f.

[4]) See "Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen" for 1906, and Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV (1906), p. 10 ff.

It is only to be expected that this first attempt of Schmidt was not without fault. Schmidt himself was obviously quite aware of the fact that, especially as far as Munda and Nicobarese were concerned, his little book was only a first step in a field, about which too little was then known. His etymological connexions were in many cases open to dispute. It was to be the task of other scholars to rectify the errors and to develop this new line of study. Unfortunately Schmidt's book failed to inspire others to this much needed co-operation. When, in 1928, the Hungarian scholar G. de Hevesy (under pseudonym) published the first of his studies, which in the next years would lead him to reject categorically the theory of an Austro-Asiatic linguistic family, and to connect the Munda group of languages with the Finno-Ugrian family of speech, the comparative study of Munda and Mon-Khmer was still as much neglected as it had been more than twenty years before. Since a part of de Hevesy's critical remarks on Schmidt's work was well-founded, his new theory was at first accepted by a considerable number of Orientalists, of whom he quotes as much as 14 names in OLZ 1934, p. 476. Coedès, BEFEO 1932, p. 581, called it "pas une mince découverte" [1]).

I do not intend to criticize here de Hevesy's bold theory, the less so as I have had the occasion, at a meeting of Dutch orientalists in 1941, to point out how unsubstantial its foundations are. It must be admitted that Schmidt's etymological connexions contain a number of errors. His knowledge of Santali (the best-known Munda dialect) was evidently modest; but then, it is to be doubted whether even an intimate acquaintance with this language would have preserved him from an error, which for him, with his rare knowledge of the Further Indian languages, was almost unavoidable, viz. to view Munda too much in the

[1]) Cf. also Dobo, Amer. Anthrop., vol. 35 (1933), p. 552 f., Bonnerjee, *ibid.*, 38 (1936), 148 f., and K. Régamey, Polski Biuletyn orientalistyczny, vol. 2 (1938), pp. 13—40. The last article contains a nearly complete bibliography of de Hevesy's publications. See further Hamit Koşay, "Türkische Elemente in den Munda-Sprachen" (quoted in the "Indogermanisches Jahrbuch", vol. 25, p. 174; not accessible to me), and W. Ruben, Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien (Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie, vol. XXXVII, suppl.) pp. 117, 141 f. Most of the reviewers of de Hevesy's publications were unacquainted with Munda. Nevertheless the lack of linguistic methodology was so apparent that several comments were unfavourable, cf. Turner, JRAS 1934, p. 799 ff., Burrow, BSOAS 11, 331, Sebeok, JAOS 65, p. 60, n. 5 and n. 6. Sebeok's own theory is criticized by Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *ibidem*, p. 57 ff.

light of the morphological principles of its Further Indian cognates. An analysis of the Munda method of word-formation, however, shows that, in this respect as in many others, Santali has developed to a language of much the same type as Dravidian. As a matter of fact, Munda and Dravidian now constitute an Indian linguistic league (*Sprachbund*), in which, in a lesser degree, the Indo-Aryan languages are also involved. The normal mode of word-formation in Munda is now by suffixation, the ancient prefixes and infixes, with a few exceptions, no longer being productive (at least as far as Kherwari, the principal group of dialects, and Kurku are concerned. In Sora the situation is somewhat different). Schmidt, who underestimated the immense importance of suffixation, has thus been led to many incorrect word-comparisons. But though this must be admitted, de Hevesy's argumentation in favour of the Finno-Ugrian relationship is unacceptable. Better, however, than by a purely controversial discussion the inaccuracy of his theory will be shown by the following examination of a single point bearing not only on the relationship between Munda and the other Austro-Asiatic languages, but also on the wider and more problematic question of the historical relations between Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian.

2. It cannot reasonably be questioned that there are a number of agreements between these linguistic families which point to a certain connexion in a remote past. These correspondences are not restricted to such words as are easily borrowed owing to cultural influences and commercial intercourse but comprise also such pronouns as Munda (Kurku) *inī*: Malay *ini* "this", Munda (M.J.) *āiṅ*: Sundanese *aiṅ* "I", etc. Schmidt, who was the first [1]) to state *expressis verbis* the ultimate relationship between the two groups of languages, brings forward the following arguments: 1. the total identity of their phonetical systems. 2. the entire original identity of their word-structure. 3. several important and striking details of the grammar, viz. *a*) postposition of the "genitive". *b*) suffixation and, partly, the form of the possessive pronoun. *c*) the occurrence in many of these languages of an exclusive and an inclusive form of the personal pronoun of the 1st person plural. *d*) the occurrence of a dual and a trial

[1]) Logan and Blagden had already pointed out some analogies (see 'Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula', vol. II, p. 437, n. 1).

in several of these languages. 4. far-reaching correspondences in the vocabulary [1]).

It has been objected that the Mon-Khmer words are pre-eminently monosyllabic whereas the normal type of Indonesian words is disyllabic, but this cannot be taken as a serious argument against the connexion of these languages as the Mon-Khmer monosyllabism is obviously due to a comparatively recent development in accordance with the same tendency of the Indo-Chinese languages. The roots, for the rest, from which the derivatives have been formed by means of prefixes, are clearly monosyllabic and, according to a well-known theory, the same is the case with Indonesian. Nevertheless, although the founder of the Indonesian comparative philology, H. Kern, accepted Schmidt's theory of the Austric family [2]), other competent judges were more reserved. Thus Blagden wrote: "The connection of the Mon-Khmer languages with the Malayo-Polynesian family is most mysterious, as there appears to be a considerable resemblance in structure, accompanied (despite a certain number of common words), by a very distinct diversity in the actual materials" [3]) and in a note he adds: "The syntax is almost identical, and there is a remarkable likeness in some of the prefixes and infixes in use in the two families. The Malayan languages also use suffixes, whereas the Mon-Khmer languages do not; but, curiously enough, Nicobarese also to a limited extent uses them". It does not seem that much value is to be attached to the last point. In Munda the suffixation had been introduced as early as the Vedic period but its non-Austro-Asiatic character is in my opinion apparent. Schmidt's former attempt to connect the Nicobarese suffixes with those of Munda is incorrect and has later (in 1930) been abandoned by himself. We have thus far no reason to reckon suffixation among the Austro-Asiatic means of word-formation. In Austronesian it is likewise held to belong to a later stage of development [4]).

As Skeat and Blagden's work was published almost simultaneously with Schmidt's famous little book, Blagden, when writing of "a certain number of common words", had not yet

[1]) See "Die Mon-Khmer-Völker", p. 36.

[2]) Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië, 7de Volgreeks, dl. VI (= vol. 60), 1908, p. 166 ff. (= Verspr. Geschr. vol. XIV, p. 319 ff.).

[3]) Skeat and Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, vol. II, p. 444.

[4]) See, *e.g.*, R. A. Kern, BTLV, vol. 102 (1943), p. 308.

seen the comparative word-lists [1]) on which Schmidt's conclusion of "einer weitgehenden Ubereinstimmung ihres Wortschatzes" was based. Would it have altered his judgment if he had? It cannot, I think, be denied, that the number of etymological correspondences between Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic is smaller than we should expect on account of their remarkable agreement in morphological matters. There are, indeed, very common words that are found in nearly all the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages, as the word for "eye": Munda (Santali) *mẽt'*, Nicobarese *mat*, Khasi *khymat*, Stieng, Bahnar, etc. *măt*, Semang *med*, Malay *mata*, etc. And fresh evidence will no doubt be found by a renewed comparative study, owing to our widened knowledge of Santali and the highly interesting Sora (or Savara), which preserves many ancient words that have been lost in the Kherwari group; cf., *e.g.*, So. *bĕsíd* (*bĕsúd*) "salt": Orang Benua *penasin*, Malay *(m)asin*; So. *lĕbō'-* "earth, ground": Jav. Mal. *lĕbu* "dust" (cf. Semang *sibó* "dust", Kenaboi *rĕboi* "sand"?); So. *sĕrúm* "to smell": Mal *harum*, *rum* "odorous" [2]); So. *ĕlā'ṅ-* "forest grass, straw", Kh. *olaṅ* "long grass" (*telaṅ* "to thatch"): Jav. *alaṅ alaṅ*, Mal. *lalaṅ* "high reed-grass" (cf. Khasi *u phlaṅ* "grass"); So. *jē-muj-* "red ant", *mujdā-*, *mui-dā-* "ant" (like M.Ho *mui* from **muć*, cf. S. *muć*): Mal. *sĕmut*, Mon *samot*, etc. id. (root *buy*); So. *kílāj-*, *kílāy-(gum)-* "lightning" (= **kilać*): Mal. *kilat*, id. (< **kilac*, cf. Mon *lalī*, Khmer *bhlī*, id., with *-lī* from **lĕy* as against **lac* < **lay*); So. *l'ūṅ-* "a pit", S. *khọrlọṅ* "hollow, cavity": Mal. *koloṅ* "a hole, mine pit", Jav. *bòlòṅ* "a hole, to pierce". Cf. Khmer *luṅ* "to make a hole", etc. (see p. 000); So. *árĕṅ-* "pungent, acid, sour": Mal. *sĕriṅ*, id.; So. *kárū-* "monkey" (K. *sārā*, M. Ho *sarā* "black-faced monkey, Hanuman"): Mal. *kĕra* "monkey" (cf. Serting *tĕrau*, Jelai *rau*, Tembi *ra'*, Centr. Sakai *rô*, *rau*, and the same interchange of *-au/-a* in the cognates of Munda *baha* "flower" and *kumu*, *humu* "dirty"); So. *káppā-*, K. *kāpā* "wing": Mal. *kĕpak*, id. (cf. So. K. *mārā*, S. *marak'*: Mal. *mĕrak* "peacock"); So. *sarsā'r* "to comb" (*sĕnār-* "a comb"): Mal. *sisir* "a comb"; So. *s'ār-* "to dawn": Batak *binsar* "to rise (of the sun)"; So. *tā'bĕṅ-* "the tender shoots of the bamboo": Mal. *rĕbuṅ* "bamboo shoot"; So. *duṅgū'-* "to be bent", Kh. *hinduṅ* "to stoop, to

[1]) See Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, pp. 121—157.

[2]) Despite Mr. de Hevesy, who stigmatizes the assumption of prefixation in Munda as being an "absurd theory" (JBORS, vol. 21, 1935, p. 117).

creep" : Jav. *ḍěku*, Mal. *tunduk* "to stoop"[1]), Mal. *runduk* "bent down" ; So. *ǰábaṅ* "brown or red" : Jav. *abaṅ* "red" ; So. *diṅ-*, Kh. *deṅ* "to cook" : Mal. *rěndaṅ* "to fry" ; So. *andér* (S. *ṭeṇḍar*, M. *ṭeṇḍer*, Ho *teṇḍer*)[2]) "to lean" : Mal. *sandar*, Jav. *sèṇḍèr*, id. ; with final nasalization (§ 7) in one of the two branches : So. *ětā'ṅ-*, S. M. Bh. Ho *hataṅ* "brain" : Mal. *otak*, id. ; So. *tambē'd-* "to carry on the shoulder", Ho *herbeḍ*, S. *heṛmeṭ* "to carry under the arm" : Mal. *ambin* "to carry on the back" (cf. Pantang Kapur of Johor *m'en, m'hen* "to carry", see Blagden's list, B 400) ; So. *t'ōl* "stout" : Mal. *sintul* "short and fat" ; Munda cognates of Malay words occurring in other dialects are, *e.g.*, Kh. *gone* (*goineh*), J. *gone, goneh*, GB. *ginē* "tooth" : Mal. *gěniḥ* "tusks of a female elephant" ; K. *tiriṅ*, Kw. *tirīṅ* (*tarīṅ*) "tooth" : Mal. *tariṅ* "eye-tooth, fang"[3]) ; S. *urut'*, K. *ūrūt* "to rub, scrub" : Mal. *urut* "to rub" ; S. *galam* "dark" : Mal. *kělam, silam*, id. (root *lap*, cf. Mal. *gělap*) ; S. *cahap'* "to gape", nasalized S. *aṅgop'*, M. *āṅgop'*, K. *āṅgūb*, Kh. *āṅgab-ḍā*, So. *aṅē'b-dā-* "to yawn, gape" : Jav. *aṅob* "yawning" (root *'ap* or *hap*, cf. Mon *kha-ap* "to yawn") ; S. M. Kh. *bai* "to do" : Mal. *gawai*, Jav. *gawe*, "to do, to make, accomplish" ; S. Ho *geraṅ*, M. *giraṅ*, Kh. *sāroṅ* "to groan", K. *geraṅ* "to moan", S. *daraṅ duruṅ* "to whimper, complain" : Mal. *ěraṅ, raṅ* "to moan, groan" ; Kh. *ḍoko*, J. *doko* "to sit" : Mal. *duduk*, id. ; S. *tot'*, M. *tuḍ*, Ho *tuḍ*, K. *tūd* "to pull out, uproot" : Mal. *bantun*, id. ; Ho *ter* "to throw a stone" : Mal. *lontar*, "to throw" ; S. *gaṿić*, M. *gāui*, Kh. *gouj* "to beckon with the hand" : Mal. *gamit* "to touch slightly with the finger in order to give a hint or draw attention" (word-base **ga-wic*) ; Kh. M. Ho *gur* "to fall down" : Mal. *gugur* "to fall off before time, to be born untimely" (cf. So. *pálud* "to drop or fall, to slip through a narrow passage" : Stieng *rölūt* "abortus") ; K. *karūp*, M. Ho *hārub* "to cover with a basket, plate, etc." (from **ka-ḍup'*, cf. So. *dub* "to shut, cover", *rub* "to cover, to put the lid on", Stieng *grup*, Mon *grop* "to cover") : Mal. *katup* "closed", *tutup* "to shut, cover", *li(n)tup* "covered on all sides" (Sakai *kātop*, *tup* "to cover", *katōp* "to shut", Khmer *khtop*, id.) ; Kh. J. *lerāṅ* "moon" : Mal. *těraṅ*,

[1]) As for the prefix *tu-*, see Kern, *op. c.* 289.

[2]) Blending with S. *taḍe, laḍe*, id.

[3]) Since Central Sakai *tariḥ* "tusk of boar or ogre" prob. stands for **tariṅ*, Mal. *tariṅ* may perhaps be referred, together with *gadiṅ* "tusk of elephant" (Central Sakai *gadiḥ*), to the same root *diḥ* (*ḍiḥ*) from which *gěniḥ* is derived. If so, the interchange *r* : *d* would in this case originate from proto-Indonesian.

cĕrah "bright"; K. *bit'* "to rise": Mal. *tĕrbit* "to rise, arise"; S. *kukuć* "to draw up the legs, bent, curved": Mal. *kukut* "contracted (hands and feet)"; perhaps also: S. *ṭo̤ṅko̤r* (*ṭaṅgao*, reborrowed from Hi.) "to hang up", M. *ḍungā* "to hang": Mal. *gantuṅ*, id. (root *ḍa-ga*); Kh. *goso*, M. *gosoḳ* "to anoint" [1]): Mal. *gosoḳ* "to smear, rub"; Kh. *lebu* "man, human being": Tagalog *tawo*, id. (cf. Palaung *ā-bō* "people", Besisi *jĕboh*, *jĕbo̤h* "man", *jobo* "mankind"); S. M. *misi* "hair on the upper lip": Mal. *misai* "moustache" (Sakai *bise̤i*, id.; but see below); N. *āpo* "fire": Indones. **apuy*, id. [2]). But the undeniable divergence in lexical matters points to the conclusion that either one of these linguistics groups, or both, have undergone foreign influences.

3. It is unquestionable to Schmidt's merit that he has stated his idea of a genetic relationship between the two branches of his Austric family of speech in a clear and straightforward (not to say dogmatic) manner. But his views of the problem of their relations were obviously strongly influenced by the orthodox notions of linguistic relationship then prevalent among the students of Indo-European linguistics. The study of the languages of uncivilized peoples, however, has since led to a much greater appreciation of the enormous importance of mixing and blending. In this respect Blagden's judgment was wider and sounder. "Uninflected languages", he wrote [3]), "can pass, almost imperceptibly, from one family into another". It may be added that similar transitions from Dravidian and Munda to Aryan are found in India. As a matter of fact, the wide-spread opinion that borrowings are mainly confined to substantives, adjectives, and verbs but do not affect, for instance, the pronominal system [4]) cannot be upheld in the light of the evidence furnished by the languages of uncivilized peoples: in fact, it is too exclusively

[1]) Cf. the spelling *goso'* (*e.g.* Mark 6:13 and 14:8); Nottrott, Grammatik der Kolh-Sprache 49, and Bhaduri, A Mundari-English Dictionary, write *goso*. Doubtful on account of Ho *gasar*, K. *gasa*, So. *gosōd* (cf. also Mal. *gèsèk*, *gèsèl*).

[2]) As for Ainu *ape* (*apoi*) "fire", see O. Gjerdman, Monde Or. 20 (1926), pp. 41 f., 70, 73.

[3]) See *op. c.*, p. 460 f.

[4]) Cf., *e.g.*, Meillet, Linguistique historique et linguistique générale, pp. 82 f., 84 f., 87 (= Scientia, vol. 15, 1914, pp. 408 f., 411, 413), p. 142, and H. L. Koppelmann, Album Baader, pp. 18, 22. It should be observed, however, that in later publications Meillet admitted the possibility of mixed languages for the East Asiatic area, cf. Les langues du monde (1924), p. 9 f. See also J. van Ginneken, Atti del III Congresso intern. dei linguisti (Firenze 1935), p. 37.

based on the results of Indo-European studies [1]). There are situations in which "la notion même de parenté ... s'efface et disparaît", as Vendryes put it [2]). Blagden was, therefore, fully right in admitting the possibility that the "curious analogies [viz. of Mon-Khmer] with the Malayo-Polynesian family ... and yet more strangely ... a certain number of points of contact with the northern languages of the great Indo-Chinese conglomeration" may be due, to some extent, "to mere historic contact or borrowings from some common source" [3]). According to his hypothesis "the curiously complicated entanglement of languages which South-eastern Asia presents" is the result of the intermingling of various waves of different races in their southward march.

More recent studies have in their own way developed similar ideas. Conrady, in two publications of 1916 and 1920, pointed out some analogies between Austric and Indo-Chinese [4]), whereas Nobuhiro Matsumoto tried to show the genetic relationship of Austric and Japanese [5]). The last thesis was corrected by Schmidt to the effect that Japanese is a mixed language, of which Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian are constitutive elements. The foundations upon which these theories were based seem however to be rather unsubstantial. Conrady's studies were followed by Kurt Wulff's posthumous work "Uber das Verhältnis des Malayo-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen" [6]), in which he tries to show that Tai-Chinese and Austronesian have sprung from one and the same stock. This conclusion, again, has been contested by R. A. Kern who, while admitting that Wulff has proved the existence of a specifically Austronesian (not Austro-Asiatic!) component in Chinese, argues that the vast majority of Chinese words has nothing to do with Austronesian, with the result that Chinese must be a mixed language [7]).

[1]) Cf. *e.g.*, Meillet, *op. c.*, p. 105 f.
[2]) Vendryes, Le langage, p. 366.
[3]) *Op. c.*, p. 442 f.
[4]) "Eine merkwürdige Beziehung zwischen den austrischen und den indochinesischen Sprachen" (Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Kultur-Geschichte vornehmlich des Orients, zu E. Kuhn's 76. Geburtstag, Breslau 1916; reviewed by Schmidt, Anthropos, XII—XIII, 1917—1918, pp. 702—706, cf. also Schmidt, Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, p. 147 f.); "Neue austrisch-indochinesische Parallelen" (Hirth's Anniversary Volume, London 1920, pp. 23—66).
[5]) Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques, Paris 1928. See Schmidt, Die Beziehungen der austrischen Sprachen zum Japanischen (Minzokugaku, Japanese Journal of Folklore, II, fasc. 10, Suppl. pp. 1—17 (1930).
[6]) Danske Vidensk. Selskab, Hist. fil. Meddelelser XXVII, 2 (Copenhagen 1942).
[7]) BTLV., vol. 102 (1943), p. 369.

It is not my intention, nor indeed am I qualified, to discuss these various theories regarding possible mutual relations between the linguistic groups of Eastern Asia. There can however be little doubt that these relations will turn out to be much more complicated than Schmidt held them to be. The relatively small number of words which Austronesian has in common with Austro-Asiatic is not, accordingly, sufficient proof in itself to assume that both branches have sprung from one parent language. Of greater importance is the far-reaching parallelism in word-formation found between Indonesian and Mon-Khmer, Khasi, etc. As for Munda, its earlier structure can only be detected by an analytical study of its lexical materials. It is this very analytical inquiry which also reveals an interesting feature of Proto-Munda morphology, to which I should like to draw attention, viz. the nasalization.

4. In grammatical studies of Indonesian (to which part of Austronesian we shall confine ourselves) a distinction is often made between "nasalization", which consists in the initial consonant of a word-base being *replaced* by the corresponding nasal (*ṅ* appearing for the *hamza* which preceded "initial" vowels), and "prenasalization", which term, if used in a specialized sense, denotes the phenomenon that the initial consonant is *preceded* by the homorgan nasal. According to some authorities all consonants may be prenasalized except *r* and *l*[1]). Thus from the root *gir* the prenasalized variant occurs in Javanese *pi-ṅgir* "side", and the nasalized one in Jav. *li-ṅir* "edge, rib". Similarly Malay *bi-mbaṅ* "uneasy, anxious" may be opposed to Malay *ma-maṅ* "bewildered" (Root *waṅ, baṅ*), etc.

The question as to the origin and nature of these nasals has often been discussed but no satisfactory answer has thus far been given. The prenasalization has been explained as being "originally a mere phonetic phenomenon, originated by want of smoothness in pronunciation" (on the supposition that its origin is in words with prefix *ma-* etc.)[2]), or, in general, as being due to the need of connecting closely the members of a compound[3]).

[1]) See, *e.g.*, R. A. Kern, *op. c.*, p. 348 (to this study I am also indebted for the following examples). But see Esser, Klank- en Vormleer van het Morisch, p. 47, on Mori *nd* as the prenasalized variant of *r*, and cf. S. *maṛwa maṛvi : maṇḍwa maṇḍvi* "to throw down, let fall down", etc.

[2]) A. A. Fokker, Malay Phonetics, p. 54.

[3]) Esser, *op. c.*, p. 21, n. 2.

Opposed to this view (which is also shared by Adriani and R. A. Kern), is the theory that the prenasalization is a *morphological* phenomenon, being in origin the prefixation of the prim. IN. formative *ṅ* to the word-base. Brandstetter still supports this view and tries to explain the difference between prenasalization and nasalization from the position of this nasal in the word: initially it has according to him coalesced with the first consonant of the word-base (*n* + guttural becoming *ṅ*, *n* + dental becoming *n*, and *n* + labial becoming *m*), whereas it formed a group with the initial consonant of the word-base when standing after another formative (*e.g.*, Dayak *ma+n+tarik* > *mantarik* "to throw"). But this different treatment of the nasal formative must then have been crossed by a number of "compromises", which caused the introduction of, *e.g.*, Dayak *manaluson* (for **ma-n-taluson*) "torch" [1]). Elsewhere, however, he classes such a nasalized variant as *muk* ~ *puk* (Karo Batak *mu-muk* "worm-eaten": *ri-puk* "to crumble") under the general head of "Variation", which seems to reflect a different idea [2]).

Adriani had already shown a few years earlier [3]) that the nasalization cannot be due to prefixes ending in a nasal, nor to the influence of a nasal secondarily inserted between prefix and word-base (as had been suggested by Fokker), "but that the word-base itself is nasalized in its initial sound". Only in the case of a few substantives may it represent the earlier article *ĕṅ*, *ĕm*, but in the vast majority of cases Adriani holds it to be the formal expression of an intensive meaning. His explanation on p. 331 very nearly approaches to what is known as "Lautsymbolik". In Tontemboan the initial sound of the word-base has (according to Adriani) been "sacrificed" as this explosive would too soon have made an end to the droning sound of the nasal (which, in his opinion, was to express the intensive sense). The prenasalized word-bases he therefore terms "half-intensive", "nascent intensive stems", obviously regarding the prenasalization as an intermediate stage of development [4]). This is also the opinion of Esser [5]),

[1]) An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, 159 f.
[2]) *Op. c.*, p. 30.
[3]) De Intensieve of Activiteitsvormen in eenige talen van Indonesië, Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, vierde reeks, dl. IX (1909), p. 319 ff. See especially pp. 331, 336, 337 f.
[4]) See pp. 331, 337.
[5]) See *op. c.*, p. 21.

whereas R. A. Kern in a recent article defends the different view that in the iterated root-words of the type Achinese *ṅeṅṅeṅ* = *heṅheṅ* "to buzz" the change of the initial consonant into its corresponding nasal cannot have been effected *via* the intermediate stage of the prenasalization [1]). Cf. also O. Dempwolff, Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes I (1934), p. 32: "Man sieht aber keine Bedingung, den einen dieser Lautvorgänge aus dem anderen abzuleiten, keine Möglichkeit, beide Vorgänge phonetisch zu erklären" [2]). These few quotations will be sufficient to show that a *consensus omnium* has not yet been arrived at [3]).

5. An analytical study of the vocabulary of present-day Munda shows that in a former stage of its development, when the word-formation was still governed by Austro-Asiatic principles, both nasalization and prenasalization must have played a role no less important than in the case of Indonesian. In view of the fact that Mon-Khmer, though partly known since much earlier times, has a strongly altered aspect owing to the Further Indian tendency towards monosyllabism, the Munda evidence is of no small importance. Of particular interest are the Proto-Munda data (to be deduced from Sanskrit borrowings which partly date as far back as the Vedic period) because they give us a rather faithful picture of what primitive Austro-Asiatic must have looked like.

In the following discussion we shall not follow the distinctions made in Indonesian languages too closely, and that for various reasons. Firstly the results of our analysis of the modern Munda vocabulary (the principles of which cannot be discussed here though the provisional character of these results should be constantly kept in view) [4]) do not justify our making the same dis-

[1]) BTLV, vol. 102, p. 349. In other cases he, too, admits the transition of prenasalization to nasalization (see pp. 341, 344, 348).

[2]) It has often been observed that the prenasalization occurs pre-eminently in roots with initial sonant, and the nasalization in roots with initial surd (cf. Adriani, p. 331, on Barèë, Brandstetter, *op. c.*, p. 30, and Dempwolff, *l. c.*). But this tendency admits many exceptions, and, on the other hand, there are marked differences between the various languages; thus Barèë prefers the nasalization, as opposed to Tontemboan where the prenasalization is of frequent occurrence; see Adriani, p. 337.

[3]) See also O. Gjerdman, Monde Or. 20 (1926), 67 f., with Ainu parallels.

[4]) The limited space will not permit an explanation of the manifold sound-developments in Santali and the other dialects. Note, for instance, $d > d$ (?), *r, r, l, h, y, j* (*c, s*); *g, ḳ* > *h*; *y* > *j* (*c, s*) and the aspiration and unvoicing of plosives.

tinction between roots and word-bases as in IN. It must, therefore, be left to further investigations to decide whether the results of Kern's study regarding the occurrence of nasalization and prenasalization in IN. hold good for Munda too. Secondly, whatever may be the historical relations between these two phenomena in IN. (on which authorities disagree), in Munda the nasal seems often to be the result of a dialectal development of nasal + voiced stop, as in S. *umul*, So. *ummul* : M. Ho *umbul* "shadow"; S. *tumal* : Ho *tumbal* "to collect ears after reaping, to glean"; S. M. Ho *rimil* : M. *rimbil* "cloud"; S. *hamal* (M. *hāmāl*, Kw. *hemāl*, K. *khamal*) : M. *hāmbāl*, K. *khambāl* "heavy, ponderous, weight"; K. *śimil* : *śimbīl* "sweet" (M. Ho *sibil*, S. *sebel*, Kh. *sebal*, G. *sabbul*); S. *dumur*, M. *dhumur* : K. *dūmbūr* "wild bee"; K. *hunār* : *hundār*, G. *kunḍār* "to cook", etc. It seems reasonable to suppose that *mb* has been assimilated to *mm*, which then has been simplified to *m*, as the phonematic system of Santali (and, probably, of Kherwari in general) does not as a rule admit geminates. That this development dates back to an early period is shown by Skr. *Tumbara-*, *Tumbura-* : *Tumura-* (unnasalized *Tuvara-*). Although Dravidian has a similar sound-development, we have no reason to attribute the Munda change *mb*, *nd* > *m*, *n* to Dravidian influence, since the same development is found in the Sakai-Semang-group (see Blagden, *op. c.*, p. 773, n. 2) and in IN, *e.g.*, Toba Batak *singar* : *siŋar*, Achinese *tömbah* : *tömah* [1]). (In Kurku, it is true, *m* has sometimes become *mb* in Aryan loan-words, as in *umber* "age", *arambō*, *ārāmo* "rest" < Hi. *umr*, *ārām*, but this may be due to special conditions : *umr* > *umbr* > *umber*). Since, then, Munda *m*, *n* may stand for *mb*, *nd*, and since in initial position *mb*, *nd*, etc. seem to have been universally replaced by *m*, *n*, etc. (initial consonant groups being excluded in Munda) [2]), we have no reliable

[1]) See Gonda, BTLV, vol. 101, p. 198, and Esser, *op. c.*, p. 21.

[2]) According to R. A. Kern, BTLV, vol. 102, p. 344, the few Indonesian instances of nasalized first (prefixed) syllables had originally prenasalization and the same holds good, in his opinion, for the Austro-Asiatic languages. He accordingly derives Khmer *mĕlūw*, Stieng *mlu* "betel" from *mbĕlū*, cf. Bahnar *bölǫu*, Mon *jä-blu*. The correctness of this view is strikingly confirmed by Skr. *tāmbūla-*, which points to a Proto-Munda original **tā-mbūl* (from **tā-mbĕlū*, with the characteristic Munda *u*-umlaut of the *pĕpĕt*). In like manner he derives Mon *mrāḥ*, Bahnar *mra* (IN. *mĕraḥ*) "peafowl" from **mbĕraḥ* on account of Stieng *braḥ*. If this is correct, Santali *maraḥ*, too, must originally have been prenasalized.

criteria to distinguish here between prenasalization and nasalization. They will therefore be treated together.

The term "nasalization" in Munda grammar embraces many facts of totally different nature and age. The nasalized vowels, as in *ḍẽṛẽ ḍẽṗẽ* "emaciated" (roots *ḍα-ḍα* and *ḍα-wα*) will not be considered here. That the internal nasal is often due to a recent development is shown by many loan-words where it owes its origin to an initial nasal, as *meṇḍil* (Eng. *middle*), *muñjuri* "wages" (Pers. Hindi *majūrī*), *muñjlis* "assembly" (Ar. Hi. *majlis*), *maṅgaṛ* "alligator" (Hi. *magar*), *mañjal*, *mañjela* "heart-wood" (Hi. *mājlā*, *majhilā*), *naṅgar* "town" (Hi. *nagar*), *nindṛa* (*nidṛa*) "drowsiness, sleep" (Skr. Hi. *nidrā*), M. Ho *namā* (*nawā*) "new" (Hi. *nawā*) [1]). In such native Munda words as J. *nendiā* "sleep", S. *ṅinḍa* : M. Ho *nida* "night", S. *niṅgha* : Ho *niga* "axle-tree", S. *monde* : *mode* "to become mouldy", S. M. *neṇḍa* : M. *neḍa* "to fix a time", S. *ṅumbaḳ'* : *ṅubaḳ'*, Ho *nuba* "twilight", S. *ṅindir* (M. *nindir*, K. *nindīr*) : M. Ho *nidir* (Kh. *to'ḍir*) "a kind of white ant" the nasalization may accordingly be a recent phenomenon ("The inserted nasal seems to be explained as a phonetical excrescence", Bodding, Materials for a Santali Grammar, vol. I², p. 118). On the other hand, the nasal (or rather the nasalization of a vowel) seems sometimes to have been dropped secondarily, as in *nagle* : *naṅgle* "the yoke-thong" (M. *naṅgali*, Hi. *nā̃gal*), *satap* : *santap* "distress" (Hi. *santāp*), *e̱r eraḍo̱m* : *e̱r eraṇḍo̱m* "Ricinus communis" (Skr. *eraṇḍa-*, Khasi *ryndia*), *madoli* : *mandoli* "small ornament" (Hi. *mandali*). It cannot be denied that these facts introduce an element of uncertainty into the study of the traces of Austro-Asiatic nasalization in modern Munda. Note also the *n* in intensive formations of the type S. *kaṛi-n-daṅ* : *kaṛi-daṅ* "black, dense" (from *kaṛi*), *maṣuṛ-n-daṅ* (*maṣuṛ̃-daṅ*) "stout, strapping". In initial position, too, the parallelism of nasalized and unnasalized variants may have given rise to secondary formations. Bodding (s.v. *gheṉe̱ gheṉe̱*) mentions *ṅo̱m ṅo̱ṅ*, "mimicking for *jo̱m jo̱ṅ*" (Medium of *jo̱m* "to eat", *jo̱ṅ* being a verbal suffix !). Sora has such variants as *ṅámmar* for *jámmar* "a kind of hawk", *keṅelle* for *kayelle* "died". On the other hand, S. *paku* "girl" is "now used frequently instead of *maku*". If S.

[1]) The same tendency towards nasalization owing to neighbouring nasals has been observed in Indonesian, see Esser, *op. c.*, p. 19 (and thesis VII) and Gonda, BTLV. vol. 101, p. 183 (and p. 147).

cǫhǫt' "to touch, graze (with one's foot in passing)" is a dialectal form for **ṭǫhǫt'* (cf. *ṭǫhǫt'* "to stumble, strike the foot against", K. *ṭokoḍ, ṭ(h)okod, tōkōd* "to stumble"), the nasalization of *ńǭhǭt'* "barely touch, to graze, brush slightly against" must be analogical[1]). But such analogical formations presuppose a *system*, which we shall examine in the following paragraph.

6. The analysis of the Santali vocabulary leads us to the provisional assumption of monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. The monosyllabic roots may also have been disyllabic (we must often assume that a root was disyllabic but we never can prove that it was not so) : at the present stage of our knowledge, however, this is a mere hypothesis which finds no direct support in the facts (see below, p. 399). As regards the disyllabic roots, there are some indications pointing to the conclusion that originally their first syllable was a prefixal element but this must then belong to an earlier stage of the language, beyond the one which we are able to reconstruct. The disyllabic roots should not be confounded with the disyllabic word-bases of Indonesian.

In view of our still imperfect knowledge of the historic development of Munda the following classification of the material seems to be advisable : I. Nasalization and Prenasalization of what at the present stage must be regarded as monosyllabic roots. II. Do. of the second syllable of disyllabic roots. III. Do. of the first syllable of disyllabic roots. IV. Do. of prefixed elements.

Munda m ~ w, b(h), p(h).[2])

I. Kh. *moi, moiod,* J. *moĩ* (*moin, min*), GB. *muy,* M. *moyād'*, etc., S. *mit'* ~ So. *ĕboi, bo, bóyyo* (beside *ĕmui*), GV. *bōyi,* N. *bidī* "one". Root *wɑi*, cf. Khasi *wei,* Stieng *muoi,* etc.

mak' (M. *mā'*, Ho *ma'a,* Kw. *mak'*, K. *mā*) "to cut, hew", *humak'* (M. *humā,* K. *kumā*) "to beat, strike" ~ K. *kūā* (< **kuwak'*), id., S. *hubaḳ'* "to hew, slash". Root *wɑk'*, cf. S. *lamak'* "to cut deeply, gash", *samak'* "to cut downwards, chop, cut off", Ho *samā* "to chop with a hatchet". Cf. Kern, p. 324!

[1]) Cf. also *n'aṭaṭ'* : *laṭaṭ'* and *n'aṭak'* : *jaṭak'* : *laṭak'* "to stick to". If the palatalization of cerebrals (or alveolars?) dates back to "primitive Austric" (which is quite possible), the nasalization may be ancient.

[2]) J. Przyluski, J. As. 1926, I, 5 ff., BSL 30 (1930), 196 ff., was the first to point out the interchange *bh/m* in Sanskrit loan-words, which he explained as a case of dialectal variation. P. Tedesco, Language 19 (1943) 16, n. 71, and JAOS 65 (1945), n. 15, questioned the foreign origin of most of the Aryan instances.

Kw. *mãi, mãe*, GB. *māy* "that, he" ~ Kw. *wāe*, Manjhi *uwāy-a*, id.

mora "dead, weak, feeble, lean, withered", *moroṭ'* "lean, weak, feeble" ~ *bora* "to decay, dry up (fruit), die". Root *bar* ?

macuk' "to eat up, manage", *macur* "to eat up, crunch" ~ *pacuk'* "to eat up, finish, deceive". Root *pac* ?

molso "greyish" ~ *polso* "hazy, dim, dusky". Root *pal*.

Kh. *lemeḍ* (So. *dimmád* ?) "to sleep" ~ J. *leber* (< **lebeṭ'*). Austro-Asiatic word-base **lĕ-bat*, cf. Pangan *lĕbud, lĕböd*, id., Semang *lĕbut met* "to wink", *ya' lĕböd* "to be sleepy". Root *bat*, cf. Senoi *bêt*, Sakai *bēt*, etc. (see Blagden's list, S 248).

So. *támme*, Kh. *tonme* "new" (Khasi *thymmai*, Mon *tami*, Khmer *thmīy*, Palaung *kanmē*, Stieng *mêi*) ~ Sakai *pai*, Semang *pā-hé*, Besisi *'mpai*, id.

S. *kukmuĩ*, M. Bh. Ho *kumu* "dream ~ Stieng *mböi* "a dream, to dream". Root *buy*. Note Kh. *mui* "to dream" (= **muć*) from Austro-As. **muc* < **muy*, while *kumu* (**ku-kumu*) reflects **muy* (similarly So. *ĕbū'-*, S. *bhu-ku* "ant" < **buy* ~ S. *muć*, Mal. *sĕmut*, etc., id. < **muc*).

tumul, tomol "marrow" ~ M. *tubil*, Mon *tabò*, id. [1]).

So. *kúmbul-* "rat" ~ Tareng *abĕl*, Kon Tu *böl*, id. Root *bal*; similarly Bh. *kumbuṛu* (M. *kumbuṛu* [2]), *kumṛu*, S. *kombṛo*, Ho *kombu*) "to steal", from *baṛ* on account of So. *jümbür, yumbur*, id.

II. *timaṛ tamar* "long, hanging down" ~ *tivaṛ tawar, tawar tawar* "dangling, hanging down". Root *ḍa-wa*, cf. *tilmaṅ talmaṅ* "with flowing clothes" ~ *tilpaṅ talpaṅ*, id.

ṭimbaṛ ṭambe, ṭimboc' ṭomboc' "slowly, wearily, fatigued" ~ *ṭhipoṅ ṭhopoṅ* "exhausted", *ḍebec' ḍebec'*, id., M. *tāpā tupu* "slowly". Root *ḍa-wa*, cf. K. *lawā*, Kh. *loo* "to be tired".

M. *ṭumpu* "blunt" ~ M. *ṭupā*, id. Root *ḍa-wa* "stunted" (cf. Skr. *tūparā-*).

ṭimpaṛ ṭampe "with legs outspread", *rampaṛ* "having spreading leafless branches", *lamba laṃbi* "full of spreading branches" ~ *ḍhap ḍhapa* "to spread the wings or tail", *rap rapa* "standing out", *liwaṛ laver* "spreading (branches)". Root *ḍa-wa* (see p. 395, *dam dam*); cf. Hi. *lambā* !

ḍambak' ḍombok' "cloddish, lumpy" ~ *ḍab* "a lump, clod". Root *ḍa-ba* "globular", cf. *ḍhamboṛsak', ḍhomboṛsak'* "large, big

[1]) Schmidt's explanation of *tumul* (Die Mon-Khmer-Völker 103) is to be rejected.
[2]) *E.g.*, Mark 11 : 17.

(fruit), pot-bellied" ~ *ḍhaḅuskaḵ'*, *ḍabea* "having a swollen, protuberant stomach", *reḇ reḇe*, id.; *ḍhimbạ* "a lump", *rambaṛ romboṛ* "lumpy, cloddish" ~ *ḍhipkạ* "a lump". Cf. Skr. *uḍumbara-*, *tumba-*, Hi. *ḍhibkā*, etc.

roṃọ jhọlọ "emaciated and big-bellied, poorly, ill" ~ *roḇọ jhọlọ*, id. Root *ḍα-wα* "emaciated", blended with *ḍα-wα* "globular".

ḍhombaḵ' ḍhombaḵ' "with the sound of drums" ~ *ḍubu ḍubu* "the sound of the kettle-drum". Root *ḍα-bα* (cf. *tumḍaḵ'* "dancing drum", Skr. *dundubhí-*, *ḍiṇḍimā̆-*, *ḍamaru-* etc.); though possibly onomatopœic in origin, it has become a genuine root.

III. *maka moko* "well-developed, fat", *mikọ mọkọ* "chubby-cheeked" ~ *pikọ pọkọ* "fat, chubby". Root *bα-gα* "fat", cf. *bigọ bọgọ*, id.

moṭa "thick, fat, stout" ~ *poṭea*, *poṭma* "having a protuberant belly", *puṭ puṭu* "swollen, prominent". Like *maṣũṛḍaṅ* "stout and big" ~ *bhaṣũṛḍaṅ*, id., from *bα-ḍα* "fat". See Turner s.v. *moṭo* "fat, stout", and cf. Guj. Mar. *poṭ* "belly" (but see Ramaswamy Aiyar, Ojha-volume, p. 18).

meckao "to turn aside" ~ *bheckao* 'to turn away". Like *mọc mọcọ* "to be sulky, pout" (influenced by *lọc lọcọ*) ~ *bheṅcọḵ'* "to be reluctant, shy" from *bα-yα* "to turn aside". *Mackao* "to sprain, wrench" ~ *bickạu*, *biclạu*, id., are prob. reborrowings from Aryan (Hi. *macaknā*, *bicaknā*, *bicalnā*).

makṛe "wrong, perverse, awry" ~ M. *pākṛe* "one having a deformed leg", S. *bakṛe* "to pervert", *pakọṛ* "to twist", *baḵ' bheṅkọṛ* "crooked", etc. Root *bα-kα*, cf. Skr. *paṅgu-* "lame", Nep. *bāṅgo* "crooked, twisted", Beng. *bheṅguṛā* "crippled", Hi. *bheṅgā* "squint-eyed".

meṛhao "to wind round" (*meṛha* "having horns twisted backwards") ~ *bheṛtaṅ*, *bheṛwaṅ* "to turn round", *pheṇṭọć* "to twist", *bidwạ*, *bidhuạ* "crooked twisted", etc. Root *bα-ḍα*, cf. Skr. *meṇḍ(h)a-*, *bheḍa-* "ram", Pali *meṇḍ-* "*koṭille*", etc.

monde, *mode* "musty, mouldy" ~ *boḍe* "muddy, dirty", *ponda* (M. *poṇḍe*)"rotten", *phupṇḍạ* (M. *phophuḍa*, *phuphuṇḍa*) "musty, mouldy, rotten", *phora*, *phopra* "hollow, decayed". Root *bα-ḍα*.

barmaṇḍ "licentious" ~ *barbā̃ṇḍ*, *bhaṇḍ*, *bhaṇḍu*, id. Like *lampọṭ*, *lamọṭ* ~ *bạṭu*, id., from *bα-ḍα*; *bar-* and *mar-* (in *bhaṇḍ marạ*, id.) are phonetical variants of the same word, as is often the case in echo-words. Cf. Skr. *lampaṭa-*, *limpaṭa-*.

ghẽj mẽj "to confuse, disorder" ~ *g(h)eje beje* "disorderly", *beṅjaṅ biṅjiṅ* "confusedly". Root *bα-ḍα*.

IV. *makaṛ makaṛ* "to take hold of" ~ *pakaṛ* "to seize" (*pakṛao*, id., is a reborrowing from Hi. *pakaṛnā*). Root *gaḍ-*? (cf. *gudia gudi, gudiau, ghaṭwa, kaṛ kaṛao, kaṛ maṭao*, id.).

So. *mílāj-* (*kílāj-*) "lightning" ~ Khmer *bhlī* "light, day" (Mon *lalī*, Khasi *lailih*, Palaung *la-lŏ* "lightning"), cf. Central Sakai *blit* (< **blic*, < **bĕ-lĕy*), id.

S. M. *misi* "hair on the upper lip" ~ Sakai *biseı* (Semang *misei, misaı*) "moustache" (Malay *misaı*)? Doubtful on account of other IN. words and because of Tamil *mīcai*, Malayalam *mīsa*, Telugu *mīsamu*, Kannada *mīse* (: Marathi *misī*?), Gondi *miśāl*, Kolami *mīsāl*, "moustache", which are hardly identical with Pali, Pkt. *massu*, Skr. *śmáśru-* "beard" (never "moustache"). Cf. also J. *niso* "moustache, beard, whiskers".

* * *

Munda ṅ ~ g, k, h.

Note the change of initial *ṅ* to *n'* in S., and to *n* in the other dialects. Final *ṅ* became S. *n'* after palatal vowels. Intervocalic *ṅ* becomes *ng* in Kherwari, which makes it impossible to distinguish between nasalization and prenasalization in this position. Cf. S. *saṅgin'* ~ So. *sáṅāj* (Palaung *shạ-ṅai*) "far", root *ṅéy* (> *ṅi*), *ṅay*.

I. *ṅẽt'* "to strike, kill" (KwE *ṅet'*, id., K. *nēt* "to cut") ~ S. *gẽt'* "to cut", K. *gēt'* "to kill", So. *gad* "to cut, reap" (Khasi *khet* "to cut down"?).

ṅẽt' "to dye red" ~ So. *kid* "to dye" (cf. Mon *pekēt* "red"?).

ṅũr "to fell, drop, fall" ~ *gur* "to fall down on one side", M. Ho, Kh. *gur* "to fall", So. *gur, gĕnur* "to rain".

ṅọrọ ṅọrọ "to whimper, fret" ~ *kọrọ kọrọ* "to fret, moan".

ṅãṛãdaṅ "very dark" ~ *kaṛaṅ kaṛaṅ* "pitch (dark)". Intens. ending *-daṅ*.

ṅalak' ṅalak' "indistinctly, faintly seen" ~ *halat' halat'* "indistinctly, slightly (hear, know)".

ṅũt "dark(ness)", So. *lúṅud-* "darkness" (Khasi *ṅut* "dark") ~ Semang *nā-hod* "evening". Root *hut* (cf. Semang Kedah *jĕlud* "evening"?).

ṅaḥur maḥur "to scold, grumbling" ~ *kaḥur maḥur*, id.

So. *tĕṅō'r-*, GB. *kuṅ(g)ōru* "road" ~ K. *kōrā*, S. *hora*, id.

khaṅkar "wilderness, waste" (*hahaṅkar, hãhãkar*, id.) ~ *kharaṅ*

"barren, waste". Root *kar*? (or *ka-ḍa*, cf. *khar khaṇḍ* "barren soil").

J. *kuṅka*, Kh. *koṅko*, So. *sáṅkā* "neck" ~ S. *totka* "nape of the neck" (cf. Mon *ko*ˀ, id., Khmer *ka*, Bahnar *ako* "neck").

J. So. *ruṅkū*, Kh. **roṅkuˀ* (spelt *romkub*) "rice" (cf. Cuoi *aṅkau*, id.) ~ Palaung *ra-kō*, Khasi *khau*, Rumai *kao* "husked rice".

In So. *ĕṅgā'j-* "moon"[1]) ~ Khmer *khê*, Bahnar *khey*, Stieng *khêi*, the prenasalized surd seems to have become a sonant (as is often the case in Indonesian; see for Mori examples Esser, *op. c.*, 21, 40, 43, 47). But Skr. *lāṅgala-* "plough" (Khmer *aṅkăl*, Khasi *kalyṅkor*) and *aṅganā-* "wife" (Bahnar *akăn*) do not prove this sonorization for Proto-Munda since they may stand for **la-ṅal* and **a-ṅan(a)*.

II. *ḍaṅka*, *ḍhaṅga* "tall, high" ~ *ḍauka*, id., *ḍheke* "large, high" (Root *ḍa-ka*).

taṅguṛ "to tear to pieces" ~ *taḥuṛ* "to tear, devour"; similarly *taṅgam* "to clutch, hug (bears)" ~ *taḥum* "to gulp down, devour". Root *ḍa-ga*, cf. *daḥur* "to gulp down", *taḥuṛ naṣuṛ* "to devour".

III. *ṅondrao* "to whimper, growl" ~ *gondrao* "to growl, snarl". Perhaps word-base **ga-ḍar*, cf. *gaṇḍar goṇḍor*, *khaṇḍroḵ*ˀ, *haṇḍroḵ*ˀ "to growl, grunt at".

ṅaṇdur ṅaṇdur "discordantly (dancing drum when the *kharen* has fallen off)" ~ *gaṇdur gaṇdur*, "indistinctly (do.)". Word-base *ga-ḍar*? Cf. *kaḍar koḍor* "to snore, rattle".

* * *

Munda ṅ ~ *y, j, c, s.*

Initial *y* has mostly become *j* (unvoiced : *c, s*). Initial *n'* is only preserved in S. and So., in most of the other dialects it has become *n*.

I. M. *nijˀ*, K. *nicˀ* (*nēcˀ*) "to open" ~ S. *jhicˀ*, id.

*ṅoc*ˀ "youngster, chit, brat" ~ *jōcˀ* "chit, child".

ṅakˀ "to touch" ~ *jakˀ* "to touch slightly, brush against".

ṅir (M. Ho *nir*, K. *nīrī*, *nīṛī*) "to run away" ~ Kh. *iar* "to run", So. *jir, ir* "to go (away)". Root *yar*, cf. Khasi *yār* "to escape", *kiar* "to flee, evade" (Khasi *wir* "to go away", Khmer *wier*, Bahnar *juer*, Stieng *vuir* "to avoid, flee" < *(*w*)*uyĕr*?). The Munda variants presuppose **nyĕr* and **yar*.

[1]) For **ĕṅgāy-*, cf. So. *ĕrō'y-*, *ĕrō'j-* "fly" : Besisi *roi*, Sakai *ruói*, etc.

So. *ab-ńíd* "to spend", *ĕ-ńíd* "to end" ~ So. *s'ēd* "to decay", *ab-s'ēd* "to spend", *as-s'ēd* "to cancel" (cf. S. *siṭ'* "to run short", *aṣiṭ'* "to wither, be impoverished").

Kh. *eńām*, So. *mińam* "blood" ~ S. *mãyãm*, J. *iyam*, GB. *iyam* (*iṅam*), id.

ńu(m)baḳ' (M. Ho *nuba*) "twilight" ~ *ayuṗ'* "evening, nightfall" (cf. Semang, Besisi *yup*, Sakai *nayup*, id.). Voicing of intervocalic *p*? Cf. *lupaḳ'*, *lumbaḳ'* "to get dark" (*l* < *ń*, as in M. *lel* = S. *ńęl* "to see" ?).

ńõhõr ńõhõr "harmonious, sweet" ~ *soho soho* "harmoniously". Campbell gives also *ńorońh ńorońh*, id. (~ *sorońh sorońh*) and *ńorom ńorom* "sweet and juicy, pleasant" (~ *sorom*, id.).

ńaṭaḳ' ńuṭuḳ' "to smack the lips" ~ *caṭaḳ' cuṭuḳ'*, id., *caṭao* "to lick, eat".

ńõhõṭ' "to touch barely in passing, to graze" ~ *cohoṭ'*, id. Analogical nasalization? *Cohoṭ'* is a variant of **ṭokoṭ'*, cf. *cukuc'* "to touch slightly": *tukuc'* "to touch, nudge", K. *ṭokoṭ'* "to stumble" (see p. 385 and *ńaḳ'*, p. 389).

aṅjęṭ' (M. *ānjed'*) "to dry up, be absorbed" ~ *ṭęyoṭ' ṭępoṭ'* "to make dry, empty out". Root *yaṭ'*, cf. *liṅjiṭ'* "to dry up (liquids)", *reṅjęṭ', heṅjęṭ', hiṅjiṭ'* "to drain off, empty liquids" (< **kĕnjiṭ'*, cf. Khasi *kynjit* "to absorb, dry").

aṅjom (K. *ānjōm*, *ānjūm*) "to hear, listen" ~ M. Ho, Bh. Kw. *āyum*, Kw. *ājōm*, id. Root *yū*, cf. K. *ānjō-en* "heard", Palaung *jū* "to listen" [1]).

Remark. For some, at least, of the Munda roots with initial *j*, *c*, there is evidence of *y* having been the original sound. R. A. Kern, BTLV 102, 332, observes that no nasalized variant of *y* occurs in Indonesian and that it is even doubtful whether IN. roots with initial *y* exist at all. We may conclude that here, as in most of the Munda dialects, initial *y* has at an early date become *j*, its nasalized variant being preserved in such instances as Malay *tĕrsĕńum* "to smile" ~ Palaung *yūm* "to laugh" [2]). Cf. also Mal. *ancuk* : *ayuk* "to copulate".

II. *ḍheńca, ṭońca* "long-legged", *laṅjoḳ' laṅjoḳ'* "taking long steps" ~ *dãyõḳ' dãyõḳ', lãyõḳ' lãyõḳ'*, id. Root *ḍa-ya*.

[1]) The connexion with K. *jōm* "to eat" (Drake, Kurku Gr. 54, Bodding, Materials II, 225 n.) is of course to be rejected.

[2]) Against Fokker's erroneous view on *n'* see also Esser, *op. c.*, p. 57, n.

roṅjho "thin, emaciated", *raṅjao* "to become thin, lean" ~ *ḍǫyǫt'* *ḍǫyǫt'*, *rǫyǫt'* *rǫyǫt'* "utterly emaciated". Root *ḍα-yα* (prob. < *ḍα-ḍα*).

ḍheṅca (*leṅca*), *ḍheṅcǫ(k')* (*leṅcǫk'*) "lame, limping" ~ *ḍhe(r)cǫk'*, *lecǫk'*, id. Root *ḍα-yα*, cf. *ḍhōya ḍhape* "shaky, tottering".

gaṅja guṅji "to place anywhere, mix up", *ghaṅja ghaṅji* "disorderly", *ghauṅja* "to mix up" ~ *gaja guja*, *gayur gapur* "in disorder". Root prob. *gα-ḍα*.

kǫṅe "(to turn to the) left", *kǫṅǫṅ kǫṅǫṅ*, *kǫṅjǫṅ kǫṅjǫṅ*, *ghǫṅjǫṅ ghǫṅjǫṅ* "slantingly, awry" ~ *ghǫce*, id., *kǫce* "slanting, to turn away", etc. Root *gα-yα*.

M. *boṅjoṛ*, *boṅjoṅ* "to leak out" ~ So. *boj* "to trickle", S. *pǫe pǫe* "to run in a thin stream", *piǫ pǫyǫ* "to ooze out, leak". Root *bα-yα*.

b(h)eṅcǫk' "to be sullen, reluctant, shy" ~ *bhejra bhejri* "sulky, cross", *bheckao* "to turn away". Root *bα-yα* (cf. *be-ṛ-cǫk'*).

M. *toṅe* "to break, fracture" ~ *toe*, id. Root *tα-yα* (cf. K. *tīā*, id., < **tiyak'* ?).

So. *táṅal-* "crocodile" ~ S. *tayan*, id.

III. *ṅaṭak'* "to stick to, adhere" ~ *jaṭak'*, id. Root *jα-ṭα* (cf. *je-m-ṭhe*, *jeṇṭhe*, *ce-p-ṭhe*), prob. < *ḍα-ṭα*, cf. *laṭak'* (p. 385, n. 1).

ṅum, Ho *numu* "to name", Kh. *ṅimi* "name" ~ K. *jumū*, *jīmu* "name". Word-base **yĕ-mū*, cf. Mon *yemu*, Sakai *imu'*, etc.

moṅjolo "dejected, downcast" ~ *jilu milu* "exhausted, hopeless", *jǫle jǫl* "to tire out", *rǫbǫ jhǫlǫ* "emaciated". Root *jα-lα*, cf. *ji-r-luṅ* "depressed, looking exhausted, tired out", etc.

K. *naṅga* "leg" ~ K. (dial.) S. *jaṅga* "foot, leg". See p. 398.

ṅuruc' "emaciated (children, young animals)" ~ *jora jora* "weak, lean", *corea* "lean, emaciated", etc. Cf. also *ṅarac' ṅuruc'*, *ṅargac' ṅurguc'* "small children, brats" ~ *jarac' juruc'*, *jur(g)a*, *jerak'* "small, stunted, dwarfish". Root *jαr*, prob. < *ḍα-ḍα* (analogical nasalization ? see p. 385, n. 1).

IV. *ṅeṅgeṭ'* "bright red" ~ *jeṅgeṭ' jeṅgeṭ'* "crimson, bright red", M. *jeṅgeṭ'* "bright and sparkling". Root *gαṭ'* (see above, S. *ṅĕṭ'*) ? But cf. Ho *jeṅgā* "red" (correct ?).

* * *

Munda n ~ d, t and *ṇ/n ~ ḍ, ṭ*.

I. GB. *nēṅ* (?) "to draw water" ~ Kh. *diṅ*, id. So. *diṅ* "to draw, pull". (Mon *tòṅ*, id. ?). Root *dαṅ* (or *ḍα-k/gα* ? see p. 399).

K. *ānuj* "to bend", S. *kạb-nuĩ ć* "bent" ~ So. *duj, ladúj*, Kh. *ḍui*, "to bend" (intr.). Root *duc'*.

tạguṛ nạsuṛ "to eat greedily, devour" ~ *tạguṛ tạsuṛ*, id.

Kh. *konted*, J. *konter*, So. *ontíd'* "bird" ~ Kw. *tīti*, K. *titiṭ'*, id. Root *tiṭ'*, (cf. Skr. *śa-kúnti-, śa-kúni-*).

bǫnǫc' bǫnǫc' "in a row, line" ~ *tǫc' tǫc'* "to stretch out, die", *tic'* "to stretch out, distend".

Note: Semang *tĕ-nut, lă-nud*, Sakai of Ulu Těmběling *kĕ-nut*, Orang Hutan of Ulu Indau *nut*, id. of northern Johor *snut* "mouth" ~ So. *t'ūd-*, id.; the compositional form So. *tam-* points to **támūd-* (infix *-am-, -ĕm-*, cf. Kh. *tamod, tomod*, J. *tamar*, GB. *tummō*).

II. *bẹndrẹc'*, *bẹndrẹṭ'* "small, insignificant" ~ *bodre, podea, pǫṭ'*, id., *phẹṭkǫc'*, "small, too short". Root *bα-ḍα*.

bhaṇḍa bhoṇḍo, bhǫṇḍǫsak', etc. "fat, stout, corpulent" ~ *biḍǫ boḍǫ*, id. Root *bα-ḍα*.

bhoṇḍol "inefficacious, slow" (cf. *bhǫṇḍ bhoṅglaha*) ~ *boḍ boḍo* "lazy, idle".

raṇḍǫp' "to pinch" ~ *raḍǫp', raṭǫp'*, id. Root *ḍα-ḍα* (cf. *daṭǫm, daṭkǫp', riḍeṭ', riḍ(k)oṕ'*, id., *daṭǫ* "claw of crab or scorpion").

ḍuṇḍu "to shave the head", *ḍeṇḍea, ḍeṇḍka* "having few feathers, bare", *ḍuṇḍga, ṭhuṇḍga* "bare (head, tree), shaved" ~ *ḍuḍgạ*, id. Root *ḍα-ḍα*.

ṭhuṇṭa "maimed in a limb", *ṭuna* "small, stunted" ~ *ṭhuṭa* "maimed, shortened". Like *ṭheṇṭa* ~ *ṭheṭa* "short" from *ḍα-ḍα* (cf. Skr. *ṭuṇṭuka-, ruṇḍa-*, H. *ṭhũṭā, thoṛā*, etc.).

ṭẹṇḍǫs "arrogant, obstinate" ~ *ṭheṭa, ṭẹthǫṛ, lẹthǫ* "obstinate, self-willed". Root *ḍα-ḍα* (cf. *ḍharṇaha, tiḍvi, ṭẹṇḍǫṛ, dundur*, etc.).

gẹṇḍẹr gẹpẹr "rags, tatters", *gạndur gạpur* "ragged, tattered" ~ *gadrǫc', gạdrum, gadle*, id.

gẹṇḍhẹr "to move along in a sitting position" ~ *ghẹrẹ ghẹcẹ, hẹrẹ hẹsẹ*, etc. "dragging oneself on one's posterior". Root *gα-ḍα* "sluggishly".

haṇḍel, Ho *hondā* "to mix, stir up", S. *huṇḍgạr, haṇḍkur* "to stir, make muddy" ~ *huḍgạr*, id. *(g)heola, heoḍa* "to stir up". Root *gα-ḍα* (cf. *ghaṇṭa, ghaṭ ghuṛa, ghaṇṭur*; Skr. *ghaṭṭayati*).

K. *gaṇḍā* "boy", S. *gaṇḍra guṇḍra, keṇḍel* "short, small, puny" ~ *gaḍar guḍur, geḍa,* id. Root *gα-ḍα* "stunted".

K. *tēndēc'* "moon, bright" ~ S. *terdec'*, M. *tetij'*, Ho *tete* (N. *mindi*?) "moon". Root *dić* (from Austro-As. **day*? Cf. Khasi *bynái,* id.).

Remark. Owing to the change *ḍ* > *ṛ*, we often find an interchange of *ṇḍ* and *ṛ* (see p. 380, n. 1). For a similar interchange (*nd* : *r*) in IN. see Esser, *op. c.*, pp. 47, 57 n. 1, 65.

III. *nacṛa naṛcṛi* "fallen down in all directions (crops), to throw down" ~ *tasṛa taṛsṛi* "falling down", *t(h)asṛao, thasṛok'*, *leṛsṛok'*, *leṛskok'* "to throw, let fall". Root *dα-cα*, cf. *tarse* "to spill, drop, scatter", *dasa daṛsi, d(h)aṛsuṛ* "to fall, break down, collapse"; *dhaṅ dhaser, dhaṅgla dhas* "to destroy, ruin", *d(h)asao* "to destroy, fall down, collapse" are influenced by Hi. *dhasānā* (< Skr. *dhvaṁs-*).

IV. *aṇḍar oṇḍor, oṇḍor oṇḍor* "staringly", *aṇḍir kuṇḍir* "id., to gape" ~ *ḍhere ḍhere, ḍhoro ḍhoro,* id. The root-variants *dαr, rαl, lαr* point to *ḍα-ḍα*.

pandoṛaṅ, sandoṛaṅ "uncovered, naked" ~ *odoṛ odoṛ* "fat and halfnaked", *odṛoṅ, ondṛoṅ* "id., uncovered". Root *ḍα-ḍα* "bare" (see above *ḍuṇḍu*), partly blended with *α-ḍα* "fat".

biṇḍuć "to thrust out the underlip, pout" ~ *loc loco* "protruding (underlip), to pout, sulk". Root *ḍα-ḍα* "protruding" (cf. *luṭi* "lip").

* * *

Clear instances of nasalized initial vowels have not yet been found so that we are unable to determine whether the result is *ṅ* or *n*. In Indonesian the "hamza" preceding the vowel is nasalized and becomes *ṅ*; in view of the thoroughgoing parallelism existing between the IN. and Austro-Asiatic nasalization we may expect to find also in Munda the representatives of *ṅ* in this position. The only instances, however, which could be quoted in support of this supposition are Kh. *ṅompāi* : *ompāi* "river", and S. *ṅel* (M. Ho, K. *nel*), Mon *ngī* (?) "to see, look at" ~ K. *el* "to look, peep", Semang *ya'el,* id. Since the Dravidian change *ya-* > *e-* is, it seems, unknown in Munda, the root is perhaps *αl*; but cf. Stieng *iōl, iöl* "to look into the distance", Krau, Sakai

terniọl, Pang. U. Aring *pĕnyal* "to show, point out". Perhaps S. *ñāṛam caṭam, ñĕ̄ṛĕ̄m cẹṭẹm* "to eat, chew, munch" ~ *aṛae oṛoe* "to open the mouth wide", *e̱ṛọe be̱ndọe* "to crunch, devour" may be added; but S. *ñŭ̄r* "to fall" is hardly to be connected with Khasi *ūr*, id. (see p. 388). On the other hand, the *n* which is regularly pronounced before initial vowels in Santali and Mundari songs (see Bodding, Materials for a Santali Grammar, I² 98 ff.) might be an archaism (like *t-, y-*) and then represent the nasalization. Cf. the use of prenasalized words in Barèë poetry (Adrani, *op. c.* 337). S. *ṇakic'*, M. *naki* "comb" ~ K. *akej*, id. tend to show that this "nasalization" was not originally confined to poetry. The divergence between Munda and Indonesian on this point would however be surprising. *Manda* (Ho *māndā*, Kh. *moṇḍā*) "influenza" (~ *anda*, id.) may possibly contain a "prefix" *ĕm-* (cf. IN. *m-*, as in Bugin. *mai*: Tontemboan *ai* "hither"); similarly *marak' morok'* "to stare vacantly", if related to *arak' orok'* "gaping, staring" (N. *ārā* "to see"), So. *mel-mel* "to seek" (: K. *el* "to see" ?). Cf. So. *ĕn-úr* "to smell" (intr.), with infix *-ĕn-* (as in *g-ĕn-ur, gur* "to rain") inserted after the initial hamza ~ Palaung *ūr*, id.

7. *Nasalization of final explosives.* — We often find, in Munda as well as in the cognate languages, an interchange of final plosives and their homorgan nasals. We shall first discuss the Munda facts.

In a few instances this nasalization is due to the influence of an initial nasal, as in *ṇọṅg* (when followed by a vowel) = *ṇọk'* "a little, somewhat": final *ṅg* occurs "very seldom" in Santali (Bodding, Materials I² 97). Since in *me̱ndọk'* "to suffer from conjunctivitis" (< **mẽ̱dọk'*, from *mẽ̱t'* "eye"), and in *mang-* = *mak'* "to cut" (only used in such forms as would require *mag-* for *mak'*) the nasalization must be posterior to the voicing of the checked consonant, the same is perhaps the case with *ṇọṅg* (progressive assimilation). On the other hand, the nasal may sometimes have been lost through dissimilation, cf. So. *táṅliy-ĕn* ~ *táṅliṅ-ĕn* "cattle" (cf. Kh. *tomliṅ* "to give milk"). The dialectal pronunciation of b^m for *p'*, d^n for *t'*, etc.[1]) may perhaps account for individual cases as Kw. *junuṅ* "broom" (~ S. *jọṇọk'*, M. Bh. Ho

[1]) See Rev. A. Nottrott, Grammatik der Kolh-Sprache, p. 5 ("*n*-Nachschlag"), Rev. J. Hoffmann, Mundari Grammar, p. 3, Konow, Ling. Surv. IV, 84. This phenomenon is due to a lowering of the soft palate, see Bodding, Materials I² 74.

jono, K. *jūnū*, So. *jĕnō'*-). Santali *doublets* such as *baṭaṅ baṭaṅ* "impudently (without letting the other get a word in)" ~ *baṭak' baṭak'* "putting in on other people's conversation", *khacaṅ khacaṅ* "with long strides" ~ *khacak' khacak'* "running along", *o̱teaṅ* = *o̱teak'* "what is hear there, listen" are also unlikely to date back to an early period of Munda [1]), although their origin is still obscure.

In the vast majority of cases, however, the nasalization is clearly a very old phenomenon. Sometimes the final nasal is the variant of a checked consonant, while in other cases it corresponds to a plosive. Its origin seems accordingly to date back to an early period when the weak pronunciation of the final plosives had not yet resulted in the formation of a separate group of phonemes. This will probably have been the Austro-Asiatic, rather than the Proto-Munda period. Without entering into a discussion of the question I will draw attention to Vedic *śakúnti-* only, which tends to show that in Proto-Munda **kuntiť* the final consonant was already pronounced as a checked consonant [2]).

Since final nasalization is a rather common phenomenon only a few examples will be quoted.

Final m:

ḍum "to impregnate", *ḍum ḍum* "having a protruding stomach" ~ *ḍho̱bo̱skak'*, id., *ḍub ḍubi* "to impregnate, become enceinte (only when the state is visible)". Like *ṭe̱m ṭe̱m* "overfull, pregnant" ~ *ṭe̱b ṭe̱be̱, ḍhe̱b ḍhe̱be̱* "having a distended stomach" from *ḍα-bα* "round, globular" (cf. Marathi *ḍumṇā* "fatbellied", *ḍhemā* "bump" ~ Hi. *ḍhep* "lump", see Turner, s.vv. *ḍamma, ḍumma, ḍhep, ḍhebuwā, ḍhiko*, etc.).

ṭum (*ṭe̱mbo̱*) "small" ~ *ṭhe̱ble̱*, id. Root *ḍα-wα* "stunted".

So. *jĕlē'm* "smooth" (*lámed, lĕmád'* "soft"), S. *le̱m le̱m* "very soft, tender" ~ *le̱be̱r le̱be̱r*, id., *lewa* "supple, soft", M. *lebeď, lepes, lāpos lopos*, Ho *lebe*, K. *lopoť*, id. Root *lα-wα*. Cf. S. *molam, mo̱hlo̱m* "soft, yielding (boil)" with prefix *mo-* (as in *mo-laṭ* "to sharpen": Desi *alaṭ*, Pangan of Ulu Aring *tilad*, id.).

dam dam, ramcam (*cam cam*) "standing out", M. *rom com* "many-branched" ~ M. *rombā combā*, id., S. *cap capa* "wide-

[1]) Cf. however *bho̱ṅ bho̱ṇḍro̱ṅ*, p. 396.

[2]) For checked consonants in Sakai-Semang, see Blagden, *op. c.* II, 772. It seems doubtful whether they are distinct phonemes.

spreading". Root *ḍα-wα*, id. (see p. 386), cf. *jhạ-ṛ-pạ, cạ-r-piṛ* (incorrect Schmidt, Mon-Khmer-Völker 107).

M. *lum* "wet" ~ *loād'* (= **lowat'*) "to moisten", S. *lo̱ho̱t'* (< **lo̱wo̱t'*) "wet", M. *ḍobe*, M.K. *tupu*, S. *topo* "to dip". Root *ḍα-wα* (Hi. *ḍūbnā*, etc.).

Final ṅ :

M. Kh. *bo̱toṅ*, So. *batóṅ* (Semang *antoṅ*) "to fear" ~ Sakai *ha tū'k* "afraid" (unless *-k* < *-ṅ*, as often in Sakai).

oyoṅ "to look into" ~ Kh. *yok'*, J. *yo-*, GB. *ju* "to see", S. *ko̱yo̱k'*, *ḍahọk'* (< **ḍayo̱k'*) "to look up". Root *yα k'*.

ṭemaṅ "to decapitate" ~ *humạk'* "to beat, strike" (see p. 385).

S. *tuṅ*, M. *ṭ(h)uiṅ*, Ho *tuiṅ*, K. *tūiṅ*, Kh. *tũ*, So. *tuṅ* "to shoot an arrow", from **tu-wiṅ* or **tĕ-wiṅ* ~ Senoi *wēk*, id.

pohaṅ (< **po-waṅ*) "to break, burst" ~ M. *poā* (= **po-wak'*) "to break into small pieces".

So. *daṅ, raṅ* "to withhold, obstruct", S. *ḍhaṅ* (*ṭaṅgao*), id. ~ S. *ḍhẽ̲k, ṭhe̲k, ato̱k, ro̱kto̱k, tạkic'*, etc. "obstacle, hindrance", *ṭhake̲t'* "to detain", M. *tekad'* "to moor (a ship, Mark 6 : 53), be disturbed" (cf. *tenekad'* "barrier"), *cekād'* "to stop", etc. Root *ḍα-kα* (cf. Hi. *ṭhek, aṭak, aṛaṅgā, rokṭok*, etc.).

laṅ laṅ, caṅ caṅ, co̱ṅ co̱ṅ" with legs wide apart", *so̱ṅ so̱ṅ* "wide open, bare" ~ *ṭak' ṭak'*, id., *le̲ṅge̲t' le̲ṅge̲t'* "wide", *cag caga* "to part the legs wide", *ciṅga caṅge, ciga cage*, etc. "with legs wide apart". Root *ḍα-gα* "bifurcated" (cf. Nep. *coke* "fork made by two pieces of wood", etc.). Cf. also *ho̱ṅ ho̱ṅ* ~ *ho̱g ho̱go̱* "wide open, uncovered" (*h* < *ḍh* or *bh* ?).

baṅ baṅ, paṅ paṅ "wide, gaping", *b(h)o̱ṅ b(h)o̱ṅ*, "id., with legs spread out", *po̱ṅ po̱ṅ* "having large holes" ~ *be̲g be̲ge̲* "broad-mouthed, wide apart" (cf. *be̲ṅ be̲ṅ, be̲ṅgo̱ak', be̲ge̲wak', baṅgo̱rae*), *pho̱ṅke̲* "with holes" (cf. M. *phoṅ*), *bhuk'* "hole, cavity", etc. Similarly Khasi *waṅ* "wide open", Palaung *bŏ̄n* "hole" ~ Central Sakai *bĕmbúk* "hollow (in tree)". Root *w/bα-gα* "wide open", cf. Skr. *puṅkha-* "notch" (= S. *phõ̲k*), Guj. *bhõk*, Nep. *bhwāṅ* "hole", Hi. *phokā* "hollow", *phã̃knā* "to open", etc. — S. *bho̱ṅ bho̱ṇḍro̱ṅ* (~ *bho̱k' bho̱ṇḍro̱ṅ*) "yawning (hole)" may possibly be old, cf. *paṅ paṇḍṛaṅ*, id.

So. *puṅ* "to bulge", *kĕmpúṅ-* (*kimpúṅ-*) "belly" ~ Khasi *kypoh* (dial. *poh*), id. (Tibeto-Burman *pok, sapōk, tepok*, etc. ? N. *popo* = *popok'* ?) cf. Khmer *kupōṅ* "pot-bellied".

Note final *ṅ* as nasalization of *-h* in Kh. *romoṅ* "nose" ~ *tamu* "to sneeze", Semang *moh* (Orang Benua *muṅ*) "nose"; M. K. *bīṅ* "snake" ~ Bahnar *bih*, Stieng *bē̄h*; S. *khọrlọṅ* "hollow, cavity", So. *l'ūṅ-* "a pit", *lúṅĕr-* "cave, hole" (Nicob. *onlọṅ*, Khmer *luṅ* "to make a hole", Bahnar *śöluṅ* "ditch", etc.) ~ Semang *jĕlo* "hole"; **liṅ* in S. *jeleṅ*, M.Bh.Ho *jiliṅ*, K. *ghiliṅ* "long", J. *jaliṅ* "tall" (cf. Palaung *hlūṅ*, Mon *gliṅ*, Stieng *glaṅ*, *klaṅ*, Nicob. *caliṅ*, "long") ~ **liḥ* in So. *jálē-*, *jelē-*, Kh. *jhela'* (written *jhelab*), S. *jhaḷ* (with *a* pointing to **jhaḷi* < **jaliḥ*), id.; **riṅ* in K. *riṅ*, M. *riṛiṅ*, S. *hiṛiṅ* ~ **riḥ* in So. *kĕrē-*, Kh. *iri'* (spelt *irib*) "to forget"; J. *ḍiṅ* "to give" ~ Palaung *dẹḥ* (N. *indē*, GB. *iṇḍē*?); *alaṅ* (K. *lāṅ*) "tongue" ~ Toba Batak *dilah* (cf. M. *le'*, Ho *lee* ~ Pantang Kapur *pĕleṅ*, id.?).

Final ṅ:

biṛtuṅ "to turn the posterior to" (cf. *cuṭuṅ*) ~ *bituć*, id.

heṅ pheṅ "to keep back offended, be cross" ~ *bheṅcọk'*, *bhẽ̄ṛcọk'* "to be reluctant, shy", etc. Root *bα-yα* "aside".

bọṅ bọṅ "stretched out long" ~ *bọe bọe*, *bọela* "long, tall", *bọnto bọyọl* "in one long line, to stretch out". Root *bα-yα*.

K. *kōn* (Nimar dial. *kōnj*) "to call, invite" ~ S. *kọe*, M. *kōe*, Bh. Ho *koe* "to beg, pray, ask for". *Kōnj* (cf. *kōny-ē*, *kōny-enec'* in the Standard dial.) points to an original **kōṅ* (: S. *kọe* = S. *bọṅ bọṅ* : *bọe bọe*).

Final n (final *ṇ* has always become *n*):

S.M. *hon*, K. *kōn*, J. *kun*, etc. "child" ~ So. *kud* "to give birth to", *tulkúd* "to be pregnant". Word-base **kĕ-wαd*? Cf. Nicob. *kōạn*, *kūön*, Palaung *kwōn*, Sakai *kĕuat*, *kuod*, *kuad* "child", Munda **hĕ-waḍi* in J. *whāde* "boy", *hūale*, *wāri* "child", *huari* "short".

gan ganao "to crowd, be numerous" (Campbell) ~ *gad gadao*, id., *gad gud*, *had had*, etc. "in crowds", *gadel*, K. *kāṛu* "crowd, flock". Root *gα-ḍα* (cf. Skr. *gaṇá-*, *ghaṭā-*, etc.).

gan ganao "to rush" ~ *gud gudạu* "with a rush", etc.

gọn gọn "silent, reserved" ~ *gundur musạk'*, id., *gandac' gunduc'* (etc.) "eccentric, one who keeps himself away from others", *gạ(ṇ)ḍiạ*, *gạṇḍhiạ* "reserved". Root *gα-ḍα*.

S.K. *isin* "to cook", So. *ĕsín-* "to be boiled or cooked" (Centr. Nic. *ishīan-hata* "cooked", Besisi *cīn*, etc.) ~ Sakai *cet*, etc. (Blagden's list, C. 237).

Perhaps J. *tamon(i)* "mouth" (quoted by three authorities), Kh. *tomõ* ~ J. *tamar, tomor,* Kh. *tomot* (< **tamūt*, see p. 392).

8. Nasalization of final plosives is also found in Further Indian and Indonesian languages, *e.g.* Palaung *yām* "dead" ~ Khasi *iāp* "to die", Malay *asin* ~ So. *bĕsēd* "salt", Boloven *juon* ~ Sakai *ā-jud* "to send", Khasi *pān* ~ *kyrpād* "to ask" and in general the IN. *doublets* of the type *kĕm/kĕp* "to enclose, grasp" [1]). Brandstetter, *op. c.* p. 31, explains them as "fossilized relics of a former linguistic vitality", originating from old sandhi-variants (on account of certain sandhi-phenomena found in Mentaway), although elsewhere (p. 350) Tontemboan *urĕm* "to clasp round" ~ *urĕp* "to cover" is explained as a case of consonantal variation and paralleled with *kĕrĕs* : *kurĕs*, etc. Other scholars merely state the fact without making an attempt to account for it.

No explanation will be satisfactory unless it embraces the phenomena of the whole field of Austric, as the parallelism is so striking that it cannot reasonably be ascribed to chance coincidence. It would appear that for such a comprehensive theory the Munda facts will be particularly important as they allow some interesting conclusions regarding the Austric word-structure. The most remarkable fact of the Munda materials is the occurrence of disyllabic variants with "internal" nasalization by the side of words with nasalized final consonant, *e.g.*, M. *rom com* ~ *rombā combā* "many-branched". It is clear that the fundamental problem to be solved is this: is *rom com* a shortened variant of *rombā combā*, or does the latter owe its origin to suffixation of *-ā*? Further Indian languages do not prove anything in this matter on account of their tendency towards monosyllabism (cf. Bahnar *măt*, Semang *met* ~ Malay *mata* "eye"; Stieng, Besisi *joṅ* ~ S. *jaṅga* "leg"). It is Munda itself which will have to answer our question. Now, since a root *ḍa-wa*, to which these words were referred above (pp. 386, 395), leads us to suppose that the disyllabism

[1]) Cf. Schmidt, Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache 727 f., Brandstetter, Introduction to IN. linguistics 31, R. A. Kern, BTLV 102, pp. 282, 293, 297, 333, etc. Several instances have been quoted above (§ 3, end). Often, however, the variation may be of comparatively late date, cf. So. *garēb* : *garēm* "to belch", In Central Sakai *cīp* "bird" : *cīm-klāk*, etc. (Wilkinson, Vocab. of Central Sakai 61) the final nasal is preserved in composition, but has become a stop in other cases (cf. variants *döṅ* : *döḳ* "hole"). Malay has many variants like *ĕluḳ, ĕluṅ* "curved", *lĕmbaḥ, lĕmbaṅ* "valley".

of *rombā combā* directly reflects that of the root, the answer will ultimately depend on whether our basic hypothesis of Proto-Munda disyllabic roots is accepted. This again is based on the observation that often consonants appear to be inserted into what at first sight seems to be the root syllable, *e.g.*, *cạ-r-pịr* "with outstretched horns": *cap capa* "wide-spreading". To account for it, we assume a root *ḍα-wα*, the components of which must originally have formed a divisible unit [1]). In view of the IN. rules of nasalization a similar conclusion can be drawn from *co-mbā*, viz. that the last consonant of the seeming root, viz. *b*, is in fact the initial sound of the proper root, with which a presuffixal element *ḍa-* has coalesced to form a new unit. If this be correct, *rom com* must be a shortened variant, and final nasalization must also be taken as an indication of disyllabism of the root. This further supposition leads us to posit also a root *wα-g/kα* for *mak'* "to cut" (p. 385) on account of *ṭe-maṅ* "to behead" (p. 396), and *yα-g/kα* for Kh. *yok'* "to see" (p. 396) on account of S. *oyoṅ*. This is, it is true, a working hypothesis but since the origin of *-maṅ* (~ *mak'*) can hardly be different from that of *laṅ laṅ* (~ *ṭak' ṭak'*, root *ḍα-gα*, p. 396), I think it will be correct.

In view of the Common Austric character of the nasalization this theory will be of some consequence for Indonesian too, as we shall have to derive every IN. word with *ancient* nasalization of the final consonant from a disyllabic root, *e.g.*, Jav. *tĕbaṅ* "to cut off", Mal. *tĕbaṅ*, Ngaju Dyak *tewen* "to fell" ~ Tagalog *tabak* "chopper" from *wα-g/kα* (like S. *ṭemaṅ*). The question then arises if perhaps *every* root originally was a disyllable. Besides the "final nasalization" there are in IN. at least two other indications which point to this conclusion, viz. the Common Austric fact that words expressing a similar idea often end in

[1]) A detailed discussion of the phonetical and morphological problems connected with the reconstruction of Proto-Munda roots will be found in "Munda and Proto-Munda" (not yet published). I will only observe here that it is possible that in words with a more of less "emotional" value *n* or *r* has secondarily been inserted (see Gonda, BTLV vol. 101, p. 141 ff.). I do not consider such instances as *ḍhercọk'*, *ḍhẹn'cọk'* ~ *ḍhẹcọk'*, *lẹcọk'* "limping" entirely reliable examples of Proto-Munda infixation. Many such variants may be of comparatively late date. We must moreover reckon with blending on a very large scale. But here we are only concerned with the reconstruction of the prehistoric form of the Munda words, and I do not think that such objections can invalidate the *principles* upon which this study is based.

the same consonant [1]), and the occurrence of root-variants with, and without, a vowel after the final consonant [2]). In prim. Indonesian, however, though non-prefixed and non-iterated root-words sometimes preserve their disyllabic form (*e.g.* IN. **baṅa* "wide open", **saṅa*, **paṅa* "bifurcated" ~ Tag. *sabaṅ*, Jav. *cawaṅ*, id., IN. **paṅpaṅ*, etc.) [3]), the root-complexes had already become petrified, mostly monosyllabic, kernels, before which other determinatives were affixed to form new word-bases ; whereas in Proto-Munda the same root-complexes still preserved, to some extent at least, their original character of loose units, *e.g.*, Proto-Munda *wa-ka* in Skr. *vákala-*, m. "the inner bark of a tree" ~ *va-l-ká-*, m.n. "bark of a tree", as contrasted with Tagalog *bakbak* "to bark, strip", Jav. *babak* "stripped of the skin or bark". Analogous IN. instances are, it seems, but seldom found, *e.g.* Sundanese *jĕmpe* "silent" by the side of *jĕp*, Old Jav. *jĕjĕp*, id. (R. A. Kern, p. 318). As the current theory based on the assumption of a monosyllabic root **jĕp* is inadequate to account for it, it argues strongly in favour of the theory of disyllabic roots.

At this point of our investigation we are reminded of the words which the Danish scholar Kurt Wulff wrote more than thirty years ago. After having rejected Brandstetter's explanation of such IN. *doublets* as IN. **buṅa* "flower": Old. Jav. *buṅ* "shoot" he added: "Ausserdem ist aber der Wechsel von konsonantisch mit vokalisch auslautender Wurzelform nicht auf das Indonesische beschränkt, sondern er findet sich auch in anderen austrischen Sprachen, im Nikobar und (sehr häufig) in den Munḍa-Sprachen, vielleicht auch in anderen Gruppen ; man wird diese

[1]) See Schmidt, Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, p. 54 ff. (whose view that these final consonants are old suffixes is anything but probable), and Conrady, Festschrift Kuhn. The analysis of Munda furnishes numerous examples, as *ba-ya*, *ḍa-ya* (*ha-ya*) "loosely, slovenly", *ba-ga*, *ḍa-ga* (*ha-ga*) "wide open", *ba-ḍa*, *ḍa-ḍa*, *ga-ḍa* "uneven, rough", *ba-ḍa*, *ḍa-ḍa* "large", *ḍa-ya*, *ka-ya* "tall", *ba-ḍa*, *ga-ḍa* "bent", *ba-ḍa*, *ga-ḍa* "crowded", *ḍa-ḍa*, *ga-ḍa*, *wa-ḍa* "stunted", *ḍa-ḍa*, *ba-ḍa*, *ga-ḍa* "bare, shaved", etc.

[2]) Cf. in Further India : Khmus *yopa* "night" : Khmer *yup*, id., Semang *yup* "evening" (S. *n'umbaḳ'*, *lumbaḳ'*, if old, would point to a disyllabic root **yu-pa*, but see p. 390) ; Sakai *kĕna* "female : Sué *kan*, etc.

[3]) Similarly, *e.g.*, S. *rolo rolo* : *morol morol*, M. *gurul gurul* "staringly, to stare", So. *orō'l* "to watch" ; So. *duṅgū-* "to be bent", Jav. *ḍoko* "to bend, stoop", *ḍĕku* "to bow, stoop" : Kh. *hinḍuṅ* "to stoop, creep", Malay *tunduk* "to stoop", *runduk* "bent down"; cf. also S. *bigǫ bǫgǫ* "fat, corpulent", *pikǫ pǫkǫ*, id.: Mal. *gĕpuk*, *gĕmuk* "fat", *gĕmbuṅ* "puffed, swollen", *cĕmbuṅ* "corpulent", *umbaṅ* "plump" (but also, *e.g.*, So. *puṅ* "to bulge"); Kh. *ḍoko*, J. *doko* "to sit": Mal. *ḍuḍuk* "to sit, dwell", Sund. *dumuk* "to dwell", Tagalok *lukluk* "to sit down", etc.

Erscheinung im Indonesischen schwerlich von der ganz ähnlichen in den anderen verwandten Idiomen trennen können. Wie sie zu erklären ist — ob vielleicht ein Rest einer noch älteren Wurzelform als der monosyllabischen — ist eine Frage, die sich schwerlich lösen lässt, ehe das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Zweige des austrischen Sprachstammes zueinander klarer geworden ist, und das kann erst dann geschehen, wenn wenigstens die Lautlehre und die Morphologie jedes einzelnen für sich viel gründlicher erforscht sein wird, als bisher; denn so bedeutsam der von W. Schmidt gelieferte Nachweis einer Verwandtschaft der indonesisch-melanesisch-polynesischen Sprachgruppe mit den Mon-Khmer- und den Munḍa-Sprachen sowie einigen anderen Idiomen ist, so lässt es sich nicht leugnen, dass bislang mit dieser Verwandtschaft verhältnismässig wenig anzufangen ist. Anderseits darf es wohl als ganz sicher gelten, dass die verwandten Sprachgruppen zur Aufhellung mancher Probleme der indonesischen Linguistik, die von dieser allein nicht gelöst werden können, ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel sein werden . . ." [1]) These words bear striking witness to the author's penetrating intellect. We may anticipate that the Munda languages will prove to be of greater and more vital interest for Indonesian linguistics than they are generally held to be [2]).

[Note. As Professor C. C. Berg kindly points out, the following connexions proposed in § 2 cannot be maintained: *jaḃaṅ* ~ Jav. *aḃaṅ*; *bai* ~ Jav. *gawe*; *biṭ²* ~ Mal. *tĕrbit* and *lebu* ~ Tag. *tawo*. Beside Jav. *aṅob* there is a non-nasalized form *huab*].

[1]) Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen, vol. I (1910—1911), p. 235 f.
[2]) Cf., *e.g.*, Brandstetter, An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, p. 25.

HO-LING

BY R. A. KERN, LEIDEN

I

In the Old History of the T'ang dynasty (618—906) there is a note on *Dva-pa-tan* which in the translation of Groeneveldt runs as follows: "The country of *Dva-pa-tan* is situated to the "south of Camboja, at a distance of two months, going by sea. "It lies at the east of *Ka-ling* (Java) and the west of *Mi-li-kü*, "on its north it has the sea." [1])

In the same work *Ka-ling* is spoken of in this way: "Ka-ling "is situated on an island in the southern ocean, it lies on the eastern "side of *Sumatra* [*Pa-li* or *Po-li* G.], on the western side of *Bali* "[*Dva-pa-tan* G.], towards the north it has *Camboja* and on the "south the sea." [2])

Groeneveldt's version of this passage on *Ka-ling* has been corrected by Pelliot, it should be to this effect: "The kingdom of "*Ho-ling* [Pelliot's transcription of the same word] is situated on "an island in the southern seas, to the east it touches on *P'o-li*, "to the west on *T'o-p'o-teng* [*Dva-pa-tan* with Groeneveldt], to "the north on *Tchen-la* [= Camboja], to the south it is near "the Ocean [3])." According to this rectification what Groeneveldt calls "west" is really "east" and the reverse; T'o-p'o-teng (Dva-pa-tan) being to the west of Ka-ling. But as the note on Dva-pa-tan quoted by Groeneveldt states that it lies to the east of Ka-ling, the two versions appear to be contradictory.

This conclusion was made in a former paper [4]), in the assumption that Groeneveldt's rendering of the note on Dva-pa-tan was right

[1]) W. P. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese sources. (Reprint, Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China. Second Series, vol. I, p. 183.)

[2]) O.c., p. 138.

[3]) P. Pelliot, Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde, B.E.F.E.O. IV, p. 280.

[4]) „Joartan wedergevonden ?", Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 102, p. 544.

and, if not, would have been corrected by Pelliot. The conclusion was too rash. During the war there was no opportunity to consult M. Pelliot. Since peace was restored, I could make inquiries from Professor Duyvendak after his safe return to Leiden. He most kindly informed me that Groeneveldt in the note on Dva-pa-tan had made the same mistake as he did in that on Ka-ling. Accordingly the note on Dva-pa-tan is to be read: "at the *west* of Ka-ling and the *east* of Mi-li-kü" etc. Consequently, the text is in conformity with that on Ka-ling, and the supposition of incongruency has to be dropped.

However, it is obvious that Dva-pa-tan or T'o-p'o-teng[1]) is *not* situated to the east of *Mi-li-kü = Maloku,* the Moluccos, but to the west of it. And, if Mi-li-kü is east, *Ka-ling* is west and the translation of Groeneveldt, though wrong, is essentially correct in consequence of the fact that the Chinese author has interchanged east and west.

The note on Ho-ling, after correction, becomes: "The kingdom "of Ho-ling is situated on an island in the southern seas, to the "*west* it touches on P'o-li, to the east on T'o-p'o-teng, to the north "on Tchen-la, to the south it is near the Ocean."

The same correction should be made in the note on Ka-ling in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty, as translated by Pelliot: "Ho-ling is also called Chö-p'o[2]), to the *west* it reaches at P'o-li, "to the east at T'o-p'o-teng, to the south it is along the sea, to "the north is Tchen-la."

II

Groeneveldt has identified Ka-ling with Java in accordance with the New History. This book, however, contains a paragraph which presents a serious obstacle against the identification. It reads: "When at the summer-solstice a gnomon is erected of "eight feet high, the shadow (at noon) falls on the south side and "is two feet four inches (2,4) long[3])." This applies to a place with northern latitude, according to the calculation, made by M. Takakusu at Lat. 6°8′ N.[4]). But Java lies to the south of the equator. M. Pelliot and M. Barth, quoted by him, were of

[1]) Djawartan near Grĕsik (Java), Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 102, p. 540ff.
[2]) Written in two ways in Chinese.
[3]) Groeneveldt o.c., p. 139.
[4]) J. Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing, p. XLVII–Oxford 1896.

opinion that there was some mistake, they suggested explanations to the effect that in reality a place south of the equator was meant. Neither explanation is satisfactory, M. Pelliot himself gave his for what it was worth ("pour ce qu'elle vaut") [1]). However, a mistake is out of the question: I-tsing mentions Ho-ling amidst the islands of the South sea viz. the South Chinese sea [2]). In the "Mémoire ... sur les religieux éminents" by I-tsing, is said that Ho-ling is on the way between China and Çrī Malayu [3]). So it was situated north of this last country and Java is south of it. I-tsing's communications being in accordance with the note on the sundial, it is clear that Ho-ling, spoken of here, lay north of Sumatra.

A port of call north of Sumatra can only be located at two spots, viz. either on the western or on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula. The northernmost point of Borneo reaches north-east beyond Lat. 6° N., it is too far out of the way to be taken into account. Brunei, the only port where ships from abroad called, is at Lat. 5 N., it is also too much out of the way for ships sailing from the West to China.

The eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula is battered by the north-east monsoon that blows from the latter part of November till March across the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam. All that time the sea can be so unpleasantly rough that coasting steamers may have to seek shelter behind the islands off Pahang and Johore and sailing boats dare not go out to sea [4]). There are some rivers but in front of their mouths there are bars of sandbanks, heaped up by the monsoon-driven waves of the China Sea which prevent the entry of vessels of considerable draught. At Lat. 6° N. or there abouts there is no natural harbour where sea-going ships could enter. So the port I-tsing visited on his return-journey after starting from Çrīboja must be sought on the western coast of the Peninsula. Here lies at Lat. 6°5' N. *Old-Kĕdah* at the mouth of the Kĕdah-river [5]). The new capital Alor Star lies further inland, on the bank of the same river.

[1]) Pelliot o.c., p. 294.
[2]) Takakusu o.c., p. 10.
[3]) I-tsing, "Mémoire ... sur les religieux éminents", ed. Chavannes, p. 42 – Paris 1894.
[4]) (Sir) R. O. Winstedt, Malaya, p. 24. 25. – London 1923.
[5]) F. J. Newbold, Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, II, p. 21. – London 1839.

It appears that the place, called *Ho-ling* by I-tsing is the same as *Kědah*, Chinese *Kai-tcha* [1]). At first sight it looks strange that people travelling from South Sumatra to China should make a detour to Kědah. Why not take the direct route from Çrīvijaya to China, leaving the Malay Peninsula to one's left side? The reason probably was that the east side was a wild and unhospitable coast whereas Kědah was a shipping centre on the west coast. Here ships from different parts met. Travellers were sure to find ships to continue their journey. It is a well-known fact that long routes were sailed by sections. Coming from Çrīboja I-tsing would not fail to find in Kědah a ship to bring him back to China.

The second question to be answered is for what reason the name Ho-ling was also applied to Kědah by the Chinese. It is not astonishing that a place was known to the Chinese by two names, the New History of the T'ang dynasty mentions also two names for Java. Nor is it surprising that Kědah was indicated by the alternate name of Ho-ling. In India and beyond people of the same profession were and are wont to live together in compounds. Merchants from India were scattered all over the East-Indian Archipelago. Undoubtedly they lived together when settled in any considerable number. They were called *kěling*; the name is not restricted to people from Kalingga, all people from the South of India were Kělings, most of them were Tamils. In Kawi-oorkonde II the word is already used as it is to-day [2]). Chinese, trading on Kědah here came in contact with Kělings and not with the native population as the latter did not take part in trade. The Indonesian professions were, with rare exceptions, agriculture and fishery. The Malays of the Malay Peninsula were fishermen and pirates. During centuries these conditions continued to prevail in Malaka: at the arrival of the Portuguese in the beginning of the 16th century commerce was entirely in the hands of foreigners: Indian merchants, both Moslim and Hindu, as well as Javanese in a lesser degree. This state of affairs has not materially changed up to the present day. In Singapore and Pulau Pinang wholesale trade is still in the hands of foreigners. The

[1]) First identified by S. Beal in: Journal Royal Asiatic Society, New Series XIII, p. 560.

[2]) Kawi-oorkonden. Met inleiding en transcriptie van Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart. - Leiden 1875.

only difference is that nowadays the mercantile class is composed of foreigners from all parts of the world.

It is neither strange nor exceptional that the Chinese, coming to Kĕdah, called the town after that quarter with which they were concerned.

Mutatis mutandis all that is said holds good for Ho-ling as a name for Java or a part of it. The Javanese themselves did not call their country Kĕling (Ho-ling) but it was called by this name on account of the numerous Kĕlings settled in the sea-ports and, in some degree, in the up country. For we may safely assume that from the beginning of the Christian era streams of immigrants from India had come over to different parts of Java.

III

The note on the gnomon unquestionably pointing to a place north of the equator, some investigators have been induced to consider the whole chapter on Ho-ling in the New History of the T'ang dynasty as regarding to Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula. To settle this it will be best to give an analysis of all that is said about Ho-ling in both Histories of the T'ang dynasty.

We give here once more the initial paragraph of the Old History in the amended text: "The kingdom of Ho-ling is situated on "an island in the southern seas, to the west it touches at P'o-li, "to the east at T'o-p'o-teng, to the north at Tchen-la, to the south "it is near the Ocean."

First, here is spoken of a kingdom, Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula is a locality. The description applies to Java, it does not apply to the Malay Peninsula, for this has no other, different countries to the west and east of it nor has it the Ocean to the south.

The Old History continues: "The walls of the city are made of "palisades; there is also a large building of two stories, covered "with the bark of the gomuti palm, in this the king lives, and "he sits on a couch of ivory.

"When they eat, they use no spoons or chopsticks, but put the "food into their mouth with their fingers.

"They have letters, and know a little of astronomy.

"Wine is made out of the flowers of the cocoa-nut tree; the "flowers of this tree are more than three feet long and as large as "a man's arm, these are cut and the juice is collected and made "into wine, which is sweet and intoxicating."

This is all that is said about Ho-ling in the Old History. The facts related here are not known from other sources nor is there any special reason to associate them either with Java or with the Malay Peninsula. They can be associated with both territories in question, and consequently they are inconclusive. The "king" can be any chief.

As the first paragraph of the New History corresponds with that in the Old one, it need not be discussed again. The New History then goes on to deal with the same subjects as are related in the Old History but in somewhat different terms and in greater detail. The text says: "The people make fortifications of wood, "and even the largest houses are covered with palm leaves. They "have couches of ivory and mats of the outer skin of bamboo.

"The land produces tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros "horns and ivory. The country is very rich; there is a cavern "from which salt water bubbles up spontaneoulsy. They make "wine of the hanging flowers of the cocoa-palm: when they drink "of it they become rapidly drunk. They have letters and are "acquainted with astronomy. In eating they do not use spoons "or chopsticks.

"In this country there are poisonous girls; when one has inter- "course with them, he gets painful ulcers and dies, but his body "does not decay."

These particulars cannot be assigned with certainty to one or the other of the two countries. As to the statement about the couches of ivory, the Old History seems nearer to truth than the New one. It is indeed more probable that the king sits on a couch of ivory than that ivory couches were used by the mass of the people. — It is well known that the Javanese during the Hindu-Javanese period were acquainted with astronomy, but there are no indications to assume the same with regard to the Malays of the Malay Peninsula.

We are informed that the land produced ivory. Elephants are indigenous in the Malay Peninsula but in Java they were not in historic times. Must we infer from this that it is the Peninsula which is here intended? Such a conclusion is by no means necessary. The Chinese—and not they alone—habitually called a commodity a product of the land where they used to obtain it. Java was a market of spices, so it was stated that the land produced them. Tusks were certainly to be had in Java. In the year

647 A.D. the king of *Jawartan* sent envoys to the Chinese emperor to bring elephant-tusks as a tribute [1]).

Chau Ju-Kua mentions that in the same region viz. Jawartan and the delta of the Brantas-river people had elephant-tusks [2]), probably for export to the eastern part of the Lesser Sunda Islands (Timor and environs), where up to the present times they were a current commodity.

Elephants were frequently met with in Java. From ancient times elephants belonged to the pomp of native courts in India. Countries in the East-Indian Archipelago, culturally influenced by the Indian Mainland, eagerly introduced the splendour and grandeur of Indian princes into their own country. The Maghribine traveller Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, when arriving in the kingdom of *Samudra* (North Sumatra) in the 14th century, found a king whose court was wholly fashioned after the Indian model. He received him, sitting on an elephant, having fifty harnessed elephants on each side. Even in the 17th century Sultan Iskandar Thāni of Acheh at *baḳar ʿīd* (the cattle festival) went from his palace to the mosque in a stately procession, escorted by many tens of elephants [3]). D'alboquerque sent an elephant from Malaka to the king of Java "for in that country they are held in very great esteem" [4]). When the Dutch of the so-called Second Voyage called at the port of Tuban (North coast of Java), the king met them, sitting on an elephant. He had twelve elephants near his palace, each in a separate stable and moreover a very big and high one, on which he rode when going in battle (1599) [5]). We learn from the Javanese chronicles that the king of Java Senapati, the Pangeran Banawa and the Sultan of Pajang rode on elephants [6]). Willem Lodewijcksz, the author of the Narrative of the first Dutch voyage to the East-Indies (1595—1597), writes: "The animals which are found in the "isle of Java are firstly elephants, which are tame there and used "for labour, to which end they are daily let out on hire [7])." As

[1]) Groeneveldt o.c., p. 183.
[2]) Chau Ju-kua, Chu-fan-chi ed. Hirth and Rockhill, p. 77, 83. – St. Petersburg 1911. Cf. Bijdr. Kon. Inst. vol. 102, p. 549 ff.
[3]) The Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. III, part I, p. 121 ff. (Hakluyt Society, Second Series XLV. – London 1919.) – There is a most interesting drawing inserted, made by Mundy as a witness, giving a vivid picture of the ceremony.
[4]) The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque, vol. III, p. 161. (Hakluyt Society First Series LXII.) – London 1880.
[5]) See for illustrations: Linschoten Vereeniging XLVI, p. 157 and 177.
[6]) Babad Tanah Djawi (Dutch translation), p. 84, 90, 92. – The Hague.
[7]) Linschoten Vereeniging VII, p. 132. – The Hague 1915.

late as the year 1627 the king of Palembang sent seven elephants to the Susuhunan of Mataram [1]). Then it begins to decrease, the East-India Company was a bar to native navigation. In Bantĕn, the western kingdom of Java, the state-elephant, named Rara kawi, had its place at a pole near the river. Some years before Pangeran Japara from the central north coast of Java appeared before the palace in Bantĕn in full splendour, riding on an elephant [2]). After the capture of the Mataram capital by troops of Truna Jaya in 1677, the elephants of the court were marched off to his capital in Kadiri [3]). The elephant on the southern *alun-alun* (courtplain of the *kraton* (palace) at Jogyakarta) is the last representative of this lost glory.

A cavern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously is not known from the Malay Peninsula, but in the centre of Java, southeast of Samarang, there is an extensive field full of mud-volcanoes, from which salt is gained.

Taking all noted particulars together there is no evidence which points with certainty to either of the two territories in question.

The New History continues as follows:

"The king lives in the town of Java (Japa), but his ancestor, "*Ki-yen*, had lived more to the east, at the town *Pa-lu-ka-si*. "On different sides there are twenty-eight small countries, all "acknowledging the supremacy of Java. There are thirty-two "high officials, and the Da-tso-kan-hiung is the first of them."

What is described here, is a land of a considerable territorial extent, ruled by means of a complicated and advanced system of government. The economic basis of a similar country can only be a highly-developed agriculture, a system of irrigated rice-fields (*sawah*), spread over a vast area as is only found in the Isle of Java. In the Malay Peninsula there was no room for so vast a kingdom.

The population of the Malay Peninsula in the years 1901 and 1921 was as follows (in thousands) [4]).

[1]) J. K. J. de Jonge, De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië, vol. V, p. 104.

[2]) H. Djajadiningrat, Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantĕn, p. 38, 54. – Haarlem 1913.

[3]) De Jonge o.c., vol. VII, p. XVI.

[4]) All figures are taken from (Sir) R. O. Winstedt, Malaya, p. 73 ff. – London 1923.

Territory	Malays		Chinese		Indians	
	1901	1921	1901	1921	1901	1921
Straits Settlements :						
Singapore	36	59	164	317	18	32
Poelau Pinang. . . .	106	110	98	135	38	53
Malaka	73	86	19	46	1	19
Federated Malay States :						
Perak.	142	239	150	225	35	130
Sĕlangor.	41	92	110	171	17	133
Nĕgri Sĕmbilan . . .	57	78	33	65	6	34
Pahang	73	102	9	34	1	9
Non-federated Malay States :						
Djohor		158		97		24
Kĕdah		237		59		33
Pĕrlis		34		4		1
Kĕlantan.		286		13		4
Trĕngganu		146		7		—
Total		1627		1173		472

Moreover ± 28.000 resp. 32.000 souls autochtone savage tribes of non-Austronesian race.

In the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and Johore, which contain about threequarters of the total population, deaths during the decade 1911—1921 have been largely in excess of births, and, were it not for the stream of immigrants from China and India and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, there would have been a decrease in the population. Of the population enumerated in 1921 just over 45 per cent. were immigrants.

About the beginning of the XXth century the country was opened up in grand style by the British : Chinese worked tin-mines, rubber was cultivated in plantations by Tamil coolies under European supervision. Notwithstanding this great effort, in the year 1932 there was still 72 per cent of the surface of the Peninsula

primaeval forest [1]). The whole population was accumulated in the coastal regions.

A century before, the constellation was as follows:

	Number of souls.
Kĕdah and Ligor (Siamese included)	50.000
Perak	35.000
Sĕlangor and Kalang	12.000
Djohor (Siamet and Muar included)	25.000
Pahang	40.000
Kĕmaman	1.000
Kĕlantan	50.000
Trĕngganu	30.000
Total (Siamese, Chinese, Chuliahs and Klings included)	243.000 [2])
Interior, autochthons	28.000

So, a hundred years ago, only a small strip of land along the coasts was inhabited by Malays, scattered in small kampongs. Agriculture was of little importance, some crops were cultivated near the houses, and in gardens for self-consumption, the main means of subsistence being fishery and piratery, connived by chiefs and Sultans [3]). Piracy was not considered a crime, but a time-honoured occupation, not inferior to any other. Chau Ju-kua relates that in San-fo-ts'i (South Sumatra) in olden times they used an iron chain as a barrier to keep the pirates of other countries in check. It could be raised or lowered by a cunning device. If a merchant ship arrived it was lowered [4]). But the inhabitants themselves were pirates too: they controlled the straits through which the foreigners' sea and land traffic in either direction must pass [5]). In the same way, centuries after, Malaka, from a fishing village, rose to power and became an emporium, but the Malays did not take part in its growth which was the work of Indian and Chinese and Javanese merchants. The process is clearly described by Chinese and Portuguese authors. The Malays remained, as before, fishermen, perchance pirates. Agriculture

[1]) Encyclopaedia Brittannica s.v. Malay Peninsula, article by (Sir) H(ugh) C(lifford).
[2]) Newbold o.c., vol. I, p. 418 ff.
[3]) See the chapter on Piracy in Newbold o.c.
[4]) Chau Ju-kua o.c., p. 62. [5]) Ibid.

being of no importance, provisions to victual the ships with had to come from abroad: North Sumatra, especially Java. If the supplies were slackening there was dearth in Malaka. It is impossible that these people should have had a highly developed government in I-tsing's time.

As regards the passage on the king of Java, it may be observed that the supposed personal name of his ancestor, "Ki-yen", is evidently the Javanese title (*Ra*) *kriyan*, in which the honorific prefix *ra* has been omitted. The town of *Pa-lu-ka-si* is *Waru* (near) *Grĕsik*, an *agrahāra* well-known in Old-Javanese history [1]).

The New History continues: "On the mountains is the district "*Long-pi-ya*, where the king frequently goes to look at the sea." A pavilion in some high place with a fine view not far from the king's residence can be imagined in both places. The name Long-pi-ya has not been identified.

After the note on the sundial which we have discussed above, the text continues: "During the period Chin-kwan (627—649) "this country sent envoys to bring tribute, together with those "of Dva-ha-la and Dva-pa-tan (Bali G.). The emperor favoured "them with a reply under the great seal, and as Dva-ha-la asked "for good horses these were given to them." As Dva-ha-la is Janggala, the delta of the Brantas-river and Dva-pa-tan is Jawartan, in the same region, it is more probable that another country in Java is meant than a place in the Malay Peninsula. If this is true, the preceding note on the sundial is clearly an interpolation.

The New History goes on as follows: "In 674 the people of this "country took as their ruler a woman of the name *Sima*. Her "rule was most excellent, even things dropped on the road were "not taken up. The prince of the Arabs hearing of this, sent a "bag with gold to be laid down within her frontiers; the people "who passed that road avoided it in walking, and it remained for "three years. Once the heir-apparent stepped over that gold, "and *Sima* became so incensed that she wanted to kill him. Her "ministers interceded again and she had his toes cut off, in order "to give an example to the whole nation. When the prince of "Tazi heard this he became afraid and dared not to attack her."

What we have remarked above about the note on the govern-

[1]) Cf. Bijdr. Kon. Inst., vol. 102, p. 545.

ment, is also true of this story : it can only refer to a large country, not to a coastal settlement.

The New History concludes with a list of embassies : "Between "the years 766—769 three envoys of Ka-ling arrived in China.

"In the year 813 they presented four negro slaves, parrots of "different colours, pinka-birds and other things. The emperor "honoured the envoy with the title of Left Defensor of the Office "of the Four Inner Gates ; the envoy wanted to waive this title in "favour of his younger brother, for which the emperor praised "him and bestowed a title on both.

"Between 827 and 835 they came again to court, bringing tri- "bute.

"Between 860 and 873 they sent an envoy to present female "musicians."

Envoys may have come from either place; if Ho-ling Java is meant here or Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula or both is uncertain.

To sum up our conclusions, part of the information given in the two Histories, such as the thatching of roofs, the making of wine from the flowers of the cocoa-palm etc. belongs to the neutral zone. These points are true of many parts of the East-Indian Archipelago and cannot make the balance in favour of one Ho-ling or the other. Some particulars: the gaining of salt, the richness of the country etc. can be applied to Java, but they are not decisive. The note on the sundial points decidedly to Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula. The most important points, viz. the description of the situation of the island-country, the description of civil administration can only apply to Java.

It is clear now what has happened. The chronicler of the New History has combined the note on Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula with those on Ho-ling Java and put them together under one heading. If we take all available evidence into account, it seems most probable that, with the exception of the note on the sundial, the whole passage relates to Java. Even if one feels inclined to apply some particulars of a neutral character to Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula, this does not affect our main conclusion.

DE AANVANG VAN HET HINDU-INDONESISCHE ACCULTURATIE PROCES

DOOR F. H. VAN NAERSSEN, WAGENINGEN

Een der belangrijkste vraagstukken waaraan verschillende studies zijn gewijd, is dat der Hindu-Indonesische acculturatie of, om in de oude terminologie te blijven, dat der Hindu-kolonisatie in den archipel.

Laatstelijk heeft Professor Bosch dit probleem tot onderwerp van zijn inaugureele rede gekozen, aanvangende met een terugblik op vroegere hypothesen hieraangaande [1]).

Hij is op de gelukkige gedachte gekomen, de Hindu-Indonesische acculturatie aan een betrekkelijk kleine klasse toe te schrijven, aan die der Hindu-„clercen", waarmede hij op dit probleem een nieuw licht heeft doen vallen.

Evenwel, hoe belangrijk ook de invloed dezer Hindu-clercen moge zijn geweest op de Hindu-Indonesische acculturatie in „de lange reeks van eeuwen gedurende welke zij hun werkzaamheid uitoefenden" [2]), een bevredigend antwoord op de vraag hoe het *eerste* contact tusschen de dragers der beide culturen plaats vond, is, dunkt ons, nog niet gegeven.

Het volgende moge beschouwd worden als een poging om dit probleem iets nader tot zijn oplossing te brengen waarbij wij, aangezien elk *historisch* gegeven over de oudste aanrakingen van de Indiërs met de Indonesiërs ontbreekt, aangewezen zijn op *sociologische* verschijnselen. Verschijnselen dus, die in tegenstelling tot historische feiten, niet aan een bepaalden tijd zijn gebonden, die dus onder bepaalde omstandigheden dezelfde zijn, of zij zich in het verleden hebben voorgedaan, of zich in het heden voordoen, dan wel zich in de toekomst zullen voordoen [3]).

[1]) F. D. K. Bosch, Het Vraagstuk van de Hindoe-kolonisatie van den Archipel. Rede uitgesproken op Vrijdag 15 Maart 1946. Leiden 1946.

[2]) Bosch, l.c. blz. 26.

[3]) Cf. F. H. van Naerssen, Cultuurcontacten en Sociale Conflicten in Indonesië. Rede uitgesproken op 19 November 1946. Amsterdam 1946.

Bepalen wij ons eerst tot de door Bosch ontwikkelde "clercen"-theorie, die gebaseerd is op de missionnaire kracht uitgaande van het Indisch Buddhisme en de expansieve kracht door het Çaïwa-Siddhāntisme, waarin het Hindu-Javaansche acculturatie-proces toegeschreven wordt aan een klein aantal Hindu-éliten, die zulk een groot deel der Indonesische bevolking bekeerd zouden hebben. Wij kunnen ons niet voorstellen, dat de primitieve Javanen, Sumatranen en andere Indonesiërs, die invloed der Hindu-beschaving hebben ondergaan en wier oorspronkelijke cultuur overeenkomst moet hebben vertoond met die der tegenwoordige zoogenaamde Oud-Maleiers, zooals de Dajak's en de Toradja's, direct ontvankelijk zouden zijn geweest voor de bekeeringspogingen der vreemdelingen.

Wat het Buddhisme betreft, het is, dunkt ons, niet waarschijnlijk, dat de missionarissen reeds „in de eerste eeuwen onzer jaartelling, toen het Hīnayāna zich tot het Mahāyāna verbreed en verdiept had en de prediking van het hoogste Buddha-ideaal aan alle schepselen tot plicht en roeping had gemaakt" [1]) in breede kringen van het Indonesische volk succes hadden. Voor het oude, nog „zuivere" Buddhisme was het denken van den Indonesiër nog te zeer „prae-intellectueel", te puëriel, om het te kunnen begrijpen, en te emotioneel om het te kunnen waardeeren [2]).

Met het Çaïwa-Siddhāntisme en het Tantrisch Buddhisme echter, waarvan het bestaan-hebben onloochenbaar blijkt uit de oude oorkonden en sculptuur en uit de Oud-Javaansche teksten, was het anders gesteld. Voor de aan beide magico-mystische religies inhaerente tooverpraktijken was het Indonesisch animisme met zijn shamanisme en demonologie wel ontvankelijk [2]) ; begrijpelijk, daar thans bekend is dat in den archipel, in de gebieden waar dit Hinduïsme werd geïntroduceerd, toèn jongere loten van denzelfden ouden stam — de Austrische — naar elkaar toe zijn gegroeid [3]). Daarom is hier, op Indonesischen bodem, dit Hinduïsme niet alleen gretig ontvangen, maar het heeft zelfs een zelfstandige ontwikkeling gehad. Maar dan heeft het acculturatieproces reeds plaats gevonden, terwijl ons doel is, de *allereerste* contacten tusschen de Indonesische en Hindusche culturen te onderzoeken.

[1]) Bosch, l.c. blz. 16.

[2]) Zie vooral hieraangaande : H. Kraemer, Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw. (Proefschr. Leiden). Leiden 1921, blz. 110—111 en 124—134.

[3]) Zie hierover b.v.: S. K. Chatterji, The Foundations of Civilisation in India. Tijdschr. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk., dl. LXVIII, 1928, blz. 65—91.

Behalve het verschil in cultuur-niveau der Indonesiërs en Hindu's is er nog een sociologisch bezwaar tegen een veronderstelling, dat missionarissen den eersten stoot zouden hebben gegeven tot acculturatie.

De moeilijkheid, die het verschil in taal bij missies, zooals Bosch zich die voorstelt, impliceert, nog daargelaten, moeten andere factoren eerst hebben gewerkt, vóórdat het oorspronkelijk hechte en exclusieve magische gemeenschapsgevoel, dat de allesbeheerschende factor in het leven van den primitieven Indonesiër is, in onzekerheid en daarmede het denken in meer individualistische richting werd gebracht en ontvankelijk gemaakt voor vreemde invloeden. Het is immers niet denkbaar, dat vreemdelingen — als zoodanigen moesten de eerste eventueel in den archipel werkende Hindu-missionarissen wel door de Indonesiërs beschouwd zijn geworden — in de primitieve gemeenschappen invloed zouden hebben kunnen uitoefenen op de bestaande religie, die immers het bindende element was van de sociale structuur. In ettelijke volkenkundige beschrijvingen kan men ervaren, hoe de positie is van den vreemdeling in een primitieve gemeenschap [1]). Indien zij er al geduld moesten worden, de quarantainemaatregelen op zulke, niet tot de stamgenooten behoorende individuen zijn van dien aard, dat er geen sprake kan zijn van een meer dan oppervlakkig verkeer onderling [2]).

Wat de missionnaire pogingen betreft: men heeft slechts de zendings- en missierapporten er op na te slaan om kennis te krijgen van de moeilijkheden waarmede de predikers van het Christendom te kampen hebben [3]). En dan hebben zij nog het voordeel, dat hun

[1]) Niet zelden is de gemeenschap den vreemde vijandig gezind. Een Alfoersch gebed b.v. geeft hiervan duidelijk blijk:
„Machtige goden, die wonen in onze huizen van oudsher en overlang,
Weert ziekte en vermoeienis van ons af;
En geeft die aan de strandbewoners, die geen eer bewijzen aan u als goden."
P. A. Wintjes, Alfoersche Gebeden. Tijdschr. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk., dl. XL, 1898, blz. 574.

[2]) Eenige voorbeelden uit: J. Mallinckrodt, Het Adatrecht van Borneo. 2 dln. (Proefschr. Leiden). Leiden 1928: Bescherming van de gemeenschap tegen kwade invloeden van buiten uit door bezwering van den vreemdeling, I, blz. 59, 149, 161, 162, 315. Het gevaar dat de vreemdeling met zich meebrengt in de gemeenschap, b.v. I, blz. 98. De vreemdeling staat buiten de gemeenschap, I, blz. 239, II, blz. 12.
Cf. F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, Het Oeconomisch-magisch Element in Tobasche Verwantschapsverhoudingen. Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. Afd. letterk. dl. 80, serie B, No. 3 (1935), blz. 2—5.

[3]) H. Kraemer, De Strijd over Bali en de Zending. Amsterdam 1933.

weg dikwijls reeds gebaand is door verschillende factoren, die oudtijds zeker niet bestonden : o.a. de steun van het Nederlandsche gezag, de ervaring, die geleid heeft tot een zendingswetenschap [1]). Een der problemen is het winnen van het vertrouwen der gemeenschap en de zorg, dat bekeerlingen niet te lijden hebben van geestelijke en maatschappelijke „Heimatlosigkeit". Want een bekeerling heeft het niet denkbeeldige gevaar onder de oogen te zien, dat hij, met het verbreken der oude religieuze banden, zichzelf buiten de gemeenschap stelt [2]).

Gedachtig aan deze sociaal-religieuze gebondenheid van de primitieve gemeenschap, kunnen wij ons niet voorstellen, dat oudtijds de Hindu-missionarissen een schijn van kans zouden hebben gehad, indien zij bekeeringspogingen hadden aangewend in de nog ongerepte Indonesische samenleving. Met andere woorden : alvorens de Hindu-religies, belichaamd in de Hindu-clercen, invloed konden uitoefenen op den primitieven godsdienst, moest de magische gemeenschap zijn ontwricht. Het zijn factoren van tweeërlei aard die de primitieven in zulk een labielen staat hebben kunnen brengen : een van gewelddadigen of een van economischen aard. Kruyt, Mallinckrodt en Van Ossenbruggen hebben aan de hand van recente gegevens aangetoond, hoe zich dit proces heeft voltrokken, respectievelijk aan de oorspronkelijk exclusieve gemeenschappen der Toradja's, Dajak's en Batak's [3]).

Voor de Hindu-missionarissen moest dus de weg worden gebaand door Hindu-veroveraars (theorie Berg en Moens) of door Hindu-handelaren (theorie Krom). In het eerste geval waren de Hindu's actief en de Indonesiërs passief, in het tweede geval, omgekeerd, de vreemdelingen meer passief en de autochthonen meer actief. Bij een verovering is het een eenvoudige kwestie van wilsoplegging van den vreemden veroveraar ; bij een economische penetratie kunnen zich verschillende gevallen hebben voorgedaan, waarbij echter in den archipel oudtijds steeds de handelswijk der Hindu's een voorname rol heeft vervuld.

Het is met name Van Leur aan wien de eer toekomt bij de

[1]) H. Kraemer, De Strijd over Bali en de Zending, Amsterdam 1933, blz. 24.
[2]) Ibidem, blz. 29, 30.
[3]) Alb. C. Kruyt, b.v. in zijn artikel: „De Hoofden in Midden-Celebes onder het Nederlandsch-Indisch Gouvernement" in Koloniaal Tijdschr. 13 (1924), blz.23—44 en in het verzamelwerk: „The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago", Batavia 1929.
J. Mallinckrodt, l.c. en F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, l.c.

bestudeering der Hindu-Javaansche geschiedenis de sociologische problemen op den voorgrond geplaatst te hebben, waardoor wijdere aspecten werden geopend. Hij heeft er op gewezen, dat wij den internationalen handel te zoeken hebben in bepaalde wijken; en zoo de Indische kooplieden in de heden ten dage nog bestaande „*kampong Kĕling*", terwijl de Hindu-Indonesische cultuur aan de hoven der landschapshoofden gezocht moet worden. „Doch," zoo vervolgt Van Leur zijn betoog, „van de handels- en vreemdelingenwijken gaat geen beslissende Indische beschavingsinvloed uit tot in de hoven van vorsten en grooten" [1]). Bosch is het geheel eens met deze uitspraak en spreekt van een „onoverbrugbaar wijde klove" die moet hebben bestaan tusschen deze beide verschillende sociale sfeeren [2]). Het is teleurstellend, dat beide geleerden, nadat zij vastgesteld hebben, dat bij het onderzoek naar de Hindu-Indonesische beschavingsgeschiedenis rekening moet worden gehouden met twee sociologisch streng van elkaar te scheiden milieu's, hierbij zijn blijven stilstaan.

Wij zijn namelijk van meening, dat er wel Hindu-cultuur aanwezig was in de kampong Kĕling en dat de wijde klove wel overbrugbaar was. Hoe moeten wij ons die cultuur en het contact tusschen de dragers hiervan en de Indonesische „kraton"-kringen voorstellen?

Vooropgesteld zij, dat er in een oorspronkelijk Indonesische maatschappij van een „kraton" geen sprake kan zijn, noch van een vorst in de beteekenis van een landschapshoofd met regeermacht. De huidige typisch Indonesische gemeenschappen hebben wel een adathoofd, doch, zooals bekend mag worden verondersteld, bezit dit hoofd geen regeermacht. Zulk een hoofd is slechts een „primus inter pares". Het eerste stadium nu van acculturatie is — en op dit proces hebben o.a. Kruyt, Mallinckrodt en Van Ossenbruggen ten opzichte van de huidige primitieve volken gewezen [3]) — dat door de aanwezigheid van een economisch sterkere vreemdelingenwijk, i.c. de kampong Kĕling, ontstaan doordat zich de Hindu-handelaren daar zijn gaan vestigen na voorafgaande incidenteele handelsreizen tusschen Indië en bepaalde plaatsen in Indonesië, de

[1]) J. C. van Leur, Eenige Beschouwingen Betreffende den Ouden Aziatischen Handel. (Proefschr. Leiden). Middelburg 1934, blz. 126, 127.

[2]) Bosch, l.c. blz. 14.

[3]) In de op blz. 417, noot 3 genoemde werken. Cf. ook: B. Schrieke, De Inlandsche Hoofden (Rede 1928, Rechtshoogeschool Batavia), Weltevreden 1928.

oorspronkelijk magisch-religieuze adatrechtgemeenschappen sociaal werden ontwricht: het oorspronkelijke adathoofd verloor toen allengs zijn aanzien en moest ten slotte plaats maken voor een landschapshoofd — een Indonesiër die zich uit de magische gemeenschap wist vrij te maken door een vroegtijdig economisch verkeer te onderhouden met de Hindu-handelaren. Eerst in dit stadium kunnen zich acculturatieprocessen voordoen, zooals door Bosch in zijn clercen-hypothese ter sprake zijn gebracht, waarin Hindu-missionarissen een werkzaam aandeel hadden. Dan eerst — en niet eerder — was het mogelijk, dat „inheemsche machthebbers" de Hindu-cultuurdragers als het ware zouden hebben uitgenoodigd en hen met invloedrijke ambten bekleed, zoodat zij „de levende kernen zouden vormen van waaruit het Hinduïsme zich alom in den lande verbreiden zou" [1]).

Zooals boven reeds is opgemerkt, mogen wij de mogelijkheid, dat er een cultureele invloed van de kampong Kĕling op de dan eerst sedert kort aanwezige kratons der landschapshoofden uitging, niet uitsluiten. Integendeel; wij kunnen ons voorstellen dat in zulk een Hindu-wijk, bij een bloeienden handel, de Hindu-cultuur eveneens gedijde; materieel tot uiting komend in behuizing, kleeding etc. en geestelijk voornamelijk in het in acht nemen der vaderlandsche, i.c. Hindusche godsdienstplichten, zoodat het niet ondenkbaar is dat er, zelfs in zulk een omgeving van handelaren, plaats was voor geleerde geestelijken, die men in het vaderland heeft weten over te halen de reis over zee mede te maken om in het verre land het zieleheil hunner landgenooten te verzorgen. Het waren waarschijnlijk geen eersterangs clercen, maar personen die in het buitenland de carrière hoopten te maken, die hun in eigen land was ontgaan of die een leidende functie over een kleine, nog wordende gemeente verkozen boven een ondergeschikte in een wetenschappelijk religieus centrum van naam. Dat den geloovigen Hindu's in deze wijk, al naar gelang van de belangrijkheid der gemeente, tempels, meer of minder fraai van uiterlijk, tot het verrichten hunner religieuze plichten onder leiding der deskundige voorgangers ter beschikking stonden, spreekt vanzelf. Hiertoe moesten heilige beelden, volgens de regelen der Çilpa çāstra's vervaardigd, uit Indië geïmporteerd worden en zeer waarschijnlijk ook de voornaamste ritueele voorwerpen.

[1]) Bosch, l.c.

Aldus kunnen wij ons het ontstaan van een kampong Kĕling voorstellen, van een kleine territoriale Hindu-gemeenschap in de groote Indonesische samenleving.

Mogen wij aannemen, dat zulk een voorstelling beantwoordt aan de werkelijkheid ? Ons dunkt van wel.

Wij hebben onzen blik slechts te richten naar de moderne havenstad Medan. Hier heeft men het voorbeeld van een levende Hinducultuur in een Indonesische omgeving. Hier treft men tempels aan van verschillende Hinduïstische secten, waarin godenbeelden en ritueele utensiliën uit Indië afkomstig aanwezig zijn, bediend door — en dit is het belangrijkste feit, dat Gerard Jansen ons in zijn werkje mededeelt — Indische priesters van de kaste der Brahmanen [1]).

Wat wij hier zien in de cosmopolitische havenstad Medan, hebben de eerste Hollanders die den archipel bezochten eveneens aanschouwd op Bantam. Wel is waar spreekt De Houtman [2]) niet over een Hindu-wijk — ofschoon de aanwezigheid van lieden uit verschillende streken van Indië wordt vermeld en hun levenswijze beschreven — maar aan de hand van hetgeen hij van het Chineesche kamp mededeelt, dat in alle opzichten gelijk blijkt te zijn aan de Chineesche wijken uit onzen tijd — van de buitenwereld afgesloten plaatsen met een volkomen Chineesche samenleving, natuurlijk met een eigen *klĕnteng* — mogen wij aannemen, dat ook de kampong Kĕling er was. Kortom niet alleen toen, maar ook eerder : zoodra een levendige Indische handel de blijvende aanwezigheid van Indische kooplieden vereischte.

Thans, nu wij weten, dat de kampongs Kĕling evenzoovele cellen van Hindu-cultuur in den archipel waren, valt het niet moeilijk de klove, die er bestond tusschen de Indische handelscentra en de residenties der Indonesische machthebbers, te overbruggen. Deze machthebbers immers waren juist degenen die, door het verkeer dat zij onderhielden met de vreemdelingen — i.c. de kampong Kĕling — een economisch en daardoor tevens een politiek overwicht verkregen op de oude adathoofden zonder regeermacht,

[1]) Gerard Jansen, De Andere Helft, Geloof en Gebruiken van onze Oostersche Stadgenooten. Medan 1934. — In dit verband vestigde P. C. de Klerk onze aandacht op de Hindu-wijken der Indische immigranten in West-Indië, die ook getrouwe evenbeelden zijn der Hindusche maatschappij van het moederland.

[2]) De Eerste Schipvaart onder Cornelis de Houtman, Journalen etc. Uitg. en Toegelicht door G. P. Rouffaer en J. W. IJzerman. I. D'Eerste boeck van W. Lodewycksz. 's Gravenhage 1915, blz. 121. Cf. blz. 110 en 120.

met wie de vreemdelingen handel dreven. Zij of hun vertegenwoordigers hadden direct contact met de verschillende vreemdelingenwijken, dus ook met de kampong Kĕling. Op deze wijze kregen de Indonesische landschapshoofden kennis van de Hindusche cultuur. Indien er dan factoren bij kwamen, die gunstig waren voor het acculturatieproces der Hindusche en Indonesische culturen, ontstond aan de hoven dier Indonesische grooten een Hindu-Javaansche cultuur.

Wanneer Van Leur en Bosch spreken van brahmanen en „clercen" die uitgenoodigd werden door inheemsche hoofden, dan waren het althans in den tijd, direct na het eerste contact tusschen de vertegenwoordigers der beide bovengenoemde culturen, déze reeds in den archipel zich bevindende brahmanen. Veel later, pas wanneer de kiem van het als boven door ons voorgestelde acculturatieproces wortel heeft geschoten, heeft er een cultureel verkeer tusschen de thans Hindu-Indonesische kratonkringen en de groote religieus-wetenschappelijke centra in Indië plaats, zooals door Bosch is voorgesteld.

Uit het bovenstaande blijkt, dat wij noch de oude koopliedenhypothese van Krom en anderen geheel verwerpen en evenmin afzijdig staan tegenover de zienswijze van Bosch en Van Leur, waarin een scheiding wordt getrokken tusschen eenerzijds de Indische koopliedenbeschaving en anderzijds de Hinduistische clercen en de Hindu-Indonesische kraton-cultuur. Wij zochten slechts naar het cultureele intermediair tusschen beide in wezen zoo verschillende cultuurcentra. Evenwel ook van de roofridders-hypothese van Berg en Moens[1]) valt een dankbaar gebruik te maken. Er moet rekening gehouden worden met de mogelijkheid dat de primitieve gemeenschappen met geweld werden ontwricht door roofridders, die dan de gewelddadige wegbaners waren voor een Hindu-Indonesische acculturatie.

Men heeft zich tot nog toe bij het speuren naar de brengers der Hindu-cultuur in den archipel beperkt tot één bepaalde maatschappelijke groep; men heeft zich afgevraagd: Wie waren de eerste Hindu-cultuurdragers in Indonesië?, zonder zich voldoende rekenschap te geven van de plaatselijke en tijdelijke omstandigheden, waaronder het eerste contact tusschen de beide culturen plaats vond.

[1]) Cf. Bosch, l.c.

Ons dunkt, dat Hindu-Indonesische cultuurcontacten niet alleen op verschillende plaatsen in den archipel plaats vonden, maar ook, dat dit geschiedde op verschillende wijzen : soms door een „pénétration pacifique", waarbij de kampong Kĕling een voorname rol heeft gespeeld in de verandering der sociale differentiatie in de Indonesische gemeenschappen, een anderen keer en elders door geweld, toe te schrijven aan roofridders [1]).

SUMMARY

The Beginning of Hindu-Indonesian Cultural Contact.

After reviewing the different opinions put forward by Krom (peaceful penetration by traders), Berg (adventurers) and Bosch (literates or "clercs") the author stresses the necessity of taking into account the sociological factor, namely the "unbridgeable gap" that must have existed between the trading centres on the coast and the princely residences of the interior. The missing link is to be found in the formation in the coastal regions of autonomous Hindu communities for which the general name of "Kampong Kĕling" may be used. It is quite understandable that in these communities the various aspects of Hindu civilization came to flourish. The possibility of such a development is evidenced by conditions in modern Kampongs Kĕling, as for instance in the modern sea-port of Medan. The foreign settlements had a disintegrating influence on the Indonesian adat-community, the main features of which were a closed economy and a static society. In Java the new contacts must have given rise to Javanese principalities, a type of social-political organization up to then unknown. In this way we can explain the bridgeing of the gap above-mentioned and, when favoured by other circumstances, the coming into existence of Hindu-Javanese civilization.

[1]) Voor cultuurverwantschap en sociale opportuniteit als factoren bij acculturatie, cf. F. H. v. Naerssen, Het Sociaal Aspect van Acculturatie in Indonesië, Zaïre, Revue Congolaise 1948.

ASSISTANCE ECONOMIQUE MUTUELLE SYSTÉMATISÉE DANS L'ASIE DU SUD ET DE L'EST

UN PHÉNOMÈNE SOCIAL [1])

PAR C. NOOTEBOOM, LEIDEN

D'un nombre de pays de l'Asie du Sud et de l'Est quelques formes d'arrangement financier sont connues, qui, à part de quelques différences de détails, montrent entre elles une ressemblance si grande que nous pouvons parler à bon droit d'un seul élément de culture qui est commun aux civilisations de ces pays-là. Nous voulons parler du *kō* japonais, nommé aussi *mujin* ou *tanomoshi*, du *chit* des Indes anglaises, du *mapaloes* minahassien dans quelques-unes de ses formes, de l'*arisan* javanais, du *djoela djoela* minangkabauien, et du *mohaka* saleierien.

Cette convention revient en principe à ceci: un groupe de personnes convient d'apporter à des dates fixes chacun une petite somme d'argent ou une petite quantité de biens, dont le total est conféré à tour de rôle à chacun des intéressés. Celui qui a reçu une fois un versement est tenu de continuer ses enjeux jusqu'à ce que tout le monde ait eu son tour, mais sans avoir de droits ultérieurs.

Le motif de ces conventions se retrouve en grandes lignes en beaucoup de lieux de l'Asie du Sud et de l'Est, parfois avec quelques variations locales dans le développement. Embree [2]) donne sur le *kō* japonais des informations détaillées. Selon lui l'Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences s.v. Japanese Law mentionne un document de 1275 a.d. dans lequel il est déjà question du *kō*. Probablement le *kō* au Japon est un élément de culture d'ancienne date. Kiyoshi

[1]) Entre eux qui m'ont aidé avec des renseignements il faut nommer spécialement le Dr J. H. Boeke de l'Université de Leiden ; il m'a aimablement donné l'appui de sa grande connaissance de la litérature économique de l'Asie.

[2]) John F. Embree, Suye Mura, a Japanese Village, The University of Chicago Press. 1939, p. 138 e.s.

Ogata, The Co-operative Movement in Japan, London, 1923, mentionne à côté du *kō* les noms *tanomoshi* et *mujin* pour ce phénomène, qu'il déclare être autochtonement japonais[1]). La forme qu'Embree décrit comme la plus ordinaire est la suivante : quelqu'un qui a besoin de crédit invoque le secours de quelques amis ; ensemble ils fixent approximativement le montant de la convention financière à passer et tâchent de trouver d'autres participants. Aux premières réunions on détermine exactement les conditions du contrat et on choisit les chefs, le plus souvent les organisateurs de l'entreprise. L'enjeu consiste en une somme d'argent ou une quantité de riz. Quand le premier tireur reçoit huit *yen* de vingt participants, il doit rembourser dix *yen* à chacune des réunions suivantes. A cettes occasions les participants qui n'ont pas encore tiré notent sur un bout de papier la somme dont ils offrent de se contenter cette fois. L'offrant le plus bas reçoit dix *yen* de tous ceux qui ont déjà touché, et de chacun des autres le montant de sa proposition. Dans le cours du temps l'offre baisse à chaque réunion. Elle peut même devenir zéro ou négative, de sorte que le gagnant doit payer un supplément pour lequel il emploie une partie des dix *yen* qu'il reçoit de ceux qui étaient supprimés avant.

Une autre forme est le *kō*-loterie, où tous les payements sont égaux et où le gagnant est indiqué par le sort. Le plus souvent la réunion a lieu chez le dernier gagnant, qui, à cette occasion, perçoit son argent et régale les participants. Parfois aussi il y a un hôte permanent qui ne donne pas d'enjeu, mais qui, à son tour, touche bien sa part. Après l'arrivée des participants on discute d'abord les affaires et les notes dans les livres. Puis on reste ensemble dans une intimité agréable où l'on mange peu et boit beaucoup. Selon l'habitude les participants sont tous des hommes. Ordinairement ils n'habitent pas loin les uns des autres. Au fond ceci va de soi vu que le facteur de la confiance mutuelle — qu'on ne trouve pas parmi des inconnus — joue un rôle important dans cette convention. En outre, à côté de ses fonctions économiques, le *kō* a une tendance profondément sociale. Après s'être réunis régulièrement pendant des années on se sent triste quand le *kō* est terminé, et que le lien, consolidé par le temps, se rompt. Les instituteurs et d'autres personnes avec des fonctions modernes et qui changent souvent de domicile, ne peuvent jamais prendre part à un *kō*.

[1]) J. H. Boeke, De Coöperatieve Beweging in Japan, Koloniale Studiën, 1925, II, p. 441.

Voilà une des causes qui les exclurent définitivement de la sphère sociale du village. Parfois on demande aux participants une garantie sous forme de propriété foncière. Au Japon le *kō* est une institution si généralement répandue et si importante du point de vue économique, qu'une régistration spéciale des contrats est devenue nécessaire.

On organise des *kō* spéciaux pour la quête d'argent en vue de la construction de temples, de l'entretien de maisons ou de toits. Il y a des hommes plus riches qui participent à un *kō* pour placer leur argent et qui deviennent ainsi les banquiers de leurs voisins moins fortunés. Le caractère social de ces conventions se manifeste dans le fait que les dettes de *kō* attaquent la bonne réputation, tandis que les dettes en général, dans ce pays pauvre, ne sont point considérées comme un déshonneur. Embree raconte qu'un homme se pendit de honte d'avoir des dettes de *kō* et qu'un autre fut poussé par cette espèce de dettes à vendre ses fillettes.

Quelques *kō* n'ont qu'une signification économique très peu importante, n'étant contractés que pour des montants petits et ayant avant tout pour fonction la conservation de liens sociaux. A ce genre appartient le *kō* d'hommes d'âge égal qui se réunissent quatre fois par an. Ces *kō*-ci sont exclusivement du type « loterie ». Le *kō* de femmes aussi, rare d'ailleurs, est de ce genre. La description d'Embree montre clairement que ces conventions forment une des puissances intégrantes du *buraku* (agglomération rurale) et du *mura* (village). A côté de ces formes-ci il y a les conventions *kō* entre les membres de la même famille, fortifiant ainsi les liens de parenté. Cette espèce de conventions, cependant, est plutôt une fonction dans le groupe local que dans le groupe de famille. Ce dernier groupe renouvelle ses liens à l'occasion de mariages ou de funérailles. Il y a aussi une certaine cohérence du *kō* avec les classes sociales dans la société japonaise.

Hsiao-Tung Fei, un scientiste chinois [1]), donne page 267 et s. de son étude sur la vie rurale en Chine une description très détaillée d'un système semblable. Bien spécialement on insiste beaucoup sur l'assistance à ceux qui ont besoin de crédit. C'est surtout le groupe de famille qui passe de tels contrats. Cet auteur ne voit pas beaucoup d'avantages de cette convention pour les milieux ruraux de la Chine. Le plus important ici est l'assi-

[1]) H. T. Fei, Peasant Life in China, a Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley, London, 1939.

stance à un parent qui, à brèf délai, a besoin d'argent pour une noce ou pour des funérailles. L'achat de terre ou la mise sur pied d'une exploitation ne valent pas comme raisons acceptables pour faire appel à l'assistance d'autres personnes. Outre les parents, d'autres personnes aussi y sont souvent engagées, soit pour montrer leur générosité envers d'autres personnes moins fortunées, soit parce qu'ils prévoient que bientôt eux-mêmes auront besoin de crédit. Pour les participants autres que le premier tireur, il n'y a pas de restriction concernant le but auquel ils destinent l'argent.

Le preneur d'initiative est le plus souvent celui qui a besoin de crédit. Il est responsable des payements des autres, mais en réalité on n'a pas de recours sur lui ; c'est qu'il est clair que du point de vue économique il appartient le plus souvent au groupe des faibles. Cependant, concernant leurs obligations, les participants sont rarement en défaut, vu que chacun d'eux peut être obligé à son tour de faire appel à l'assistance des autres, ce qui serait impossible en cas de mauvaise réputation par défaut de payement.

La succession du tirage est déterminée de commun accord, par le sort ou par l'enchère. Des calculs très compliqués sont nécessaires pour introduire les rentes dans les payements et les versements. Parfois le calcul est si compliqué que les simples paysans ne peuvent pas le comprendre et s'adressent au gouvernement du village pour se le faire expliquer. De même qu'à Suyemura, il est d'usage de faire de chaque réunion une petite fête.

Selon John Matthay [1]) on trouve des conventions semblables nommées *chit* dans beaucoup de régions des Indes anglaises. Le système d'offre de même que celui de loterie y sont connus. Chez Nicholson elles ne s'appellent pas à Madras *chit*, mais *kuttu* ou *chittu*. Elles représentent le type loterie. En 1850 environ elles ont servi d'exemple à un groupe d'employés hindous qui, sous le nom de *nidhi*, ont construit un système détaillé pour arracher leurs collègues des mains d'usuriers. La convention paraît être ici d'une plus grande importance économique qu'au Japon et surtout qu'en Chine ; mais les descriptions sommaires dont nous disposons, ne permettent pas de nous faire une impression définitive [2]).

[1]) Agricultural Co-operation in India, Colombo, 1925, p. 5 et s.

[2]) Nicholson, Report on Land- and Agricultural Banks, 1895, p. 321, 442 e.s., cité dans A. J. C. Kraft, Coöperatie in Indië, een sociaal-pædagogische studie, thèse Université Libre, Amsterdam, 1929.

En Indonésie il y a beaucoup de ces conventions. Autrefois j'en ai décrit une forme que l'on trouve à Saleier [1]). A propos de ce que j'ai dit à cette occasion se développa avec des collègues-administrateurs et d'autres personnes une correspondance, qui me montra à quel point cet élément de culture était répandu aux Indes Néerlandaises. A côté du *mohaka* saleierien, il y a la forme importante du *mapaloes* minahassien, puis il y a l'*arisan* javanais, le *djoela djoela* minangkabauien, et une forme pour des buts très spéciaux chez les Bataks de la côte orientale de Sumatra. Les Chinois des régions méridionales de Sumatra semblent la connaître également. Grâce à ces informations, je compris qu'autrefois j'avais à tort pris le *mohaka* pour un phénomène spécifiquement saleierien qui trouverait son explication dans la culture locale. Au contraire, le *mohaka* se trouve être assez généralement répandu dans l'Asie du sud-est.

Vu les données des différentes régions, il semble justifié de donner une hypothèse plus générale concernant la place que ces phénomènes occupent dans les cultures. Boeke appelle le *mujin* japonais un mélange oriental caractéristique d'assistance mutuelle, de jeu de hasard, de sentiment de sociabilité et d'esprit de lucre. Ces quatre éléments, les trouve-t-on aussi dans d'autres régions ? Il paraît que l'assistance mutuelle est bien souvent primaire. Ceci est évident au Japon et aux Indes anglaises. Le *mapaloes* minahassien est autant le phénomène décrit ci-dessus que l'assistance mutuelle dans l'agriculture et est général dans tous les cas où les villageois d'une communauté primitive ont l'habitude de s'entr'aider. *L'arisan* javanais est intimement lié à l'assistance mutuelle telle qu'elle est organisée dans le *sinoman* [2]).

L'assistance mutuelle est fréquente comme élément de ce phénomène. Aux Indes anglaises le mouvement *nidhi*, évidemment de très grande importance, est né du système plus ancien et plus primitif du *chittu* dans le but précisement de venir au secours des autres. La population de Saleier aime à mettre en rapport et à

[1]) Een merkwaardig economisch spel op Saleier, Koloniaal Tijdschrift, 27ième année, p. 562. Nogmaals het Moha'ka van Saleier, id. 28ième année, p. 191.

[2]) Sur le *mapaloes* il y a à cet égard des matériaux dans les Adatrechtbundels, No. 25, p. 267 et No. 31, p. 13—15 et puis pour les *mapaloes* en général les lieux indiqués dans les registres. Sur l'*arisan* et le *sinoman*, Adatrechtbundels, No. 4, p. 483, No. 19, p. 271, et surtout : M. J. van der Pauwert, Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur, tome XVI. Le *djoela djoela* de la côte occidentale de Sumatra est décrit par Dt. Rangkojo Maharadjo dans « De Bestuursgids » du 20/XII 1925, p. 3, repris dans Adatrechtbundel, no. 33, p. 432.

comparer le *mohaka* [1]) avec les formes locales de *tocloeng menoeloeng* dans l'agriculture.

Le côté social de ces phénomènes évidemment de caractère surtout économique est aussi très important. Au Japon le *kō* paraît être de grande valeur pour l'intégration du village et de l'agglomération rurale. Les descriptions du *mapaloes* minahassien ne soulignent pas moins ce côté du phénomène. Un groupe-*mapaloes* p. ex., rencontrant accidentellement des non-participants, exige des marques d'hommage. Les participants se sentent extrêmement importants quand ils sont ensembles. Manquer à ses obligations dans les différentes formes du *mapaloes* est pris en très mauvaise part et est assez sévèrement puni. Au Japon les dettes de *kō* sont considérées comme inconvenantes, dans le Minahassa elles sont punies de peines corporelles.

Au Japon de même qu'à Java il y a des formes de ces conventions qui ne servent pas tant à l'assistance mutuelle, soit dans la lutte pour la vie soit dans des circonstances spéciales, que comme stimulant de la sociabilité. Quoique ce dernier facteur soit dans beaucoup de cas d'ordre secondaire, il arrive au Japon qu'on organise des *kō* spéciaux en vue de quêtes d'argent pour donner périodiquement des fêtes qui ont lieu dans les maisons des participants. Tous les membres paient chaque fois leur part des frais et on est hôte à tour de rôle. Dans la partie orientale de Java il y avait des sociétés-*arisan* spéciales qui avaient pour but d'organiser de grandes fêtes où des montants considérables entraient en jeu. Van der Pauwert parle même d'un mal social. Ce qui précède montre bien clairement la signification et le caractère social des phénomènes en question.

L'élément «hasard» qui, autrefois à Saleier, nous semblait un élément important, paraît être souvent présent, mais toujours comme circonstance secondaire, non comme détail essentiel de la

[1]) M. G. J. Wolhoff, un de mes successeurs à Saleier, me fit savoir que le mot *mohaka* est un abâtardissement du mot malais *moefakat*.

M. G. L. Tichelman raconte dans le Koloniaal Tijdschrift 1936, p. 403, dans un article sur le Réserve de Travail des Bataks, d'une convention qui a pour but, par des cotisations des participants, de donner l'occasion à ceux qui désirent se marier de prendre une femme.

Dr F. H. Zeylstra à Deventer m'écrivait dans le temps sur le fonctionnement des conventions de ce genre-ci parmi les domestiques de maison à Buitenzorg au commencement de notre siècle. D'autres données font voir que notre sujet n'est sûrement pas épuisé, mais qu'il y a au contraire dans beaucoup de contrées des phénomènes qui ne sont pas encore ou pas encore suffisamment décrits.

convention. A côté du type-loterie pour indiquer le tireur, on trouve aussi régulièrement le type de l'offre et le type contractuel.

La dernière fonction que Boeke nomme, celle de la satisfaction du désir de lucre, comptera pour quelques-uns, mais ne figure pas au premier plan. Au contraire, le facteur de l'assistance mutuelle domine le plus souvent pour la plupart des participants. L'amour du lucre est au Japon parfois le motif de ceux qui tâchent de s'accaparer de toutes les actions pour avoir un *kō* entier en mains. Pour la Chine aussi la possibilité est relevée que certains des participants ne sont intéressés que pour placer leur argent d'une manière avantageuse. A Saleier, où le calcul des rentes ne semble pas encore connu, le motif du gain n'a pas beaucoup de signification. Le but de beaucoup n'est que d'avoir un certain capital pour quelque entreprise commerciale.

Il est évident que les facteurs qui sont les plus importants dans cet ensemble de phénomènes sont l'assistance mutuelle et réciproque et l'intégration sociale. Combinés, ces deux facteurs figurent également dans toutes les formes d'assistance mutuelle connues comme appartenant à la sphère de village primitive. Au Japon de même qu'en Chine, dans la Minahassa et dans l'île de Java, ces phénomènes se présentent intimement liés entre eux.

Cette sphère de village primitive, si souvent indiquée comme celle d'une économie domestique fermée, et de l'isolement, aussi du point de vue culturel, a été rompue tôt ou tard dans toutes les régions nommées par le contact avec le monde extérieur, ce qui à un certain degré rompit « l'étroitesse » sociale de même que culturelle et économique. Il s'ensuivit presque toujours un relâchement de l'intégration dans la communauté étroite du village, un affaiblissement des liens, une atténuation des obligations résultant de l'ancienne assistance mutuelle.

Partout où cette influence extérieure n'était pas trop intense, il est très plausible que, sous l'influence de ces facteurs, l'ancienne forme intimement liée à ces fonctions d'assistance mutuelle et d'intégration sociale, est remplacée par une nouvelle forme qui se rattache au commerce des marchandises et au trafic monétaire. Ce phénomène vaut la peine d'être étudié partout où on le trouve, afin de pouvoir vérifier cette hypothèse à des faits ultérieurs.

Provisoirement nous croyons devoir admettre que cette convention à plusieurs aspects est un phénomène qui se produit lorsque

le trafic pénètre dans une culture close où elle empêche l'intégration de continuer à diminuer. Les participants sont ordinairement des gens du même village, du moins d'une ambiance relativement restreinte. Et la Chine, de même que le Japon, les Indes anglaises, le Minahassa, Saleier, Java et le Minangkabau sont des régions où le trafic n'a réussi qu'assez lentement à percer l'ancien isolement.

EEN HANDSCHRIFT MET SOELOEKS UIT TJERBON

DOOR G. W. J. DREWES, LEIDEN.

In Djawa, 18de jg. (1938), blz. 145-181 heeft Dr. Poerbatjaraka tekst en vertaling uitgegeven van de Soeloek Woedjil, een mystiek leerdicht, waarvan den meesten Javanici tot op dat tijdstip denkelijk alleen het verbasterde fragment bekend zal zijn geweest, dat onder den naam Soeloek Soemendi te vinden is in M. Hardjawiraga's leerboekje der Javaansche verskunst [1]).

Deze soeloek kwam, gelijk Dr. Poerbatjaraka terecht heeft betoogd, om meer dan één reden voor uitgave in aanmerking. Geschriften uit den z.g. overgangstijd zijn er nog weinig gepubliceerd, en naast de gewoonlijk middeljavaansch genoemde kidoengletterkunde, die op Bali bewaard gebleven is, verdienen de litteraire producten der kustbeschaving, die er in taalkundig opzicht zoo dicht bij staan, zeker de aandacht ; in het bijzonder ook de godsdienstige werken die daartoe behooren. De taal ervan is meestal eenvoudig, de stijl weinig opgesmukt, en wanneer de inhoud niet in allen deele duidelijk is, dan ligt dat dikwijls aan den aard van de behandelde stof en aan den ons niet altijd even helderen gedachtengang, vooral wanneer de schrijvers zelf blijkbaar geworsteld hebben met weerbarstige materie van vreemden oorsprong, die zij niet volledig hadden verwerkt en die aan hun uitdrukkingsvermogen zeer zware eischen stelde. Met verbazing moet men echter tevens constateeren op welk een wijze in de godsdienstige geschriften uit deze periode het begrippenmateriaal en de woordenschat van de Moslimsche dogmatiek en mystiek en van hare hulpwetenschappen worden gehanteerd; kennis daarvan is onontbeerlijk tot het recht verstaan van de soeloek-litteratuur.

De Soeloek Woedjil biedt daarvan een treffend voorbeeld in

[1]) *Patokaning njekaraken*, uitgave Volkslectuur No. 725 (Batavia, 1926), blz. 53-62.

strofe 85-88, waarin — gelijk in dit genre litteratuur zeer gewoon is — de bewoordingen van de Moslimsche geloofsbelijdenis aan de orde zijn, en met behulp van de terminologie der Arabische grammatica voor de redewending waarin deze is vervat, over affirmatie en negatie, zijn en niet-zijn wordt gehandeld, hetgeen aan Dr. Poerbatjaraka bij zijn vertaling blijkbaar is ontgaan.

Doch het is niet voldoende, in de Moslimsche heilige wetenschappen onderlegd te zijn wanneer men de soeloeks wil verstaan. Al is de stijl gewoonlijk niet bijzonder kunstmatig, men moet toch altijd verdacht zijn op diverse kunstige verfraaiingen, die in de Javaansche ars poetica van oudsher in hoog aanzien staan, op stijlfiguren zooals b.v. de *poerwakanṭi basa* of *wiwiletan* (de „beperkte" *yamaka* van de Indische poëzie), die een kettingvers oplevert, en verder op *wangsalans* en *tjandrasengkala's*, met de eigenaardige moeilijkheden, daaraan eigen, en die ook zelfs de gewone Javaansche lezer van dezen tijd meestal niet in een handomdraaien oplost. De stichtelijke poëzie, voorkomende in het straks te bespreken handschrift uit Tjerbon, biedt daarvan menig voorbeeld.

Met de uitgave van de Soeloek Woedjil is voorts een van de op naam van Soenan Bonang staande soeloeks, waarvan in het voorbijgaan door B. Schrieke (diss. blz. 45, 58) reeds even gewag is gemaakt, in het licht gegeven.

Het zou niet moeilijk zijn, dit aantal met verscheidene te vermeerderen. Alleen reeds terwille van het verkrijgen van een overzicht over de Javaansche letterkunde zou zulks van nut zijn. Men weet dat de Javanen hun wali's of heiligen beschouwen als de brengers van den Islam, en dat zij hun, naast vele andere zaken, ook het auteurschap der soeloeks toeschrijven. Zoo de eerste pretentie voor het historisch onderzoek niet in allen deele, of misschien wel in het geheel niet, moge bestaan, de tweede is vooralsnog niet omver geworpen, al ware het alleen maar omdat de soeloekletterkunde in haar geheel noch ook voor een gedeelte ooit het voorwerp van historisch-critisch onderzoek is geweest. Zekerheid aangaande de auteurs zou zulk een onderzoek waarschijnlijk niet opleveren, doch wèl zou het een belangrijke bijdrage kunnen zijn tot de kennis van deze nog zoo weinig gekende periode der Javaansche letteren, en zoodoende tot de kennis van de geheele *pasisir-* of kustbeschaving[1]), welker belang voor de Nieuwjavaansche, Mataramsche en

[1]) Waarmede niet alleen de cultuur van de eigenlijke stranddistricten, doch in ruimer zin die van alle buiten-gouwen bedoeld is.

later Vorstenlandsche cultuur, die erop volgde en haar overvleugelde, door Pigeaud een- en andermaal met klem is betoogd.

Pas wanneer men het materiaal kan overzien, kan men gaan onderzoeken of er tusschen de aan Soenan Bonang toegeschreven stukken samenhang bestaat ; of er dus inderdaad een complex van esoterische leeringen voorhanden is, dat het complement zou vormen van de binnen de grenzen der orthodoxie blijvende leer, die ons in het door Schrieke uitgegeven geschrift — gesteld dat dit inderdaad door Soenan Bonang zou zijn vervaardigd — is overgeleverd. Schrieke spreekt van „het" boek van Bonang ; hij gevoelde zich, met de sobere auteursaanduiding van den door hem uitgegeven tekst zelf, op vaster grond dan bij de onbewezen, op haar juistheid nog niet onderzochte toeschrijvingen van soeloeks in de Javaansche traditie het geval is. Bovendien is het door hem gebruikte handschrift — afkomstig uit de collectie van den Leidschen hoogleeraar Vulcanius (gestorven in 1614) — niet alleen onbetwistbaar op zijn allerlaatst uit het einde van de 16de eeuw, maar tevens het eenige exemplaar van den tekst dat ons bewaard is gebleven, zoodat ook om die reden het bepalend lidwoord zich opdringt [1]).

Doch wanneer Dr. Poerbatjaraka in den titel van zijn artikel de Soeloek Woedjil „de" geheime leer van Soenan Bonang noemt, dan is dit te stellig geformuleerd. In den tekst van zijn artikel heeft Dr. Poerbatjaraka zich zelf trouwens reeds gecorrigeerd door op te merken: „. . . . wij maken hier kennis met een van de geheime leeren van Bonang, althans een geheime leer die omstreeks den tijd van Sultan Agoeng van Mataram gangbaar moet zijn geweest". Hiermee wordt de mogelijkheid opengehouden dat er meer geheime leeren, in andere soeloeks vervat, op Soenan Bonang teruggaan, doch tevens de vraag naar het auteurschap van de Soeloek Woedjil niet definitief beantwoord. Voor stelligheid is dus niet de minste aanleiding ; onwaarschijnlijk echter is het geenszins, dat Soenan Bonang — indien men op grond van het door Schrieke ingestelde onderzoek aanneemt dat hij een godgeleerde in de reeds

[1]) De verwachting dat Kropak 481 der verzameling van het Kon. Bat. Gen. — door Schrieke op blz. 57 (slot van noot 5 van blz. 56) naar den cat. van Cohen Stuart vermeld als : Wirit, lessen van Séhoel Bari aan zijne kinderen, en op blz. 144 II sub 1) op grond van een afschrift van de eerste en de laatste acht bladen van dit volkomen door de war liggende en sterk geschonden handschrift geïdentificeerd als een tweede ex. van den tekst van het Leidsche handschrift — ooit nog als vergelijkingsmateriaal zou kunnen worden gebruikt, moet men opgeven. Het handschrift is dermate vergaan, dat men er niets meer mee kan beginnen.

geruimen tijd bestaande Moslimsche gemeente van Toeban is geweest — naast de leeringen die in het door Schrieke uitgegeven geschrift van hem zijn geboekstaafd, en die aan de mystiek de grenzen der orthodoxie stellen, ook voor ingewijden nog geheime leeringen heeft verkondigd, die in de mystieke leerdichten of soeloeks worden overgeleverd.

Het is wel zeker, dat mèt vele andere litteraire stof ook de soeloek-letterkunde der kuststreken voor een niet onbelangrijk deel haar weg naar de latere centra van vorstenmacht en hofcultuur heeft gevonden. Verscheidene soeloeks kennen wij in oudere, provinciale redacties en in latere vorstenlandsche lezingen, waarbij de vergelijking zonder twijfel ten gunste van de eerste pleegt uit te vallen. Poerbatjaraka heeft den uit Tjerbon herkomstigen tekst van de Soeloek Woedjil, die den grondslag vormt van zijn uitgave, vergeleken met de redactie, vervat in de Leidsche handschriften 1795 en 1796, dezelfde waaruit Zoetmulder zooveel heeft geput voor zijn onderzoek naar pantheïsme en monisme in de Javaansche soeloek-literatuur [1]). Deze uit Solo afkomstige hss. blijken beide dezelfde eigenmachtige tekstveranderingen te vertoonen, die ondeskundige copiisten ter „verbetering" of „verfraaiing" van den tekst plegen aan te brengen. Vergelijking met het boven reeds ter sprake gebrachte Tjerbonsche handschrift, dat na de samenstelling van de Alfabetische Lijst (Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen. 1933) voor de verzameling van het Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap werd verworven en dus daarin nog niet staat geregistreerd, leerde hetzelfde ten aanzien van andere, in Zoetmulders dissertatie overgenomen, stukken uit genoemde codices.

Ik trof in dit oude, op deloewang-papier geschreven handschrift oude redacties van de Soeloek Malang Soemirang [2]), de Soeloek Besi [3]), de, ook hier op naam van Soenan Kalidjaga staande, Soeloek Doeda [4]), de Soeloek Kadresan [5]), en de Soeloek Soegih [6]).

[1]) Dissertatie Leiden 1935.

[2]) Door mij uitgegeven in tekst (naar een hs. uit de collectie Snouck Hurgronje) en vertaling in Djawa, 7de jg. (1927). In Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen. 1933 (deel I) blz. 323 heeft Dr. Poerbatjaraka bij de vermelding van de Bataviaansche exx. van dezen tekst er reeds op gewezen, dat deze een oudere lezing bieden dan de gedrukte tekst; zie verder zijn opmerking terzake in zijn *Pandjiverhalen Onderling Vergeleken* (Bibl. Javanica dl. 9, Bandoeng 1940) blz. 349 nt.

[3]) Fragment bij Zoetmulder, o.c. blz. 324-326.

[4]) Zie Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen. 1933, blz. 308; telt hier 23 strofen drieregelige *ranggèh*.

[5]) Bij Zoetmulder, o.c. blz. 95-97 een fragment ervan in een late Solosche redactie, onder den naam Soeloek Ngasmara.

[6]) Zoetmulder, o.c. blz. 101, 102, zonder naam.

Doch tevens bleek het niet minder dan negen op naam van Soenan Bonang overgeleverde soeloeks te bevatten, nl. de soeloeks Bentoer [1]), Latri [2]), Lingloeng [3]), Singa èwoeh [4]), Djebèng [5]), en vier naamlooze, in hun opschrift alle als wasijat van Soenan Bonang overgeleverd [6]), terwijl ook de Soeloek Paèsan [7]) volgens een bijschrift aan Soenan Bonang wordt toegekend, en een klein, slechts uit tien strofen *wirangrong* bestaand gedicht ten slotte als *Soeloek kang pipiringan Soenan Bonang* staat aangekondigd [8]).

Er blijken dus heel wat meer soeloeks op naam van Soenan Bonang te staan dan men, afgaande op de summiere mededeelingen van de handschriftencatalogi, zou hebben aangenomen, al wil dit natuurlijk geenszins zeggen, dat er bij nader onderzoek in de handschriftencollecties zelve niet meer aan het licht zou kunnen komen. Ongeacht hoe het onderzoek naar het auteurschap uitvallen moge, is het niet van belang ontbloot, te weten welke soeloeks er aan Soenan Bonang al zoo worden toegeschreven en welke esoterische leeringen men met zijn persoon verbindt. Dat wij vooralsnog geen vrijheid hebben van „het" boek en „de" geheime leer te spreken, lijkt mij echter genoegzaam aangetoond. Doch tevens is wel duidelijk geworden, dat men bij het uitgeven van soeloeks niet kan volstaan met publicatie van de redactie die men toevallig in een handschriftenverzameling aantreft. Men zal moeten trachten, de meest authentieke, minst

[1]) 43 strofen *wirangrong;* beginregel: *Jèn mati kalawan poedji;* begin van strofe 43: *Dat moetelak mahasoetji.*

[2]) 16 strofen *wirangrong;* beginregel: *Ing latri adan alinggih;* begin strofe 16: *Singsapa rekyangrasani.*

[3]) 16 strofen *ḍanḍanggoela;* vgl. Zoetmulder, o.c. blz. 255; deze tekst heeft tusschen wat bij Zoetmulder str. 11 en 12 is, nog een strofe, en is na str. 14 Z. (= strofe 8), geheel verschillend.

[4]) 24 strofen drieregelige *ranggèh.*

[5]) 22 strofen *ḍanḍanggoela;* beginregel: *Among brangti ing raga prijatin;* begin strofe 22: *Kang wong mangkana akasap iki.*

[6]) a. 25 strofen *maskoemambang;* beginregel: *Anggoeng mangoe kapirangoe;* begin strofe 25: *Mapan wenang kawoela toenggal lan goesti;*

b. 21 strofen *koelanṭé;* beginregel: *Maḍang sira mèḍèng;* begin strofe 21: *Awasena mangké;*

c. 25 strofen *poetjoeng;* beginregel: *Lamjan kétoeng raganingwang saja moetjoeng;* begin strofe 25: *Mapan ananingwang paḍa lawan soewoeng;*

d. 17 strofen *ḍanḍanggoela;* beginregel: *Paksa widnja milwanoetoer kawi;* begin strofe 17: *Wekasing moerad ingkang awadi.*

[7]) Bij Zoetmulder, o.c. blz. 225-228 in twee redacties. Hier telt deze soeloek 20 strofen *asmaravandana;* strofe 16 is geheel verschillend van den tekst bij Zoetmulder; begin strofe 20: *Poma dèn-awas ing djati.*

[8]) Beginregel: *Ana paksa angawroehi;* begin strofe 10: *Asambahjang tan wring wadi.*

opgepoetste redactie machtig te worden, en zijn conclusies niet voetstoots mogen baseeren op bewerkingen uit later tijd.

Dat deze Tjerbonsche verzameling soeloeks oud materiaal bevat, blijkt duidelijk uit den ouderwetschen aanhef van verscheidene erin opgenomen gedichten, die geheel overeenkomt met den door Poerbatjaraka op blz. 146 van zijn artikel gesignaleerden, eenvormigen aanhef van Tjalonarang, Pararaton, Boek van Bonang en Soeloek Woedjil. En bovendien wijst ook het ouderwetsche karakter van het metrum van sommige stukken op een vrij hoogen ouderdom [1]). Een der naamlooze soeloeks b.v. is opgesteld in de maat *koelanṭé*, een *tengahan*-maat, die hier de voor de oude *tengahan*-maten zoo karakteristieke, uit de middeljavaansche *kidoeng*-literatuur bekende afwisseling in het maatschema binnen één en denzelfden zang vertoont, welke voor zoover mij bekend in de thans nog als *tengahan*-maten aangeduide metra niet meer wordt gevonden. Het „Soeloek Éndah" genoemde gedicht is vervat in de *saladara*, de verbasterde *sragdhara*, van 4 maal 21 syllaben per strofe, terwijl het eerste gedicht van den bundel, de Soeloek Soekarsa, in *sloka* (8 maal 2 maal 4 syllaben) is opgesteld. In verband met hetgeen Pigeaud ten aanzien van het gebruik van groote en midden-versmaten voor godsdienstige poëzie in Jogja en Solo heeft geconstateerd (*slawatan Djawa; santiswara*) is het voorkomen van deze maten naast de kleine, moderne, in dit handschrift wel opmerkenswaard, vooral ook omdat zij hier voorkomen naast de *parikans* met godsdienstige strekking, die t.a.p. (*Volksvertooningen* § 295-298) eveneens in nauw verband met de stukken in midden-maten worden vermeld, en welker gebruik aan de hand van een in de Serat Tjenṭini voorkomende schets van een feestavond in Wanamarta omstandig wordt geschilderd.

De stukken in *ranggèh*-maat die dit handschrift bevat zijn nl. niet anders dan verzamelingen *wangsalan*-spreuken, in de Tjenṭini nu eens als *soeloek wangsalan*, dan weer als *parikan* aangeduid, en ook niet verschillend van hetgeen in datzelfde werk „Javaansche *singir*" heet. Omdat wij hier te doen hebben met oude, vroeger blijkbaar zeer populaire, en ook thans nog niet geheel vergeten

[1]) Het materiaal is zeker ouder dan de in enkele soeloeks te vinden tjandrasengkala's zouden doen vermoeden. No. VIII, Soeloek Sida Brangti, heeft als chronogram 1126 = 1714 A.D.; No. XXXII, Soeloek Toetoer sadjati, bevat een chronogram dat ik lees als Vrijdag 2 Muḥarram van het jaar Edjé 1169 = 1755. Laatstgenoemde datum is door den afschrijver, woonachtig in de désa Kalidjaga ten N. van de moskee, toegevoegd.

populaire godsdienstige poëzie met mystieken inslag, welker profane bloedverwant op Oost-Java nog springlevende volkskunst is. willen wij niet met bloote vermelding volstaan.

Wangsalan-spreuken zijn, naar bekend, veelal opgebouwd uit twee regels in een versmaat, die de Javanen *koesoemawitjitra* noemen, doch die met de oudjavaansche *kusumawicitra* slechts het aantal van 12 syllaben per regel gemeen heeft. De eerste van deze twee versregels bevat de omschrijvingen of de synoniemen van de woorden waarmee door den klank gezinspeeld wordt op de eigenlijk bedoelde termen, die te vinden zijn in den tweeden regel.

De *ranggèh* nu blijkt in hoofdzaak tweeërlei vorm te vertoonen.

In de eerste plaats komt zij voor in strofen die uit 3 regels à 12 syllaben bestaan; de middelste regel dient gewoonlijk echter slechts om te preludeeren op den derden, zoodat regel 2 en 3 tezamen overeenkomen met de zoojuist besproken tweeregelige wangsalanversjes. Soms blijft de eerste regel achterwege en is de overeenstemming dus volkomen, b.v.:

Djamboe alas djampana moenggwèng matengga
Kapok mara amitra ing wong lalana.

Djamboe alas, wilde djamboe, heet in het Jav. *klampok;* dit is een toespeling op het woord *kapok* van den volgenden regel. *Djampana moenggwèng matengga*, zitplaats zich bevindende op een olifant = *palana*, olifantszadel, een toespeling op *lalana*. Er staat dus:

Wilde djamboe, zetel op een olifant
Ik heb den schrik te pakken van vriendschap met zwervers [1]).

Een voorbeeld van *ranggèh* met drieregelige strofen biedt de Soeloek Ḍoeḍa; één versje er uit zij hier geciteerd:

Kakang Ḍoeḍa, jan mati endi parana?
(tapas ing rèn kang lata minḍa bentala)
Oelih mara waloeja kadi dok nora.

Tapas ing rèn, arènvezel, heet gewoonlijk *doek*, en is dus zinspeling op *dok; kang lata minḍa bentala*, plant met een rank of

[1]) Aldus vertalende heeft men echter de wangsalan in het Nederlandsch niet tot uitdrukking gebracht; wilde men dat doen, dan zou men b.v. kunnen beginnen: Strooperswerktuig, ronselaar, enz.; immers met eerstgenoemd woord wordt bedoeld: strik, en dit moet schrik suggereeren; het tweede woord is synoniem van werver, en wekt de gedachte aan zwerver.

blad, dat op de aarde lijkt = *waloeh*, pompoen, maar bedoeld als toespeling op *waloeja*. De letterlijke vertaling luidt dus als volgt :

Broer weduwnaar, als je dood bent, waar ga je dan heen ?
(Arèn-vezel, blad dat op de aarde lijkt)
Ik keer terug en word weer als toen ik niet bestond.

In de tweede plaats zijn er ook complete vierregelige *ranggèh*-strofen, met 12 syllaben per regel, zonder *goeroe lagoe* (voorgeschreven klinker in de laatste syllabe), dus conform de opvatting die de Javanen na, en zelfs misschien al eenigermate in, den oud-javaanschen tijd van de z.g. groote maten hadden. Een voorbeeld met *wiwiletan* is het volgende versje :

Wangsitingsoen ing amitra dèn-prajatna.
Dèn-prajatna ing amitra adja wéja.
Adja wéja akwèh satroening loemampah.
Ing loemakoe dèn-jatna kalawan warah [1]).

Men zou dit kunnen vertalen als volgt :

Mijn last is : Wees met vrienden maken erg voorzichtig !
Erg voorzichtig met Uw vriendschap, niet achteloos !
Niet achteloos ! Talrijk zijn de vijanden onderweg.
Onderweg voorzichtig met Uw woorden.

Zoo zou ook over andere poëtische finesses die in de soeloeks voorkomen nog wel het een en ander zijn op te merken. Met het bovenstaande moge hier worden volstaan om aan te toonen dat deze poëzie, trots haar betrekkelijken eenvoud, iemand toch voor vrij ingewikkelde puzzles kan plaatsen ; de soeloek-literatuur onderscheidt zich daarin volstrekt niet van de overige Javaansche gedichten. Een deugdelijk overzicht van de Javaansche versmaten in ouderen en jongeren tijd, en een uitvoeriger uiteenzetting van de Javaansche ars poetica dan in de bovengenoemde *Patokan ing njekaraken* te vinden is, zouden terdege welkom zijn ; bovenal echter een mythologisch woordenboek, bevattende de namen van alle personen, landen, steden, wapens enz., enz., voorkomende in de Javaansche litteratuur. Doch om deze te kunnen samenstellen moet er eerst nog veel meer van het in handschriftenverzamelingen opgegaarde materiaal algemeen toegankelijk zijn gemaakt, want

[1]) In regel 3 staat terwille van de klankassonantie met *warah* het K. *loemampah* i.pl.v. *loemakoe*.

de hoop dat de conservatoren van deze verzamelingen daarvoor ooit tijd zullen vinden, zal wel ijdel blijken. Het zijn trouwens nauwelijks werkzaamheden die één man zou aankunnen.

Over de drieregelige *ranggèh* valt echter nog één opmerking te maken. Vergelijkt men den tekst van het ranggèh-stuk Soeloek Ḍoeḍa uit het Tjerbonsche hs. met de *soeloek wangsalan*, die in Zang 47 van de Tjenṭini in den tekst zijn ingevlochten, dan vallen twee dingen op. Ten eerste blijken de strofen 72-88 van Zang 47 een groot gedeelte van de Soeloek Ḍoeḍa te bevatten, in nagenoeg dezelfde volgorde als het Tjerbonsche hs. ; ten tweede zijn van de in de Tjenṭini ingewerkte wangsalan-spreuken er enkele vierregelig geweest, in dier voege dat wat in de Soeloek Ḍoeḍa nu regel 1 is, werd voorafgegaan door een regel die de wangsalan-woorden die op dezen eersten regel voorbereidden, bevatte. De drieregelige versvorm is dus eenvoudig ontstaan door weglating van den eersten regel. En ten slotte bevat de Tjenṭini in den bedoelden zang een opmerkenswaardige mededeeling in verband met de herkomst van deze wangsalan-spreuken. De situatie, zooals zij in zang 47 wordt geschilderd, is als volgt :

Bij een feest dat na het huwelijk van Amongraga, de hoofdpersoon van de Tjenṭini, met Tambangraras, de dochter van Kjai Baji Panoerta in de pesantrèn-désa Wanamarta (Djombang), ten huize van Djajèngraga, den jongsten en nogal wereldschen zoon van den Kjai, gegeven wordt, geven de dansjongens Si Senoe en Goes Soerat, als vrouwen uitgedost, wangsalan-spreuken ten beste (strofe 72-88 van Zang 47). Kjai Panoerta informeert bij zijn zoon, wie hun die spreuken geleerd heeft, en Djajèngraga antwoordt, dat Djamal en Djamil hen daarin hebben onderricht. Nu zijn Djamal en Djamil de dienaren van Amongraga, die tezamen met hun heer in de Bantensche désa Karang onderricht in den godsdienst hebben genoten alvorens de zwerftocht over Java naar Wanamarta werd ondernomen. Djajèngraga voegt daaraan toe : *Pan limrah tiang bang kilèn, wangsalan tanah ing Karang, parikan dadya rasa*, d.w.z. : De menschen uit de Westelijke streken kennen gewoonlijk die Karangsche wangsalans, die *parikans* met mystieken inslag.

Karang, het welbekende, in W. Banten gelegen oord, is de plaats waaruit volgens de Javaansche traditie velerlei onorthodoxe leer en gebruik, en speciaal de tot goochel- en fakirkunsten verworden vertooningen afkomstig zijn, die oorspronkelijk thuishooren in

de kringen waarin men zich met mystieke oefeningen en praktijken tot het opwekken van geestverrukking bezighield, maar die als spel en vertooning door rondtrekkende santri's en ander volk bij den weg op hun tochten van godsdienstschool naar godsdienstschool werden uitgevoerd. Doch de Tjentini vermeldt in het begin, dat de Kjai van Karang, bij wien Amongraga in de leer kwam, zijn opleiding had genoten in Tjerbon, hetgeen volstrekt niet onwaarschijnlijk is gezien de rol die Tjerbon heeft gespeeld in de islamisatie van West-Java, en dit doet de vraag opkomen, of uiteindelijk deze parikans dan misschien ook uit Tjerbon kunnen stammen. Het feit dat zij, bij elkaar en nagenoeg letterlijk, met nog vele andere worden teruggevonden in het bovenbesproken oude Tjerbonsche soeloek-handschrift, is in alle geval opmerkelijk. Wij hebben in deze stukken in ranggèh-maat groepen van zulke oude wangsalanspreuken voor ons, die, naar Pigeaud (*Volksvertooningen* blz. 94) reeds heeft opgemerkt, zich in den eersten tijd van den Islam op Java moeten hebben verspreid.

SUMMARY

On a Manuscript with Mystical Poetry (suluk) from Cherbon.

After some introductory remarks about the importance of the older local literature of the Javanese outer-provinces — as to language and style so near akin to the *kidung*-literature of medieval Java and Bali, and often containing older, less polished versions of well-known works from Centraljavanese court-literature — and about stylistic and other difficulties to be met with in the mystical poetry (*suluk*) belonging to this kind of literature, the author discusses the question whether dr. Poerbatjaraka in editing the *Suluk Wujil* (Djåwå vol. XVIII (1938) pp. 145-181) is justified in describing its contents as '*the* secret doctrine of Sunan Bonang', which was intimated to the inner circle of his adepts over and above the orthodox views, expounded in his defense of traditional dogmatics against mystical heresies (cf. B. Schrieke, *Het Boek van Bonang*, Leiden 1915).

Sunan Bonang being one of the *wali's* or saints to whom legendary history i.a. ascribes the introduction of Islam in Java and the authorship of the *suluk*-poetry which contains the mystical love

popular in Java up to the present day, quite a number of *suluk's* are going by the name of *wasiyat Sunan Bonang*. The manuscript from Cherbon, the contents of which are summed up, already contains nine *suluk's* ostensibly handed down from Sunan Bonang. Only after a study will have been made of all available data one will be able to ascertain which poems and which secret doctrine or doctrines — if any — may be attributed to the saint of Tuban.

As an instance of the stylistic peculiarities of this poetry the author cites and translates some charade-like strophes in the metre called *ranggèh*; such charades called *wangsalan* are well-known and highly appreciated finesses in Javanese poetry. From the fact that one of the *wangsalan*-poems in *ranggèh*-metre occurs also in the *Tjentini*, inserted in the description of a festival where dancing-boys are performing and singing, one may infer that these mystically tinged *wangsalan*-songs must have been very popular at one time; their origin perhaps may be sought in Cherbon, from where they spread over Java in ancient times, accompanying the expansion of Islam from the coast to the interior.

LE DÉCOR DE LA TERRASSE DU ROI LÉPREUX

PAR F. D. K. BOSCH, LEIDEN

Le décor de la Terrasse du Roi lépreux, située au nord de la Terrasse des Éléphants à Angkor, n'a pas attiré beaucoup d'attention jusqu'à présent et n'a pas été, à notre connaissance, le sujet de tentatives sérieuses pour en découvrir le sens. Il n'y a pas à s'en étonner. On ne saurait s'imaginer des représentations plus monotones, parlant moins à l'imagination et manquant en même temps à un tel degré de toutes indications qui sont indispensables comme point de départ pour une interprétation. Sur les trois faces de la structure, sur toute l'étendue des murs, les registres superposés ne contiennent, répété à l'infini, qu'un seul motif qui est un roi ou dieu, couronné, assis à l'orientale, tenant à la main droite une épée ou une massue, et flanqué aux deux côtés par des femmes souriantes qui lui offrent des fleurs de lotus. Sur le registre inférieur ou socle du bâtiment ces personnages font défaut, leur place étant occupée par des *nāga* polycéphales entourés, comme les rois, par des femmes. La monotonie du décor est tant soit peu interrompue par les images effritées de deux divinités à dix bras dont les emblèmes sont devenus méconnaissables, l'une des deux figurant au quatrième registre à l'extrémité ouest du mur septentrional, l'autre au même registre du mur qui, depuis l'angle nord-ouest du monument, file vers le nord.

Comme on le sait M. Parmentier, en 1917, a fait la découverte très curieuse [1]) que, à 2 M. 50 environ en arrière du parement extérieur de la terrasse, existe le parement d'un mur plus ancien, portant des sculptures en bas-reliefs qui répètent concentriquement toutes les saillies et tous les creux du mur extérieur. Cette découverte, aussi intéressante qu'elle fût au point de vue architectural, a malheureusement très peu ajouté à l'iconographie du

[1]) *BEFEO* XXI, p. 147.

monument. Le décor du mur caché se trouva être presque identique à celui du mur extérieur montrant toujours des rois ou dieux armés parmi des bayadères, rangés en registres superposés comme sur le parement extérieur. Seule une différence apparaît dans la partie méridionale : une rivière y est représentée, verticale suivant la convention habituelle de perspective, avec des animaux aquatiques ; puis on rencontre deux petits éléphants et des personnages abrités sous des superstructures de pràsàt [1]). Comme à l'extérieur les images des dieux font défaut sur le registre inférieur qui est occupé par des *nāga* sous forme animale et des *nāgī* sous forme féminine.

Comme on le voit bien le décor de la Terrasse offre peu de données qui sont utilisables à l'identification des scènes représentées. Le malheur veut encore qu'on ne pourra se servir de ces données, maigres qu'elles soient, qu'avec la plus grande prudence. Dans son compte rendu de l'article intéressant de M. Marchal sur le Palais Royal d'Ankor Thom [2]), M. Goloubew a fait remarquer à juste titre [3]) que le dit palais, dans son état actuel, fait songer à un manuscript palimpseste, aux pages grattées et regrattées par les scribes et parfois déchirées par des mains sacrilèges, et dont le texte lui-même présente des traces certaines d'interpolations et de suppressions arbitraires. Et parlant de la Terrasse du Roi lépreux, le même savant résume ainsi les problèmes compliqués qui s'offrent à son égard : « A l'heure actuelle, ce monument paraît isolé, et l'on n'arrive point à en expliquer la destination exacte, d'autant plus qu'il ne possède pas d'escalier ni de perrons d'accès. Mais en réalité, il appartenait à un ensemble important qui faisait corps avec l'enclos du Palais et dont le tracé primitif se trouve maintenant englobé, du côté Sud, dans le plan de la Terrasse d'honneur. Au Nord, on en retrouve des vestiges jusqu'au delà du Tép Pranàm. M. M[archal] suppose que la Terrasse du Roi lépreux avait jadis été le centre de cet ensemble en partie disparu. Cette opinion paraît parfaitement admissible. Cependant, on peut se demander si le monument dont il s'agit n'a pas appartenu à un vaste système de belvédères et de terrasses, traités à la façon de contreforts avancés, d'aspect identique, et reliés entre eux par des parois ornées de bas-reliefs »

[1]) Parmentier, *l.c.*, p. 150.
[2]) *AAK* II, p. 303.
[3]) *BEFEO* XXVII, p. 369.

Inutile de dire que toutes ces incertitudes et toutes ces possibilités rendent l'interprétation des bas-reliefs extrêmement risquée : en effet, on ne saura jamais si des parties du bâtiment, qui, au point de vue iconographique, sont beaucoup plus importantes que celles que nous connaissons, n'ont pas été détruites ou englobées par des constructions postérieures ; ni quelle place les images des personnages sur les parements actuels, notamment celles qui se distinguent en quelque point de leur environnement, ont occupée dans l'ensemble comme il fut projeté primitivement.

Quoique, en ces circonstances défavorables, nous ne nous flattions pas de pouvoir élucider entièrement le sens du décor des deux murs, nous croyons utile de diriger l'attention sur quelques points importants qui semblent bien indiquer le chemin à suivre.

Tenu compte du fait que la Terrasse a probablement quelque chose à faire avec des représentations cosmographiques — si chères à l'esprit indien — et que dans ces représentations le nombre des catégories joue un rôle prépondérant, notre première tâche, en cherchant le sens du décor, sera de fixer le nombre des registres occupant la surface des deux murs. Or, tandis que dans les parties les mieux conservées du parement extérieur il ne reste que six registres, à quelques endroits, notamment au-dessus de la rangée supérieure de la paroi méridionale, les restes d'une septième rangée montrant les jambes et les genoux de personnages assis à l'indienne sont clairement visibles (Pl. 1). Il s'ensuit que, très probablement, le mur extérieur comptait sept registres sur les trois faces et le mur intérieur, quoique actuellement ne dépassant nulle part une hauteur de quatre mètres, en possédait primitivement autant.

Un autre indice pourra nous être utile. Un examen attentif des personnages masculins figurant aux murs extérieur et intérieur du monument nous apprend qu'on a eu tort de les considérer comme tout à fait identiques les uns aux autres. Il paraît que la même différence existe entre eux qu'entre les *deva* et les *asura* sur les bas-reliefs d'Ankor Vat [1]) : identiques par le costume, ils diffèrent par la coiffure : ceux à l'extérieur portent le *mukuṭa* conique (Pl. 2a), tandis que ceux à l'intérieur sont coiffés d'une sorte de casque à cimier (Pl. 2b). Sur notre Terrasse s'y ajoute une différence encore plus subtile, qui manque sur les bas-reliefs, mais se retrouve e.a. comme marque de distinction entre les *deva* et les

[1]) Coedès, *Les bas-reliefs d'Angkor-Vat*, *BCAI*, 1911, p. 176.

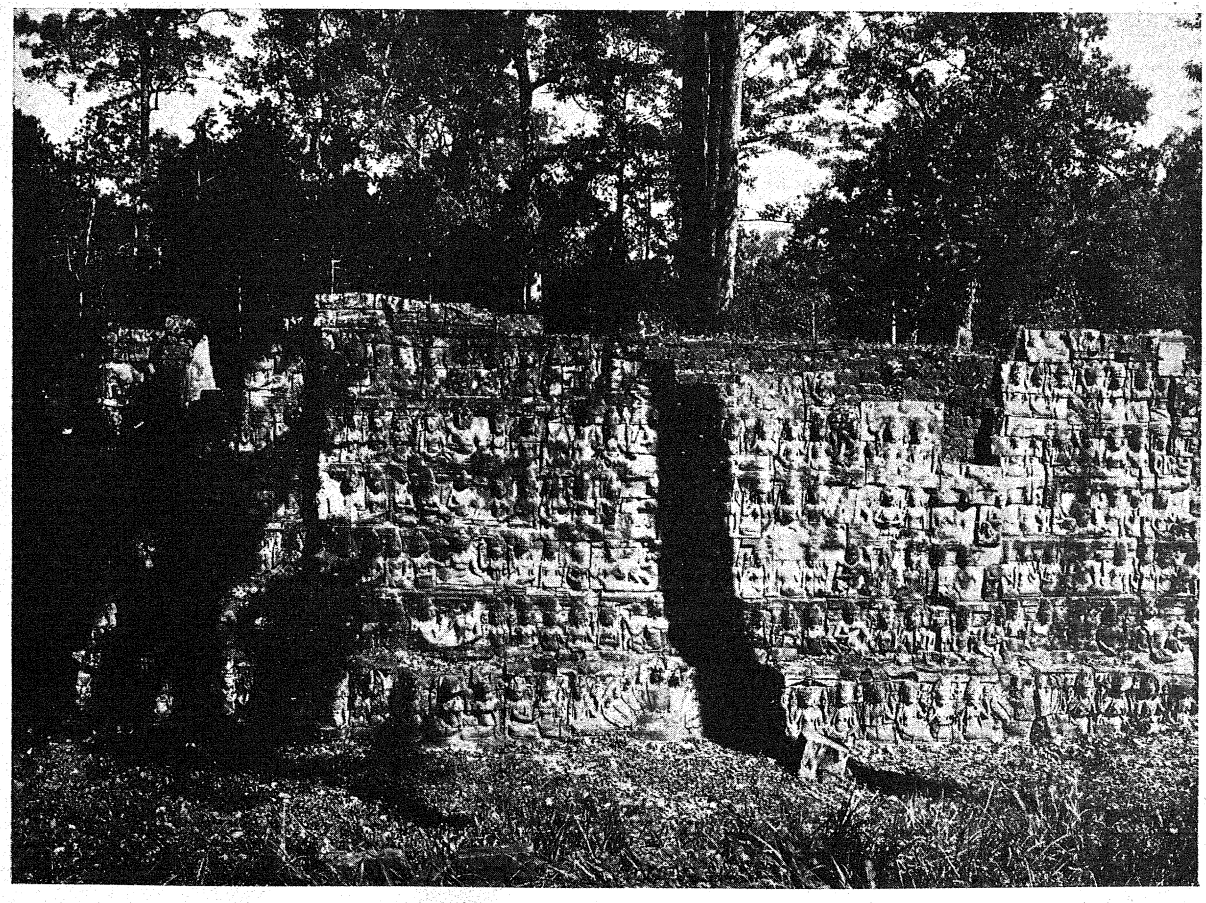


Planche 1.

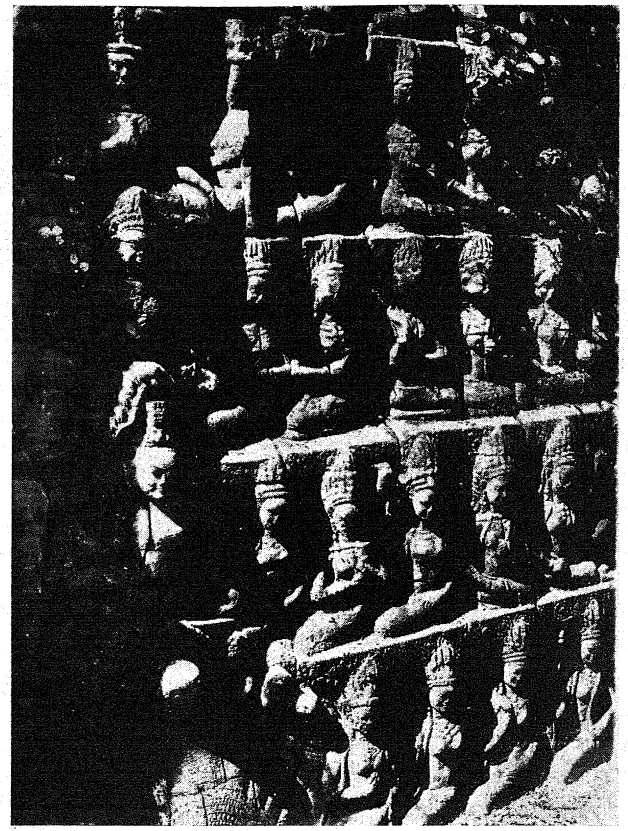
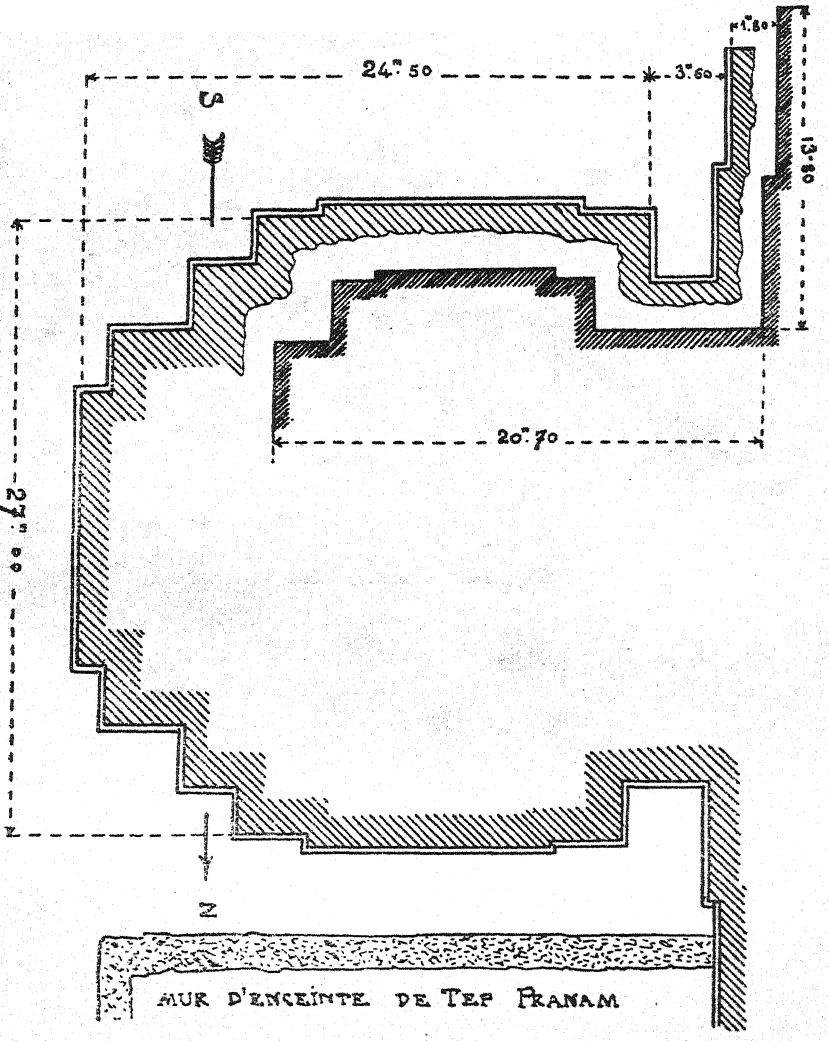


Planche 2*a*.



Planche 2*b*.



Terrasse du Roi Lépreux.

asura qui portent le *nāga* devant la porte dite de la Victoire ; c'est que la figure des premiers est bénigne et souriante, aux yeux à demi fermés (Pl. 2a) et que celle des seconds — comme il sied aux démons — est méchante et courroucée, aux yeux à fleur de tête surmontés de sourcils froncés (Pl. 2b).

Or, étant donnés deux murs se répartissant en sept étages et peuplés de figures qu'on est autorisé d'identifier les uns avec des dieux, les autres avec des démons, la supposition s'impose que le décor du mur extérieur de la Terrasse représente les sept *bhuvana* du monde visible et celui du mur intérieur les sept *pātāla* souterrains.

Nous nous demandons à présent si cette supposition s'accorde avec les représentations cosmographiques courantes chez les constructeurs de la ville d'Ankor, ce sont des représentations purāṇiques sans aucun doute.

Selon les *purāṇa* [1]) les sept *bhuvana* ou *loka* sont : le Bhūrloka, notre Terre, le Bhuvarloka ou Antarīkṣaloka, situé entre la Terre et l'orbite du soleil, où le vent souffle et demeurent les Yakṣa, Rakṣa, Piçāca, Preta et Bhūta et, plus haut, les Siddha, Caraṇa et Vidyādhara ; le Svarloka qui est l'empire des corps célestes, le soleil, la lune, les nakṣatra, les planètes, la grande ourse et l'étoile polaire ; le Maharloka, habité par les Kalpavāsin ; le Janarloka habité par Samandana et d'autres fils de Brahman ; le Tapoloka qui est la demeure des dieux Vairāja et enfin le Satya- ou Brahmaloka qui est habité par des dieux qui ne meurent plus.

Quoique les textes soient très peu détaillés en décrivant les séjours célestes et leurs habitants, il paraît bien que les *loka* au-dessus de la terre sont occupés par des êtres d'ordre divin. Alors, selon notre hypothèse, ces *deva*, se réjouissant avec leurs compagnes, seraient représentés sur les registres supérieurs du mur extérieur de la Terrasse, tandis que le registre inférieur qui ne comporte pas de dieux mais des *nāga* polycéphales représenterait le monde terrestre ou plutôt l'océan qui l'entoure et qui est le séjour préféré des *nāga* [2]).

Il faut avouer que cette interprétation ne correspond que partiellement avec les données des textes. D'une part on se serait attendu à trouver sur le troisième registre de la Terrasse, correspondant avec le Svarloka, les images de Sūrya, de Candra et des autres

[1]) Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, 1920, p. 54 sv.
[2]) Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore*, 1926, p. 32.

corps célestes, au lieu d'y rencontrer les représentations ordinaires ; d'autre part l'identité des deux divinités à plusieurs bras, figurant sur le quatrième registre, reste dans l'ombre, les descriptions purāṇiques n'indiquant pas que les habitants du Maharloka — le quatrième ciel — se distinguent de ceux des autres cieux.

Sans vouloir dissimuler ces difficultés, nous aurions tort, croyons-nous, d'y attribuer trop d'importance. En nous référant aux remarques de MM. Marchal et Goloubew, dont il a été question ci-dessus, il paraît parfaitement admissible que les divinités, nommées dans les textes, qu'on cherche en vain sur la Terrasse en son état actuel, ont été figurées sur les parties disparues ou englobées du bâtiment et que l'identité des divinités indéfinissables à présent se manifesterait à nous dès que leur place dans le plan original serait connue.

Quant aux régions souterrestres, les *pātāla* — ne pas confondre avec les enfers, *naraka* — voici ce que le Bhāgavata Purāṇa contient à ce sujet (V, 24, 7 sq) [1] :

« (7) Je t'ai décrit la forme et la situation de la terre ; au-dessous se trouvent encore sept cavités qui ont chacune dix mille Yojanas de profondeur ; ce sont Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala et Pātāla. (8) Cex cieux souterrains sont peuplés de palais, de jardins et de lieux où l'on joue, qu'embellissent des plaisirs, des jouissances, une grandeur, une béatitude, une prospérité et une puissance surnaturelle, supérieurs même aux biens du ciel ; c'est le séjour des Daityas, des Dhānavas et des fils de Kadrū, qui au milieu de la joie et de l'affection de leurs femmes, de leurs enfants, de leurs parents, de leurs amis et de leurs serviteurs, se livrent aux jeux de la magie (9) Là Maya le magicien a créé des villes où les palais, les enceintes, les portes, les salles, les arbres consacrés, les cours et les autels sont formés et ornés d'un choix des plus belles pierreries, et où les maisons des princes de l'Abîme reposent sur un sol factice que décorent des couples de Nāgas, d'Asuras (10) Là sont des jardins parés de beaux arbres avec leurs lacs aux ondes pures ; avec ces plaisirs que donnent aux sens les voix douces des oiseaux (11) Là sont inconnus les dangers qui accompagnent les diverses divisions du temps (12) Les joyaux précieux, qui ornent la tête des grands chefs des serpents, y dissipent entièrement les ténèbres. (13) Les habitants de ces régions sont exempts de

[1]) Burnouf, *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, II, p. 268.

la douleur, des maladies de la vieillesse enfin des altérations qu'amène l'âge. (14) La mort ne peut absolument rien contre ces êtres fortunés (16) Dans Atala réside l'Asura Bali, fils de Maya ; quand il bâilla il sortit de sa bouche trois troupes de femmes, les adultères, les voluptueuses et les débauchées. Ces femmes le comblent, à leur gré, de leurs caresses, de leurs regards, de leurs sourires amoureux, de leurs paroles et de leurs embrassements. (17) Dans la sphère suivante, celle de Vitala, Hara, surnommé Hāṭakeçvara, entouré de la troupe des Bhūtas qui composent son assemblée, réside sous la forme de Bhava réuni à Bhavānī ; c'est de lui que sort la première des rivières, la Hāṭakī, produite par l'énergie féconde des deux divinités (18) Au-dessous est Sutala, où réside encore aujourd'hui le fils de Virocana, Bali, dont la renommée est illustre et la gloire pure (28) Plus bas que Sutala est Talātala, où le chef des Dhānavas, Maya, le roi de Tripura obtint un asile de bienveillance (29) Au-dessous est Mahātala, où vivent quelquefois sans inquiétude au milieu de leurs femmes, de leurs enfants, de leurs amis et de leurs maisons, les Kuhakas, les Takṣakas, les Kalīyas et les Suṣenas, chefs de la troupe, qu'on nomme colérique, des serpents à plusieurs têtes (30) Au-dessous est Rasātala, où vivent cachés comme des serpents les fils de Diti, les Dānavas et les Pāṇis, nommés les Nivātakavacas, les Kāleyas, les Hiraṇyapuravāsins, ces adversaires des Dieux (31) Au-dessous est le Pātāla, qu'habitent les chefs du monde des Nāgas, Çaṅkha, Kulika, Mahācaṅkha, Çveta, Dhananjaya, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Çaṅkhacūḍa, Kambala, Açvatara, Devadatta et d'autres dont Vāsuki est le chef, tous ayant de larges crêtes, tous pleins d'un immense courroux ; les grands joyaux resplendissants dont sont parées les crêtes de ces serpents qui ont cinq, sept, dix, cent et jusqu'à mille têtes, dissipent par leur éclat les ténèbres épaisses qui obscurcissent les régions souterraines du Pātāla. »

Sans citer les descriptions analogues des splendeurs et des béatitudes des régions souterraines dans les autres Purāṇa, l'abrégé ci-dessus suffira à démontrer que le décor du mur intérieur de la Terrasse reflète fidèlement la représentation du texte. Nous y retrouvons les démons à l'air colérique, abrités dans leurs palais splendides et caressés par leurs femmes, n'occupant que les registres supérieurs du mur, tandis que le registre inférieur est réservé aux *nāga* polycéphales comme il est indiqué dans le texte. Même

on pourrait supposer que la Hāṭakī, la rivière qui, selon la 17me strophe, coule dans le Vitala, est figurée dans la partie méridionale du décor, où, comme nous l'avons remarqué, apparaît une rivière peuplée d'animaux aquatiques.

Comme, en vue de cette concordance, il ne nous paraît pas trop hasardé d'interpréter le décor du mur caché de la Terrasse comme la représentation des régions souterraines, il est évident que la vraisemblance même de cette interprétation tend à dissiper en grande partie le doute qui subsiste encore à l'égard du sens du décor extérieur. Les sept *pātāla* étant représentés à l'intérieur on ne saurait s'imaginer quels espaces au nombre de sept pourraient être figurés sur le mur extérieur si ce n'étaient pas justement les *saptabhuvana.*

Il nous reste à tirer quelques conclusions de ce qui précède.

Jusqu'ici on a soutenu que la présence du mur intérieur de la Terrasse du Roi lépreux représentait un des nombreux exemples des remaniements plus ou moins importants qu'un monument khmer a subis au cours des temps : Les constructeurs auraient commencé par élever un monument et par embellir son parement avec des bas reliefs ; puis, par quelque cause incertaine, ils l'auraient abandonné et, par une cause encore plus énigmatique, l'auraient englobé dans une maçonnerie, dont ils paraient la surface avec un décor à peu près identique au précédent. Remaniement coûteux et parfaitement inutile, nous paraît-il. Or, si l'on admet notre hypothèse, une autre explication du doublage de la construction se présente à nous : Les constructeurs devant exécuter un bâtiment qui représenterait les sept mondes visibles et les sept régions souterraines superposés les uns sur les autres, n'ont pas vu d'autre moyen pour s'acquitter de leur tâche que de situer le mur au décor de *pātāla* derrière celui qui représentait les *loka.* La tricherie n'était pas grave puisqu'elle remplissait les deux conditions principales, c.-à-d. que les deux septades seraient représentées et que la première serait visible, la seconde par contre dérobée à la vue.

Il est encore possible de faire une autre conclusion. S'il est vrai que sur les deux murs de la Terrasse les deux grandes divisions du système cosmographique indien, les sept *loka* et les sept *pātāla,* sont représentées, il paraît très improbable que les constructeurs auraient omis la troisième grande division du même système, celle des sept enfers ou *naraka.* Alors il ne semble pas exclu que ces *naraka* aient été figurés sur un troisième mur qui se trouve actuel-

lement derrière le second à une distance égale à la séparation entre le premier et le second mur et répétant parallèlement toutes les saillies et tous les creux de ce dernier.

Peut-être le Service archéologique de l'École trouvera lieu en ce qui précède de mettre à l'épreuve cette dernière hypothèse et, en faisant l'examen de la présence supposée du troisième mur, voudra bien satisfaire notre curiosité sur ce point [1]).

[1]) A propos de cette hypothèse le Directeur de l'Ecole d'Extrême-Orient a eu la bienveillance d'ordonner un nouvel examen de la Terrasse, exécuté par M. Marchal (*BEFEO* XXXIII, p. 516). Malheureusement, à une distance égale à la séparation entre le premier et le second mur, aucune trace d'un troisième mur n'a été trouvée. Peut-être est-il permis de supposer que le troisième mur existe pourtant, mais situé plus à l'intérieur de l'édifice, ne faisant pas un saillant comme les autres murs, mais formant une paroi droite à l'extrémité ouest du complexe.

A SCRIBAL ERROR?

BY J. J. L. DUYVENDAK, LEIDEN

In spite of the excellent text-critical work done by generations of Chinese commentators, the texts of ancient Chinese books are by no means as pure and reliable as we might wish. If errors are old and have been accepted as the correct reading by early scholars, later commentators sometimes find it hard to take a critical view. They will strain their ingenuity to the utmost in order to give a satisfactory explanation of the passage; yet to an unbiassed reader a simple text-correction sometimes provides a much more satisfactory solution. I propose here to discuss a case in point, taken from the *Ch'ien-han-shu*.

In *Ch'ien-han-shu* ch. 91, p. 9b—10a (Wang Hsien-ch'ien's ed.) occurs the following passage[1]: 齊俗賤奴虜而刀閒獨愛貴之。桀黠奴人之所患、唯刀閒收取、使之逐魚鹽商賈之利。或連車騎交守相、然愈益任之、終得其力、起數千萬。故曰、寧爵無刀。言能使豪奴自饒而盡其力也。

M. C. Wilbur, in his *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty* (1943) p. 281, translates as follows:

"In Ch'i it was customary to look down upon male slave captives, but Tiao Chien alone appreciated and valued them. Ras-

[1] In the *Shih-chi*, ch. 129, p. 18b (Po-na ed.) the passage is identical, except that the word 富 "rich" is added before 數千萬 "several thousand myriads"; also the word 也 after 所患, thus making this into a separate sentence. The character 刀 is written 刁. Yen Shih-ku, in the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, comments that 刀 should be pronounced 貂 *tiao*.

cally and crafty slaves are what men suffer from. But Tiao Chien alone gathered and employed them to go after the profits of fishing, salt (refining), and itinerant and resident merchandising. Some (among them even) associated with (generals of) chariots and cavalry, and were intimate with administrators (of commanderies) and chancellors (of kingdoms), yet he entrusted them the more. Eventually by their help he became (rich to the extent of) several thousand myriad (cash). Therefore (his slaves) said: "Rather no noble rank (than to be) without Tiao." Which meant that he was able to cause fierce male slaves (to feel) self-satisfied while exhausting their strength."

There is one grave error in this translation which has first of all to be corrected. 連車騎 does not mean: "associated with (generals of) chariots and cavalry", but the three characters are often used standard expressions for: "to travel by cart with mounted retinue" [1]). But even with this correction the text presents several problems.

Meng K'ang (ca. A.D. 180—260) explains: "Tiao Chien knew how to keep overbearing male slaves. The slaves sometimes with mounted retinue associated with governors and chancellors. They said to themselves: "Would we rather be enfranchised and become (free) people with honorary rank or should we stay to act

[1]) Cf. for example *Shih-chi*, ch. 129, pp. 13b—14a (Po-na ed.): 游閑公子飾冠劍連車騎亦爲富貴容也. "It is also for the sake of the deportment befitting (people of) wealth and rank that sporting and idle young noblemen adorn themselves with caps and swords and travel with mounted retinue." The editors of the modern punctuated edition of the *Shih-chi* (國立北平研究院史學研究會出版) seem to have misunderstood the expression in the text under discussion, for they punctuate after 騎. Cf. also *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. 91, p. 9b: 連騎 (*Shih-chi*, ch. 69, p. 18a inserts 車) 游諸侯 "traveling with mounted retinue he (i.e. the wealthy merchant K'ung 孔) visited the feudal lords"; and *ibid*, p. 12a: 濁氏昌冒 (read 胃) 脯而連騎 "The Cho family through (the sale of dried sheep) stomach-slices (acquired such wealth that they were able to) travel with mounted retinue. "Cf. *Shih-chi*, ch. 69, p. 20b: 濁氏連騎. The dictionaries do not give the expression, but cf. *Tz'e-hai* and *Tz'e-yüan* for the fuller term 結駟連騎 (*Shih-chi*, ch. 129, p. 5a) "to drive a team of four horses" (said of Confucius' pupil Tze-kung 子貢).

as slaves for Tiao?" *Wu* 無 is an exclamatory auxiliary word [1])."

Chou Shou-ch'ang (1814—1884) however objects. He says: "A proverbial saying of that time certainly had not the strained meaning which Meng gives to it. Moreover, if Meng were correct, how could one account (for the expression): "he caused overbearing slaves to be themselves affluent (饒), while exerting their strength to the utmost". This is really a paradoxical expression, meaning: "Would we rather have the honour of being a person of rank and not have such affluence as (we are now enjoying from) Tiao? [2])"

[1]) 孟康曰、刀間能畜豪奴。奴或有連車騎交守相。奴自謂、寧欲免去作民有爵邪、無將止爲刀氏作奴乎。無發聲助也。

Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (581—645) ascribes the quotation to Meng K'ang, but P'ei Yin 裴駰 (fl. 465—472) in his *Shih-chi-chi-chieh* 史記集解 merely quotes the *Han-shu-yin-yi* 漢書音義 as its source. In the *Han-shu-yin-yi* (originally by Hsiao Kai 蕭該 of the Sui 隋 dynasty 589—618), as edited by Tsang Yung 臧庸 in 1797 in the *Pai-ching-t'ang-ts'ung-shu* 拜經堂叢書 vol. 10, I do not find the quotation. *P'ei Yin*'s quotation does not carry the word 無 before 將 which certainly is the correct reading; the character 無 has slipped in from the next clause. 將 introduces the second part of a binomial question; cf. for example *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. 100, p. 7a: 其抑者從橫之事復起於今乎、將承運迭興在於一人也。 "Will the system of 'transversal' and 'horizontal' alliances arise again at the present time, or will the inheritance of the destiny and the alternative rise (of the five elements) rest with 'one man'?" For the expression 發聲 "exclamatory" cf. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, I, p. 268, note 3, where the term is quoted from P'ei Yin. The *Han-shu-p'ing-lin* 漢書評林 (Jap. ed.) reads erroneously 發助聲也.

[2]) 周壽昌曰、當時諺語未必如孟說之委曲、且如孟說何由使豪奴自饒而盡其力乎。蓋此乃反揭語言、寧爲爵之貴無若刀之饒邪。

Wilbur, l.c., note 7, misunderstands both commentaries of the phrase. That of Meng K'ang he renders by: "Would we want to be freed and become plebeians with honorary rank if we had to stop being Tiao Chien's slaves?" Chou Shou-ch'ang's interpretation he understands as: "Would we rather have the honour of a title, but if not, then the abundance of Tiao." Both renderings are impossible.

Several objections should be raised against Meng K'ang's interpretation. He is compelled to change the subject twice: *Tiao Chien* employed the slaves to pursue the profits of fishing etc. *The slaves* sometimes associated with governors and chancellors. *Tiao Chien* employed them more and more and became rich. *The slaves* said: "would we rather have rank and not have Tiao?" Nowhere, except at the beginning of the paragraph, is the subject (*Tiao Chien*) expressed at all. From a grammatical point of view it is not permissible to jump about in this way. Grammatically, Tiao Chien should be regarded as the subject throughout this paragraph, logically it does not seem reasonable to suppose that slaves, travelling with mounted retinue, should associate with governors and chancellors [1]). It seems much more plausible to assume that it was Tiao Chien himself who visited these gentlemen, travelling like a great lord himself. However,—as I understand the text,—he did not try to obtain some official post himself, but he went on employing his slaves on an ever greater scale, so that in the end, owing to their labour, he amassed a large fortune.

Here comes the crux of the passage. Meng takes the words 寧爵無刀 as referring to something the slaves said, thus changing the subject again. Chou Shou-ch'ang seems to regard it as a popular saying, without any definite subject. Their interpretations are forced and unsatisfactory. It is true that" ranks" were conferred on the common people, but for a slave the antithesis is not: slave—rank, but slave—freeman. I suggest that the subject of the saying should be Tiao Chien and that a slight emendation renders the phrase much more intelligible. The character *tiao* 刀 should be *li* 力 "labour". Both characters occur several times in the text and their similarity is such that a scribal error is easily possible. Reading *li* 力 and making the phrase refer to Tiao Chien, the meaning is: "(Do you suppose that) I would rather have noble rank than labour!" The question is, of course, rhetorical

[1]) The question puzzles Wilbur, *op. cit.*, pp. 219—220. He knows of no other case where slaves enjoyed such a position. He suggests that possibly masters trained slaves in crafts and professions and hired them out to work for others. "Were slaves a form of capital investment, and were some masters merely collectors of rent on or from their slaves? Han literature is silent on these points. Yet the way Tiao Chien is reported to have used his slaves suggests a fairly sophisticated employment of them which was certainly in advance of his contemporaries at the very beginning of the Han period, or perhaps even earlier. It may be that the writer from whom Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien copied this passage was describing something he did not understand, something very like the system here in question" It will be seen that the interpretation of the passage is of considerable interest.

and the answer is no: he prefers being a tradesman with slaves to being an official with noble rank. The phrase ties up with the statement that he associated with these high personages, and that nevertheless 然 (*jan*) he went on employing his slaves.

The concluding sentence presents a last difficulty. Chou explains *jao* 饒 as "affluence", referring to the prosperity which the slaves were supposed to enjoy while serving Tiao Chien. It is probably this word that led him astray in his interpretation. *Jao* however has also a different meaning, viz. that of 寬容 "to be liberal, to be tolerant" and *jao-jen* 饒人 means (cf. *Tz'e-hai* s.v.) "to cede to others, not to strive with others" [1]). The expression is correlated with the word 豪 *hao* "overbearing, fierce", which is the characteristic of these slaves, and the fact that they nevertheless were willing to "exert their strength to the utmost" for their master. I therefore translate: "it means that Tiao Chien was able to cause overbearing slaves, while ceding themselves (to others i.e. sacrificing themselves), to exert their strength to the utmost".

Thus, I believe, the entire passage is explained in a satisfactory and coherent way.

The complete translation therefore becomes:

"While in Ch'i it was customary to hold male slave captives cheap, Tiao Chien alone appreciated and valued them. Truculent and crafty slaves that caused annoyance to others [2]) were collected by Tiao Chien alone and employed in the pursuit of the profits of fishing, salt (refining) and trade, either of itinerary or resident merchants. Sometimes travelling with mounted retinue he associated with governors (of commanderies) and chancellors (of kingdoms). However, he employed them more and more so that in the end, obtaining (the profits of) their labour he established (a capital of) several thousand myriad [3]) (cash). Therefore he said: "(Do you suppose that) I would rather have noble rank and no labour!" Which means that Tiao Chien was able to cause overbearing slaves, while sacrificing themselves, to exert their strength to the utmost."

[1]) *Tz'e-hai*: 讓人。謂不與人爭較也.

[2]) With *Ch'ien-han-shu* I omit 也.

[3]) 數千萬 might mean: "several thousands up to a myriad" (*wan* "a myriad", being the terminal figure), but, as Wilbur, *l.c.*, observes correctly, in the context it means several thousand myriads, since several thousand or even a myriad cash would not represent a large figure in Han times.

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF SOME PASSAGES OF THE CHINESE CLASSICS

BY TJAN TJOE SOM, LEIDEN

The translation of the Chinese Classics by the Reverend James Legge, of which the first part was published in 1861, represents a stupendous amount of work and learning. Only those who by experience know what difficulties are to be surmounted in the understanding of a text of the Classics can fully appreciate the accuracy and the acumen displayed on every page by this nestor of sinologues, and our admiration for him grows with the realization that the work is still, more than eighty years after its publication, indispensable.

With the progress that sinological studies have made during this time, it is, of course, only too easy to show the many shortcomings and inexactitudes which have crept into Legge's translation. Two faults are for instance apparent. He was unacquainted with much of the important philological work done in the 19th century by a phalanx of Chinese scholars—now fortunately made accessible in numerous handy and cheap editions—, and he mixed traditional Chinese interpretations with his own, so that, without the perusal of the technical notes supplied in the translation, it is often difficult to know which is which. In this respect Couvreur, by his strict adherence to Chu Hsi's interpretation, has adopted a more consistent method, in so far as the views of the Sung-scholars can therewith be properly understood.

Since Legge and Couvreur no new effort has been made to offer a comprehensive translation of the Classics, though new editions of the smaller books (especially parts of the Four Books, and the *Tao tê ching* which apparently has not yet lost any of its charms) continue to appear regularly. Waley, by his translations of the *Tao tê ching*, the *Lun yü*, and the *Shih ching*, seems to be aiming at a set of new renderings, in which he makes full use of the work of the 18th and 19th century-scholars. At the same time he tries to free himself from the burden of Chinese

traditional views, boldly cutting innumerable Gordian knots, and suggesting brand-new and startling solutions for time-worn problems. In this he follows the way indicated by Granet, who was the first to appreciate the songs of the *Shih ching* at their "face-value". In doing so neither Granet nor Waley can, however, escape from a great deal of arbitrariness in the interpretation of the Chinese text, being compelled in many cases to have recourse to their own inventiveness—thus doing the same thing they do not want to accept from their Chinese predecessors—, while Waley all too readily explains away the difficulties by substituting for a given, unintelligible character another, more intelligible one, mostly without giving reasons for his choice.

Whether it is necessary to give a new and fresh translation of all the Classics taking into account all scientific discoveries in the sinological field (in its broadest sense, not only philological but embracing archaeology, ethnology, comparative religion, etc.) is a dubious point. It would be an immense task involving persistent studies lasting tens of years, and which probably could not be carried out single-handedly. The Chinese themselves have produced a huge literature round the Classics, and the thousands and thousands of commentaries contain much that is invaluable. In my opinion the importance of these Chinese commentaries is too often underrated. The attention of western sinology has hitherto mainly been directed towards an objective, philologically-sound translation of the text, with too little attention attached to the "theological" aspect. The spiritual life of the Chinese, however, is constituted by this very "theological" interpretation of the Classics, and it would be detrimental to the understanding of Chinese culture, if the expositions of the commentators were neglected. Karlgren's attempts to get at the true meaning of the odes of the *Shih ching* by means of the strictest philological and linguistical methods represent a scientific feat of the first order, and all sinological students owe him their admiring gratitude. But when he says, that "most of (the Chinese) commentary literature is void of value, and may be disregarded, since 95 percent of it consist of homiletics and moralizing effusions" (Bulletin Museum Far Eastern Antiquities, Vol. 14, p. 71), I think it is an exaggeration. The student of sinology is perhaps primarily but not exclusively concerned with philology. The history of Chinese thought, as it has manifested itself throughout the ages, is also an object worth studying,

and the way in which the Classics have been interpreted gives us a clear insight into the nature of Chinese "theology". Moreover, from another point of view it is essential to include the study of the commentaries into our attempt at understanding. Chinese literature abounds with quotations from the Classics. They have been taken out of their original context and fitted into a new one, which may be either similar in character, an extension of the implicated meaning, or a support for a new idea. Sometimes classical adages appearing only in an aphoristical form are used contextually, and through this application become more intelligible. It is true that the context often seems far-fetched and fantastic, but we must bear in mind that even the grossest misinterpretation of the Classics perpetrated by Chinese "theologians" is not an individual act of thought, but forms part of a system which is accepted by their society as a whole. In this sense these "theologians" furnish us with more knowledge concerning Chinese philosophical, ritual, and cosmological thought than do their contemporaries who by their philological work are of more interest from the standpoint of "instrumental scholarship". The Classics have not merely been an object of philological studies. Study of the Classics served an ulterior purpose, and a reconstruction of the true meaning of the Classics by means of philology alone, with disregard of the aim which their writers had ultimately in view, will probably result in the conclusion that the Chinese have always been living in a world of falsehood. But this will probably not constitute a dilemma for the scientific mind, which may therefore be more sensitive to a disadvantage of another kind : quotations from the Classics in numerous works have no sense whatever when detached from their new context. The existing translations by Legge, Couvreur, or Waley often cannot be used to make those texts intelligible. A purely philological approach renders either the text or the quotation senseless. Out of impatience and irritation we are then apt to brush this kind of literature aside.

A new translation of the Chinese Classics would only be adequate if it could be done hand in hand with a translation of all those books which contain quotations from them in context. The commentaries by their abundant references to otherwise unknown and inaccessible books are, for this very reason alone, indispensable. Their "moralizing effusions" must inevitably be taken into the bargain, and it will not represent a mere waste of time either.

I give here some examples of quotations from the Classics which are used for the elucidation or support of opinions as they are expressed in the *Po hu t'ung*, representing as it does the views of the so-called New Text-school. Though they do not strictly represent cases of new contextual use, as referred to above, they are instructive because they offer an interpretation which is different from that given by Legge, Couvreur, and Waley, and is perhaps better even in the original classical context.

1. *Shih ching*, Ode 常武:

王命卿士南仲太祖太師皇父

Legge's translation (Book of Poetry, p. 555):

The king gave charge to his minister,
A descendant of Nan Chung,
The Grand-master Hwang-foo: —

Couvreur (Cheu king, p. 410):

L'empereur donne ses ordres à son ministre,
le grand maître Houang fou,
descendant de Nan Tchoung.

Waley (Book of Songs, p. 136):

The king charged his minister
Nan-chung Ta-tsu
And his Grand Leader Huang-fu:

The explanations given by the Chinese scholars differ widely. The commentary *chuan* 傳 of Mao (2d century B.C.), as it is commented again by K'ung Ying-ta (574—648), takes the lines to refer to two different persons: Nan-chung, who was first minister 卿士 and now was nominated general 大將, and Huang-fu, who for this first time was appointed "grand master" 太師. Chêng Hsüan (122—200) in his notes *chien* 箋 holds the contrary view that only one person is meant: Huang-fu who had Nan-chung (a warrior of the time of king Wên, the first sovereign of the Chou-dynasty) as his ancestor 大祖, was already minister and was now appointed grand master besides (*Mao shih chu shu*, ch. 25, fol. 91b—93a). The opinion of Chu Hsi (1130—1200) is that when king Hsüan of Chou (827—782) intended to go in person on a punitive-expedition against the northern Huai-barbarians he nominated a descendant of Nan-chung (who had already been mentioned in Ode 出車 of the *Shih ching*), the minister

Huang-fu, as grand master (*Shih chi chuan*, ch. 18, fol. 34b). Finally according to Ch'ên Huan (1786—1863), when Shao Hu, who was minister under king Hsüan, was ordered to pacify the Huai-barbarians, Nan-chung was appointed minister in his stead. Huang-Fu who was already minister of Instruction 大司徒 now combined with it the function of grand master (*Shih mao shih chuan shu*, ch. 24, p. 80). Legge and Couvreur thus appear to have followed Chu Hsi's (and Chêng Hsüan's) opinion, taking Huang-fu as a descendant of Nan-chung (he had Nan-chung as his ancestor 大祖). Waley boldly skips the knotty problem of relationship contained in the expression 大祖, and takes it to be the (personal) name of Nan-chung (Nan-chung Ta-tsu). When we compare the ode with the text of the *Po hu t'ung*, in which it is quoted, it appears in another light. The chapter on Ranks 爵 devotes a paragraph to the place where ranks are conferred and important charges are given: at court or in the ancestral temple. To support its opinion the *Po hu t'ung* quotes ch. *Wang chih* 王制 of the *Li chi* ("It was in the court that rank was conferred, the multitude partaking in the act", see Couvreur's transl., vol. I, p. 274), ch. *Chi t'ung* 祭統 of id. ("Anciently when the intelligent rulers conferred rank on the virtuous it always took place before the first ancestor", see Couvreur, vol. II, p. 337), and our ode of the *Shih ching*, however only in this form: 王命卿士南仲大祖. It is clear that, in the first place, in this way Nan-chung is seen as quite a different person from Huang-fu, and that, secondly, the line should contextually be translated as: "The king appointed the minister Nan-chung [general before] the first ancestor [in the ancestral temple]". Neither Legge's, Couvreur's, nor Waley's translation would be sensible in this context [1]).

[1]) After this article had been written I happened to be able to consult Karlgren's translation of the ode in the Bulletin Museum Far Eastern Antiquities, vol. 17, p. 85, just published. His rendering of our passage runs: "the king charged the minister Nan-chung in (the temple of) the great ancestors". As his Glosses have not yet appeared I do not know along what (philological ?) lines Karlgren has arrived at his translation. But it is interesting that my contextual approach in the main has led to the same result. The translation of *ta tsu* 大祖 (or *t'ai tsu* 太祖) by "great ancestors" is inadequate. The ta tsu of a feudal lord is the lord who has received, as the first of his generation, a fief from the son of Heaven; the ta tsu of the son of Heaven is the first ancestor of his dynastic family, cf. Woo Kang, Les trois théories politiques du Tch'ouen ts'ieou, p. 139, note 3.

2. *Shih ching*, Ode 碩人:

譚公維私

Legge (Book of Poetry, p. 95):

The viscount of T'an also her brother-in-law.

Couvreur (Cheu king, p. 66):

Le prince de T'an a aussi épousé l'une de ses sœurs.

Waley (Book of Songs, p. 80):

Calling the Lord of T'an her brother-in-law.

Karlgren (B.M.F.E.A. vol. 16, p. 190):

The prince of T'an is her brother-in-law.

The different translations of kung 公 "duke" are indications of a difficulty, which is apparently only realized by Legge, who in a note thus expresses his embarrassment: "*T'an* was a small State, whose lords were viscounts (子), adjacent to Ts'e (i.e. Ch'i 齊). Why the viscount of T'an should here be called duke (公), we cannot well tell, as it is not likely that he was dead at this time (throughout the *Ch'un ch'iu* the chiefs even of the smaller states are all dignified with the title of 'duke' after their death, see note p. 3 of Legge's translation of the Spring and Autumn Annals). 公 must be taken generally as = the ruler of a State." The difficulty disappears when we see the line quoted contextually in a passage in the chapter on Appellations 號 of the *Po hu t'ung*, where it is said that "earls, viscounts, and barons are in their [own] states laudatively called dukes (公)...., because the feudal lords have the task of assembling and the custom of paying visits to each other. Sometimes they are called duke to honour them, sometimes they are called earl, viscount, or baron to slight them. On the occasion of their intercourse [the king] does not exact from their subjects the observation of the correct relations. They may wish to exalt their [own] rulers [against the other lords], so he allows the subjects to call their masters dukes." Legge's, Couvreur's, Waley's, and Karlgren's translation would be irrelevant in this passage, in which the quotation, serving as a proof for its opinion, should be translated: "The duke of T'an was her brother-in-law."

3. *Shu ching*, ch. 益稷:

戛擊鳴球搏拊琴瑟以詠祖考來格

Legge (Book of Historical Documents, p. 87):

> When the sounding-stone is tapped or strongly struck; when the lutes are swept or gently touched; to accompany the singing:—the *imperial* progenitors come to the service.

Couvreur (Chou king, p. 57):

> Lorsqu'on frappe légèrement ou fortement les pierres musicales, qu'on agite légèrement ou fortement les cordes des deux espèces de luths, et que les sons de ces instruments alternent avec les voix des chanteurs; les mânes des ancêtres arrivent.

Both Legge and Couvreur take 搏拊 pu fu as verb and synonymical with 戛擊 chia chi, meaning "to strike lightly and to strike heavily", further 祖考 as a composite "grandfather and father" = ancestors. The use of *pu fu* as verb seems to be warranted by the parallelism. *Pu fu* however is explained by K'ung An-kuo (± 156—74 B.C.) as a musical instrument "made of hide 韋 and filled with husk or bran, used to beat the time" (*Shang shu chu shu*, ch. 4, fol. 16a); in chapter 明堂位 of the Li chi several names of musical instruments are mentioned, among others the 拊搏 fu pu, which Couvreur translates as "tambours de paille" (Li ki, vol. I, p. 737), and Legge as "pillow-like bundles of chaff" (Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXVIII, p. 35). Both wonder at the music which could be produced from such an instrument. Chêng Hsüan seems to identify fu pu with pu fu, for he gives almost the same description as K'ung Ying-ta: "made of rushes 葦, filled with husk, and having the shape of a small drum" (*Li chi chu shu*, ch. 31, fol. 16b). The *Shang shu ta chuan* further gives a similar explanation: "the pu fu is a drum furnished with husk" (quoted in the Po hu t'ung). The paragraph in the chapter on Rites and Music 禮樂 of the Po hu t'ung, which contains this quotation from the Shu ching, deals with the sacrificial music performed in the ancestral temple to "invite down" the spirits of the forefathers. At the performance the clinking stone, the pu fu,

and the lutes were played on a platform together with the singers, and with the 柷 chu and the yü 敔 beneath it (cf. the *Shang shu chin ku wên chu shu*, ch. 2, p. 90). The chu is used to start the orchestra, it is a square varnished box of wood with a pestle inside it, which, when moved, beats against the sides; the yü stops the music, it has the form of a sitting tiger with notches on the back, which, when swept, produce a sound. 戛 chia indicates the striking of the chu, 擊 chi the striking of the yü. What is the characteristic of this sacrificial music? It must be soft in order not to disturb the singing (this is most clearly stated in the Shang shu ta chuan, ch. 1, fol. 26a). Therefore the clinking-stone is used, because its sound is clear, and it is made of the precious jade-stone. Therefore the ch'in 琴 and the sê 瑟 are used, lutes "having [strings of] purely boiled silk, and red strings", which make the sound dull (cho 濁, see the *Li chi chu shu*, ch. 37, fol. 8b and 10a; according to the *Shang shu ta chuan*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, the dullness is moreover caused by two connected sound-holes 達越). And therefore the *pu fu* is used, being indeed an instrument which does not produce much noise. In this context "to strike lightly and to strike heavily" gives no sense, and the Shu ching-passage should be translated: "When the chu was struck [to start the orchestra] or the yü [to stop it], when the jade clinking-stone [was sounded] and the pu fu and the lutes [were played] to accompany the singing, [the spirits of] the first forefather and the father arrived". In translating 祖考 by "first forefather and father" I have followed Sun Hsing-yen (1753—1818), who wants the line to refer to Shun, sacrificing to his first forefather Chuan Hsü and his "father" Yao (*Shang shu chin ku wên chu shu*, ch. 2, p. 91).

4. *Shu ching*, ch. 秦誓:

邦之杌隉曰由一人邦之榮懷亦尙一人之慶

Legge (p. 630):

> The prosperity (*sic*) and unsettledness of a State may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a State also may perhaps arise from the excellence of one man.

Couvreur (p. 399):

> Parfois l'État est ébranlé et ruiné à cause d'un seul homme. Parfois aussi il est prospère et tranquille, parce qu'un homme s'est heureusement rencontré.

Both Legge and Couvreur take the sentence to be a general statement. Legge explicitly rejects the idea that by the "one man" (of the State) should be intended the duke of Ch'in himself who was making a speech (the quotation constitutes the terminating part of this speech), thus following, consciously or unconsciously, the interpretation of the Old Text-school. The question turns on the following story: In 627 B.C. duke Mu of Ch'in, against the advice of his counsellors, wanted to annex the state of Chêng. He sent an army under three generals, which destroyed Hua, a place on the frontiers of Chin. Duke Hsiang of Chin, enraged at this, despatched his soldiers against Ch'in's army, and routed it completely at Hsiao. The three generals were taken prisoners, but afterwards sent back to Ch'in. Three years later, in 624 B.C., Ch'in got the opportunity to avenge its disgrace, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Chin. The *Shu ching* has now preserved as its last chapter a speech by this duke Mu of Ch'in. On what occasion was it delivered? According to the Old Text-school it was when the duke met the returned three generals of his annihilated army in 627 B.C. (so in the *Tso chuan*, duke Hsi 33d year). According to the New Text-school it was in 624 B.C. on the event of his victory over Chin (so in the *Shih chi*, Mémoires Historiques, vol. II, p. 44), when duke Mu erected a monument for the victims of Hsiao, and ended his harangue by saying that the blame for the disgrace of 627 B.C. was due to him, but that the glory now attained was also his work. The chapter on Appellations 號 of the Po hu t'ung devotes a paragraph to the institution of hegemons *pa* 霸. The feudal lord was called hegemon when by his power and influence he was able to compel the other feudal lords to observe their duties towards the king. There had been, in succession, five hegemons, but the names given differ in the several traditions. The case of duke Mu is dubious. The Po hu t'ung records an enumeration according to the series 春秋之五霸 "the five hegemons of the Spring and Autumn", in which Mu is classed as a hegemon, and to support the statement our Shu ching-passage is quoted. Taken as a general pronouncement, as Legge's and Couvreur's

translation suggest, it would thus be meaningless. The expression 一人 "one man", moreover, is a well-known designation used by the king in speaking of himself. It occurs e.g. in the Shu ching (Legge, p. 189, 292), the *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu* (Wilhelm's transl., p. 106), in the works of Mo tzŭ (Y. P. Mei's transl., p. 86), and in the *Lun yü* (Legge, p. 351). It is there used in sentences which have the character of a "scape-goat formula" (cf. Waley's Analects, p. 231, note 5). The Po hu t'ung (in the same chapter on 號) explains the use of the appellation as due to the king's modesty: he wishes to express the idea that his ability stands only for that of one man. In any case, if the quotation should have any sense in the context, it ought to be translated: "The trouble and danger of the state were said to have arisen from [me,] the One Man; the glory and tranquillity of the state [may now] also [be said] to have their cause in [my,] the One Man's felicity."

5. *Shu ching*, ch. 舜典:

歸格于藝祖

Legge (p. 37):

> When he returned *to the capital, he* went to the *temple of the* Cultivated ancestor.

Couvreur (p. 19):

> De retour (à la capitale), il entra dans le temple de l'Aieul Parfait.

K'ung An-kuo identifies 藝祖 *i tsu* with 文祖 *wên tsu* (*Shang shu chu shu*, ch. 2, fol. 10b), which occurs twice in the same chapter of the Shu ching (Legge, p. 32 and 41). Legge, adopting K'ung's identification, translates wên tsu by "Accomplished Ancestor" and i tsu by "Cultivated Ancestor". He mentions the different opinions of the Chinese scholars about what may be meant by wên tsu (notes on p. 33, cf. also Mém. Hist. vol. I, p. 56, note 4), expressing his sympathy for the theory that "by this ancestor must be intended the individual to whom Yaou traced his possession of the throne,—perhaps Hwang-te." When we look up the *Shih chi* we find that the sentence is paraphrased thus:

歸至於祖禰廟 (ch. 1, fol. 15a), translated by Chavannes as "A son retour, il se rendit aux temples de son grand-père et de son père défunt" (Mém. Hist., vol. I, p. 64). Chavannes, referring to the passage in the Shu ching (ibid., n. 3), points to the clearer wording of the Shih chi which is also confirmed by a statement in the *Wang chih* of the Li chi (歸假于祖禰; Legge's transl. in Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXVII, p. 218: "he returned (to the capital), repaired (to the ancestral temple) and offered [to] his (high) ancestor [and] his father"; Couvreur, Li ki, vol. I, p. 278: "De retour dans sa capitale, il visitait les tablettes de ses ancêtres et de son père"). Now the passages in the Shu ching with wên tsu appear to occur in the Shi chi with wên tsu retained (fol. 12b and 21a, Mém. Hist. p. 56 and 80), so that the distinction with i tsu (paraphrased as 祖禰 tsu ni in the Shih chi) is clearly observed. In fact the passages with wên tsu and that with i tsu (tsu ni) refer to different events. In the first case (the second passage with wên tsu is only a repetition of the first) it describes Shun's sacrifice after he succeeded Yao as emperor, in the second case it describes Shun's sacrifice after his return from a tour of inspection. The Po hu t'ung in its chapter on Tours of Inspection 巡狩 quotes the Shu ching-passage as a proof for its theory that the king before his departure should announce it to Heaven and take leave from his deceased fore-fathers in the ancestral temple, and when he returns should present himself again in the ancestral temple. This quotation has tsu ni, as it also occurs in the Shih chi. The same happens in another chapter (on the Three Hosts 三軍), but this chapter contains also the quotation in the Shu ching-version, with i tsu in stead of tsu ni. It is evident that this is a "slip". The context offers a further proof. First it is said that "when the king is about to go out he bids leave before the shrine of his deceased father; when he returns he proceeds to the shrines of his [first] ancestor and his deceased father *tsu ni*", using as proof the quotation from the Wang chih "when the king is about to set out [on a tour of inspection] he offers the *ts'ao*-sacrifice to the shrine of his deceased father *ni*" (Li chi, l.c.). Then it proceeds: "Why [is it] only [said that he] visits his father's shrine? The taking of leave begins with the lower [-placed ancestor. Still] he does not dare to leave alone the command of the exalted [first ancestor. But it having already been

said that] he has come to his father's shrine *ni*, there is no objection not [to make mention of] his coming to the shrine of the [first] ancestor *tsu*. Says the Book of History:" (follows the Shu ching-quotation, but with i tsu in stead of tsu ni). The meaning becomes clearer when we compare it with Huang K'an's (488—545) explanation in his *Li chi i shu* (*Yü han shan fang chi i shu*, ch. 26, fol. 34a). According to him the taking of leave begins with the lowest, i.e. the father's shrine, and proceeds through the other shrines until the first ancestor whose tablet is then taken along on the expedition. If the leave-taker should first go to the shrine of the first ancestor and afterwards to that of his father, it would mean a neglect of the exalted (first ancestor)'s command and an unreverential deed. At the return the procedure takes place in a reversed order. The tablet is first restored in the shrine of the first ancestor, and lastly the fact of the return is announced before the shrine of the father. Thus the Shu ching-quotation should be translated: "On his return [from his tour of inspection Shun] went to the shrines of his first ancestor and his father". The translations given by Legge and Couvreur would have little sense in the context.

April 1946.

KNIGHTHOOD
TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTER SHIDŌ FROM SAITŌ SETSUDŌ'S SHIDŌ YŌRON

BY F. VOS, LEIDEN

INTRODUCTION

> The acts of the superior man begin by being a *samurai* and end by being a Sage
> (from *Shisetsu* by Muro Kyūsō, 1658—1734).

This paper intends to be a modest contribution to the knowledge of the documents dealing with *Bushidō* (1) [1]), the code of ethics or *noblesse oblige* of the *bushi* (*samurai*, warriors).

The first book written in a Western language on the subject of *Bushidō* was "Bushido—The Soul of Japan" by Nitobe Inazō (2) [2]). In the first chapter of this very readable book Nitobe says: "Bushido, then, is the code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code; at best it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant. More frequently it is a code unuttered and unwritten, possessing all the more the powerful sanction of veritable deed, and of a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart. It was founded not on the creation of one brain, however able, or on the life of a single personage, however renowned. It was an organic growth of decades and centuries of military career [3])." As appears from this statement Nitobe was ignorant of the fact that there have

[1]) The numbers between brackets refer to the list of characters at the end of this paper.

[2]) First published in Philadelphia in 1899. Originally written in English it has been translated into German, Polish, Czech, Norwegian, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, French, Marathi, and Japanese. This book and the works of Lafcadio Hearn have been for a long time the most popular books on Japan.

[3]) Nitobe, op. cit. (10th revised and enlarged edition, New York and London 1905), pp. 4—5.

been several writers—philosophers and *samurai*—who laid down the ethical precepts for the *bushi* in more or less voluminous books. It is but natural that these books for the greater part appeared during the *Tokugawa-jidai* (3), 1603—1868, when the glorious acts of bravery, loyalty, and self-sacrifice as well as the brutal deeds of treachery and cruelty which had been performed during the preceding period of internal strife could be peacefully discussed and criticized according to the then prevailing standards of morality.

Most important among these books are:

Shidō (4), "Knighthood", and *Bukyō Shōgaku* (5), "The Lesser Learning of Military Teachings", by Yamaga Sokō (6) (1622—1685) [1]; *Bukun* (8), "Military Precepts", by Kaibara Ekiken (9) (1630—1714) [2]; *Hagakure* (10), "Hidden Behind the Leaves", of which the greater part is generally ascribed to Yamamoto Tsunetomo (11) [3], a retainer of the House of Nabeshima (12) in the province of *Hizen* (13) [4].

Yamaga Sokō's works are, of course, imbued with the ideas of the *Kogakuha* (15) [5], whereas the spirit of *Zen* (16) is predominant in *Hagakure*. Other writers on *Bushidō* may make other thoughts their starting-point, but all of them agree that loyalty, propriety, righteousness, honesty, simplicity, and benevolence should be the principal characteristics of the *bushi*.

Looking for *Tokugawa* literature on the subject, the present writer came across the interesting bibliographical list in Kawano Shōzō's (17) valuable work *Kokumin Dōtoku Shiron* (18) [6], where a treatise entitled *Shidō Yōron* (19), "Essay on the Essentials of Knighthood", is mentioned. On further inquiry this treatise, composed by Saitō Setsudō (20) (1797—1865) [7], appeared to be

[1]) *Vide* Koyama Matsukichi (7), Yamaga Sokō and his Bukyō Shōgaku (Cultural Nippon, Vol. VIII, Nr. 4, December 1940, pp. 67—87).

[2]) *Vide* O. Graf, Kaibara Ekiken (Leiden 1942), pp. 479—536.

[3]) Dates unknown; lived at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.

[4]) *Vide* Iwadō Tamotsu (14), "Hagakure Bushidō" or The Book of the Warrior (Cultural Nippon, Vol. VII, Nr. 3, November 1939, pp. 33—55).

[5]) = the School of "Ancient Learning". This school rejected Neo-Confucianism (the official philosophy during the *Tokugawa-jidai*) and resorted to the original texts of Confucianism for its inspiration.

[6]) 7th revised and enlarged edition, Tōkyō 1931, pp. 168—169.

[7]) Confucian scholar, educationalist, and military expert. He belonged to the *Shushigaku-ha* (22), the School of Neo-Confucianism. For further details see below.

of great importance for the study of *Bushidō*. Its contents show clearly the high demands Saitō made upon the samurai who, according to him, should not be mere soldiers, but men of learning and culture as well. Owing to lack of space only a rendering of the last chapter, *Shidō* (21), "Knighthood", could be given, but even this short translation will suffice to make the Western reader acquainted with the extensive learning and lofty ideals of its author.

In *Kansei* 9 (= 1797) Saitō Setsudō [1]) was born as a son of a retainer of the *Tōdō-Daimyō* (29) [2]) in the *Edo* (32)-mansion of the *Tsu*-"clan". Already as a child he manifested a marked disposition for learning and, on reaching the required age, he entered the *Shōheikō* (33) [3]) where he studied under the famous Koga Seiri (35) [4]). At the age of twenty-four he was appointed a teacher in the school of the *Tōdō-Daimyō* in the town of *Tsu;* later he became a tutor to the *Daimyō*'s son which position he held for more than ten years. In the meantime he often visited *Edo*, had intercourse with famous scholars there, enlarged his knowledge, and became a prominent figure in the learned world of his time. In *Kōka* 1 (= 1844) he was appointed a school-inspector and as such he presided over the educational administration of literary and military arts. On the one hand he established school regulations, selected students, purchased books, and founded a library ; on the other hand he attracted swordsmen and cultivated and encouraged the military arts. The *Shōgunate* offered him a position as a government-official which he declined out of loyalty to his lord. He died of an illness in *Keiō* 1 (= 1865) [5]). He wrote many books on Chinese classics, strategy, and politics (among others a study entitled *Roshiya Gaiki* (36), "Unofficial Records relating to Russia").

The *Shidō Yōron* consists of six chapters, viz. 1. *Genshi* (37),

[1]) His personal name was Masanori (23,) his "style" Utō (24), his popular name Tokuzō (25), his literary names Tekken (26) and Setsudō, his name after his retirement from office Setsu-ō (27), his posthumous name Bunsei Sensei (28).

[2]) The *Tōdō-Daimyō* were the *Daimyō* of *Tsu* (30) in the province of *Ise* (31).

[3]) A famous school in *Edo*, financed by the government and placed under the supervision of the Hayashi (34)-family. The education at the *Shōheikō* was entirely directed along the lines of Neo-Confucianism.

[4]) (1750—1817) ; professor of Chinese literature at the *Shōheikō*, author of several political studies.

[5]) The data for this short biography have been taken from well-known works of reference like *Dai-Nihon Jimmei Jisho, Kokusho Kaidai, Kokushi Daijiten, "Papinot", Japan-Handbuch,* etc.

"Ascertaining the Nature of *Samurai*hood"; 2. *Shifū* (38), "The Manners and Customs of the *Samurai*"; 3. *Shiki* (39), "Martial Spirit"; 4. *Shisetsu* (40), "The Loyalty of the *Samurai*"; 5. *Shishin* (41), "The Heart of the *Samurai*"; 6. *Shidō* (21), "Knighthood". The last chapter is the logical result of the ideas developed in the five preceding chapters and may be considered to contain the gist of Saitō's teachings.

TRANSLATION [1])

KNICHTHOOD

Although a *samurai* should in governing himself and in governing others first of all regulate his heart, he may not do that with selfishness and should observe naught but his moral sense. Moral sense is inherent in the hearts of all men,—it is human nature. As to human nature, though it is said that nobody is bad and all men are good, those people are many who—being shrouded by the selfishness of human desires—are blinded. Among the men called good, people [whose minds] are not [entirely] clouded do exist, but [their minds] are enlightened in some respects and clouded in others; men [whose minds are enlightened] like the cloudless sky do not exist outside the Sages [2]).

Only the Sages are fully conscious of the moral sense [inherent in their hearts]; their demeanour and their words have become the [Right] Way [of Conduct] (*michi* (43)) and the teachings which are to be preserved by the successive generations. Now, even the Way of the Sages is not a thing lacking in the hearts of [other] men, only, there is a difference between partial and complete [realization of it]. Although—from the selfish and narrow point of view of the common run of men—there may even be teachings which seem stupid, [one should] consider this one's own fault, profoundly believe in the Sages, reflect upon their Way and try to understand it well, extend it to the human relations of the present day, and search for the proper [concept] of righteousness; [such a behaviour] may, indeed, be called the true pursuit of learning.

True chivalry as well may only be practised on the strength of this Way. Also in the soldierly families of recent times there

[1]) The translation is based upon the text in the *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko, Kunkaihen* II (42), Tōkyō 1910, pp. 535—540.

[2]) The Chinese Sages (Confucius, Mencius, etc.) are meant.

existed of its own accord a thing called *Bushidō* [1]). Although it is unknown who established [these moral precepts] [2]), they naturally came to be consistent with the Way in some respects; in many cases, however, selfishness and narrow views were not avoided. Citing one or two cases in point: —such things like considering *oibara* (44) [3]) as loyalty and the support of people fled from their country for political reasons as righteousness are both instances of what Mōshi (45) termed "acts of righteousness which are not [really] righteous" [4]). A fact which has become extremely disgusting is that there were even cases in which murder and robbery were called the habits of the *samurai*. A *samurai* makes strength his principal aim, but, when he does not make the Way of the Sages his starting-point, he may degenerate into a [mere] robber. On the other hand, even if one is loyal to one's cause and attaches little importance to death, there [may] be instances of failing in courage and violating [the principles of] righteousness; —nevertheless the endeavours to understand the Way of the Sages and the craving for the proper [concept] of righteousness may, indeed, be called true knighthood.

[Already] before Tōshōgū (48) [5]) ruled the country, he considered it a deplorable fact that since [the times of] the *Muromachi* (50) *Shōgunate* [6]) men's hearts were rude and that there were even many instances of subjects killing their rulers and sons killing their fathers [7]). He attracted Confucian scholars, promoted learning, and ordered the extensive printing of such books as Chinese classics and historical works, so that men might know the Way. As he did these things on a large scale, many men famous

[1]) This is one of the many instances where—despite B. H. Chamberlain (Bushidō or the Invention of a New Religion, 1912)—the word *Bushidō* is used before 1900 (cf. A. L. Sadler, A short History of Japan, Sydney—London 1946, p. 320).

[2]) These precepts were, as we saw before, the result of "an organic growth of decades and centuries of military career".

[3]) = committing suicide (by ripping up one's belly,—*seppuku, harakiri*) with the idea of following one's deceased master to the other world. It is an interesting fact that this practice is disapproved of in a treatise pertaining to *Bushidō*.

[4]) *fugi no gi* (46); wrongly cited by Saitō, it should be *higi no gi* (47). Cf. Mencius, Book IVB, Chapter VI:—Mencius said: "Acts of propriety which are not [really] proper, and acts of righteousness which are not [really] righteous, the great man does not do" (Legge's transl.).

[5]) Posthumous name of Tokugawa Ieyasu (49) (1542—1616), the first *Tokugawa Shōgun* (ruled from 1603 to 1605).

[6]) 1336—1573.

[7]) This is an allusion to Mencius, Book IIIB, Chapter IX, § 7.

for their learning were produced among the chief vassals and ministers of state as well as among the feudal lords, and ultimately they formed this excellent government. Compared with such uncultured periods as the *Muromachi Shōgunate*, there is a difference as between day and night. It no [longer] occurs that [the country] enjoys peace at one time and is disturbed [by internal strife] at another; as to [this blessing], [the present state of the country] is as distant as heaven from earth from [conditions under] the *Muromachi* [*Shōgunate*] and the like [when the country] was constantly disturbed [by civil wars] and, being misgoverned, went to ruin. [The present generation] will appreciate the efficacy of culture and learning.

Now, even under the *Muromachi Shōgunate* there were men like Hosokawa Yoriyuki (51) [1]) and Imagawa Sadayo (55) [2]) who are [generally] called meritorious, humane, and good. These men were not illiterate, but, as it is disgusting even to speak of people who have served under the *Muromachi* [*Shōgunate*], I will leave them out of consideration for the present. In preference to them lieutenant-general Kusunoki [3]) and Bingo no Saburō (60) [4]) who served the Emperor of the legitimate line [5]) and excelled all generations in pure loyalty and lofty principles may be called men proficient both in literature and military arts. Bingo no Saburō, though born amidst warfare, was fond of studying; even in the

[1]) Talented statesman and general (1329—1392) who led several campaigns of Ashikaga Yoshiakira (52) and Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (53) against the Southern (legitimate) Dynasty (see note 5 below). In 1367 he was appointed *shitsuji* (54) (prime minister) and guardian of Yoshimitsu who was only ten years old then. (Yoshiakira and Yoshimitsu were the 2nd and 3rd *Shōgun* of the *Muromachi Shōgunate*, they ruled from 1358 to 1367 and from 1367 to 1395, respectively).

[2]) † 1429. He distinguished himself in several campaigns against the adherents of the Southern Dynasty. In 1371 he was nominated *chinzei tandai* (56), i.e. governor of *Kyūshū* (57). He is the author of several literary and historical works.

[3]) = Kusunoki Masashige (58) (1294—1336), devoted follower of Go-Daigo Tennō (59) (see note 5 below) and the most popular hero of Japan.

[4]) Popular name of Kojima Takanori (61) (dates unknown), one of the famous heroes who fought for the cause of the Southern Dynasty.

[5]) When Go-Daigo Tennō (59) (96th Emperor, 1319—1338) resolved to govern alone and tried to overthrow the (*Kamakura*) *Shōgunate*, he was deposed and banished (1331). He succeeded in escaping from his exile (1333) and raised an army against the *Shōgunate*. In the resulting troubles one of his former adherents (Ashikaga Takauji) assumed the title of *Shōgun* and placed a counter-*Tennō* on the throne (1336), whereas Go-Daigo Tennō was forced to retreat to southern Japan. Thus began the *Namboku-chō jidai* (62), the Period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, which lasted until 1392. The Southern Dynasty is, of course, considered the legitimate one.

two lines of poetry which he carved in a cherry-tree one can observe his ability in Chinese [composition] [1]). Even in the injunctions that Lord Kusunoki, at the moment of his death, laid upon his son Masatsura (64) [2]) he seems to have said that [Masatsura] should be increasingly diligent in the pursuit of his studies.

Although the loyalty of such men as Tainan (65) [3]), Shōnan (66) [4]), and Bingo no Saburō of the military class, the *chūnagon* (67) [5]) Fujifusa [6]) and the *ju[n]gō* (69) [7]) Kitabatake [8]) of the Court nobility is said to have sprung from their very nature, their clear understanding of moral obligations and their abstinence from deplorable [acts] may be accredited to learning. As to the heroes of later times, there were—to begin with Shingen [9]) and Kenshin [10])—some men gifted with literary talents, but the only [exponents] of what is called *jitsugaku* (76) [11]) were Lord Toshiie [12]) of *Kaga* (78) [13])

[1]) When Godaigo Tennō was being transported into exile, Kojima Takanori (Bingo no Saburō) made his way into the enclosure of the inn where the Emperor and his escort rested one night. He scraped off part of the bark of a cherry-tree and inscribed a Chinese poem on the trunk:

O Heaven! Do not desert Kōsen;
[Even] now he is not without a Hanrei (63).

This poem refers to a Chinese Prince of the 5th century B.C., named Kōsen (Kao Chien), who—after an overwhelming defeat and many years of straitened circumstances—was restored to power thanks to the ingenious devices of his faithful minister Hanrei (Fan Li). Cf. *Kokushi Daijiten* (Tōkyō 1908), p. 1070.

[2]) (1326—1348); he was one of the leaders of the resistance against the *Muromachi Shōgunate*.

[3]) Big Nan (Sino-Japanese pronunciation of the character for *Kusunoki*), i.e. Kusunoki Masashige.

[4]) Small Nan, i.e. Kusunoki Masatsura.

[5]) Counsellor of the Imperial Court.

[6]) = Fujiwara Fujifusa (68), a faithful follower of Go-Daigo Tennō, dates unknown.

[7]) = *ju[n]sangō* or *ju[n]sangū* (70), at the time a merely honorific title.

[8]) = Kitabatake Akiyoshi (71), † 1383. He was one of the loyal nobles that fought for the cause of the Southern Dynasty. He was a son of the famous Chikafusa (72), 1293—1354, the author of the *Jinnō Shōtōki* (73), "Records of the True Succession of the Divine Emperors", a historical work supporting the legitimacy of the Southern Dynasty.

[9]) = Takeda Shingen (74) (1521—1573). Like Uesugi Kenshin (see note 9) he was a great authority on strategy and military tactics.

[10]) = Uesugi Kenshin (75) (1530—1578). Uesugi Kenshin and Takeda Shingen fought each other severely several times, but, though their fierce struggles are compared to "the eruption of volcanoes or the blowing of gales of blood", victory never rested on either standard (cf. F. Brinkley, A History of the Japanese People, London—New York 1915, p. 467). In spite of their enmity they had great admiration for each other and some striking acts of mutual chivalry are recorded in Japanese history.

[11]) Lit. realism; here learning which is put into practice is meant.

[12]) = Maeda Toshiie (77) (1538—1599), a general who served under Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

[13]) In 1583 Maeda Toshiie obtained the province of *Kaga*.

and the *kazue-no-kami* (79)[1] Katō[2]). As their achievements belong to that [turbulent] age, they have not been extensively studied, but those of the known facts which have been put on record will by far surpass [the learning of] the present scholars. Concerning the two generals[3] the *Resso Seiseki* (83)[4] said that they were an omen of the coming development of civilization. Truly they would [prove to] be!

In modern times the learning of the *samurai* is based upon the precepts bequeathed by Tōshōgū[5]; in antiquity [the *samurai*] would—like Emperor Ōsasagi (88) (= Nintoku Tennō (89)[6]) and Prince Uji no Waki-iratsuko (90)[7]—have set their hearts upon realism. During the Imperial reigns of the Middle Ages such men as Emperor Tenchi (93)[8] and the ministers Kamatari[9] and Michizane[10] also obtained success by [practising] realism, but—for the rest—rulers as well as subjects strenuously followed the gorgeous customs of *Zui* (98) and *Tō* (99)[11]; even in dress, head-gear, and government institutions they [slavishly] imitated the customs of *Tō*. Although etiquette, music, and arts were refined, they were

[1]) = Head of the Bureau of Taxation. In 1585 Katō Kiyomasa (see note 14) was nominated *kazue-no-kami*.

[2]) = Katō Kiyomasa (80) (1562—1611), a famous general who together with Konishi Yukinaga (81) († 1600) commanded the van-guard of the Korean expedition (1592) launched by the Japanese "Napoleon", Toyotomi Hideyoshi (82) (1535—1598).

[3]) Maeda Toshiie and Katō Kiyomasa are meant.

[4]) "The Merits of Our Glorious Forefathers", a work dealing with the events during Ieyasu's life. It was written in Chinese by Asaka Kaku[bei] (84) (1656—1737).

[5]) The *Buke-hyakkajō* (85), "A Hundred Articles for the Military Class", considered as a kind of testament made by Ieyasu for his successors. The authenticity of this testament is to be doubted. The *Buke-hyakkajō* is not to be confounded with the *Buke-shohatto* (86). "Regulations for the Military Class", which like its counterpart the *Kuge-shohatto* (87), "Regulations for the Court Nobility", was promulgated in 1615.

[6]) 16th Emperor of Japan; traditional dates: 313—399 (according to Wedemeyer: 389—409).

[7]) Son of Ōjin Tennō (see next page, note 3) and younger brother of Nintoku Tennō. His teacher was the famous Korean scholar Wani (Qa̤n In (91)) from *Kudara* (*Pa̤ik-če* (92)).

[8]) 38th Emperor of Japan (661—671).

[9]) = Fujiwara no Kamatari (94) (614—669), one of the greatest statesman of Japan. He belonged to the Nakatomi (95) -clan, in 669 Tenchi Tenno granted him and his descendants the family name of Fujiwara. In 645 he destroyed the influence of the Soga (96) -clan, the ambitions of which menaced the independence of the Imperial House.

[10]) = Sugawara no Michizane (97) (845—903), a great scholar who was falsely accused of plotting to dethrone the Emperor.

[11]) *Zui* and *Tō* are the Chinese *Sui* and *T'ang* Dynasties, 589—618 and 618—907 respectively.

nothing but useless institutions and men who practised the true Way of the Sages were not to be found. It was like the saying "buying a chest and returning a jewel" [1]) and it is not worth speaking of. If [the men of those times] really wanted to study the Way of the Sages, the [Chinese] classics would have served the purpose. It would not have been necessary to appoint *kentōshi* (103) [2]) or the like. They studied to no purpose the corrupt practices of a degenerate age of a foreign country, they parted with the simple customs of our Empire; besides they made [the study of] the compassionate and gentle Buddhism their principal aim and disturbed the laws and regulations of their rulers, so that they were given to effeminate ways and caused the weakening of the Imperial Family. Learning does not consist in imitating the customs of *Tō*, but in studying the Way of China. But for the studying of this Way [by our ancestors] the Way of the Chinese Sages would not have been substituted for the Ancestral Way of our Great Country. The moral principles of our highly venerated ancestors excelled [those of] the Chinese Sages, but, as there did not exist any books at that time, they have not been handed down in detail.

When the Way of the Sages was introduced at the Court of Yamato (104), Emperor Sei (105) (= Ōjin Tennō (106) [3]) considered it good in his heart and for that reason he made even his children study it. Emperor Ōsasagi succeeded him to the throne and, unworried by the lamentable condition of his palace, he made his people prosperous by exempting them from taxation for some years [4]). Because of this deed he is [truly] worthy of his posthumous title *Nintoku* (= benevolence-virtue). When Prince Uji yielded the Imperial throne to his elder brother, the latter refused;

[1]) This saying refers to a passage in *Kampishi* (*Han Fei-tzŭ* (100)): "There was a man of *So* (*Ch'u* (101)) who wanted to sell a jewel in *Tei* (*Chêng* (102)). He made a chest of fine wood, perfumed it with fragrant wood, filled the joints with pearls, adorned it with precious stones and jade, [and put the jewel in it]. A man of *Tei* bought the chest and returned the jewel. This may be called selling well a chest, but still it may not be called selling well a jewel." Cf. *Kokuyaku Kambun Taisei, Kei-shi-shi-bu* Vol. IX (Tōkyō 1921), *Kampishi*, p. 272 of the Japanese text, p. 90 of the Chinese text. The quotation means "to despise valuable things and to value things that must be despised" or "to make mistakes in one's devices and to lose one's object".

[2]) Title of the ambassadors sent to China in the times of the *Tō* Dynasty.

[3]) 15th Emperor of Japan, traditional dates: 201—310 (according to Wedemeyer: 363—389).

[4]) *Vide* B. H. Chamberlain, Kojiki (T.A.S.J. Vol. X, Suppl.), pp. 269—270; W. G. Aston, Nihongi I (London 1924), pp. 278—279.

therefore [Prince Uji] "shortened his life" and [thus] made his elder brother succeed as Emperor [1]). This [unselfish and noble] act excelled even [the glorious deeds of] Taihaku (107) [2]) and Haku-i (108) [3]). In their ability in warfare [4]) as well as in their [methods of] government [these Emperors and Princes] followed the Way of the Sages; this may, indeed, be called true learning. Although [institutions] like [those of] the Middle Ages resembled civilization, they were *illusive* civilization and had nothing to do with *real* civilization. Nevertheless, Arai Hakuseki (110) [5]) will —not in accordance with his [otherwise] great wisdom and extensive knowledge—propably have approved of the customs in *Kyōto* in his time [which were a survival of the sham civilization of the Middle Ages]. It was a mistake caused by being unable to understand the nucleus of things that in his enthusiasm for ancient practices and usages he even wanted to extend those institutions to the *Kantō* (111) [6]).

Even in his instructions given on his death-bed Tōshōgū emphatically cautioned against the imitation of [the manners] of the Court nobility by the military class. Now, Lord Yūtoku (112) [7]), beginning his [benevolent] reign, ignored and rejected the measures advised by Hakuseki, restored the time-honoured [customs] of our ancestors, encouraged literary and military arts, and preserved the regulations of Tōshōgū. This is a blessing!

As to the regulations of Tōshōgū, the first one laid down in the *Buke-shohatto* [8]) says that one should study the Way of Literary

[1]) *Vide* B. H. Chamberlain, op. cit., pp. 257—258; W. G. Aston, op. cit., p. 276.

[2]) Taihaku (T'ai Po), a highly virtuous prince of Chinese antiquity who declined the throne in favour of his younger brother. Cf. *Rongo* (109) VIII, I.

[3]) Haku-i (Po I) is another worthy of Chinese antiquity who acted in a similar way. He is often referred to in *Rongo* and *Mōshi*. For an eulogy on Haku-i see *Mōshi*, Book VB, Chapter I, § 1.

[4]) Lit. "the virtue of being able to drive a chariot".

[5]) (1656—1725), a celebrated philosopher, historian, and statesman. He was obsessed by the Confucian ideal of conducting good government by means of Music and Etiquette. He studied the sinicized Court etiquette in *Kyōto* and reformed the ceremonies in the palace of the *Shōgun* in *Edo*. See also note 64.

[6]) = "East of the Barrier", i.e. the eight provinces east of the *Hakone* barrier.

[7]) Posthumous name of Tokugawa Yoshimune (113) (1677—1751), 8th *Tokugawa Shōgun* (ruled from 1716 to 1745). His principal care was the happiness of his people; because of his wise and benevolent administration he was surnamed *Kome-shōgun* (114), the *Shōgun* of the rice. He abolished the graceful ceremonies introduced by Arai Hakuseki (cf. note 3 above), tried to revive the feudal character of society as patterned by Ieyasu, and encouraged military exercises to the discontent of many *samurai* who had become accustomed to a comfortable life.

[8]) "Regulations for the Military Class", see above.

and Military Arts. Well then, this Way, comprising two things, is one thing, being one thing, it comprises two things. Being versed in military arts one should put into operation one's scholarly virtues, being versed in literary arts one should achieve military exploits. If literary men are given to literary pursuits [to the neglect of military discipline], it is because they do not understand the literature that pervades the universe [1]; if military men are engrossed in military achievements [neglecting literary studies], they—being of superhuman courage—do not understand the military glory of not-killing. Neither of these [one-sided] attitudes may be called the true Way of Literary and Military Arts. This true Way is like the two wheels of carriages and the two wings of birds:—if one of them is removed, they will not be able to ride or to fly. Although Kōso (115) [2] of the *Kan* (116) [Dynasty] was a ruler who disliked Confucianism, he submitted himself to the words of Riku-ka (117) [3], followed the advice of Shukuson [4], and did not govern his land on horseback. The *ufu* (119) [5] Oda [6], though being a fearless general, directed Yoshiaki's [7] attention to studies and, taking a fancy to the *gasan* (123) [8] composed by Inaba Ittetsu (124) [9], he did not kill him. Such acts [do] not [show much of] realism, but the understanding of the irresistibility of literary arts may be called a real endowment of [true] heroes.

[1]) I.e. the how and why of things.

[2]) (Kao-tsu), the first Emperor of the *Kan* (*Han*) Dynasty, ruled from 206 to 194 B.C.

[3]) (Lu Chia), Confucianist and minister of Kōso. "When the scholar Lu Chia quoted Confucian classics in the presence of the first emperor, he was cut short by this scolding: 'You fool, I have conquered the empire on horseback, what use have I for your classics?' To this, Lu Chia retorted: 'Yes, Sire, you have conquered the empire on horseback, but can you govern it on horseback?'" (Hu Shih, The Establishment of Confucianism as a State Religion During the Han Dynasty, Journal of the N. China Branch of the R.A.S. Vol. LX, 1929, p. 24).

[4]) (= Shu-sun T'ung (118)), Confucian scholar and minister of Kōso. ".... Shu-sen T'ung, the Confucianist, offered to work out a system of court etiquette for the maintenance of order. The emperor said: 'Very well. Try to do it. But make it easy to understand and easy for me to perform.'" (Hu Shih, loc. cit.).

[5]) = *udaijin* (120), "minister of the right", the 3rd of the 3 principal ministers.

[6]) = Oda Nobunaga (121) (1534—1582), great warrior who brought down the *Muromachi Shōgunate* and put an end to the internal strife that for more than a century had devastated the country.

[7]) = Ashikaga Yoshiaki (122) (1537—1597), 15th and last *Ashikaga* (*Muromachi*) *Shōgun* (ruled from 1568 to 1573).

[8]) A sentence or poem written on a painting in praise of it.

[9]) (1551—1606), a general who served under Nobunaga. The latter, distrusting Ittetsu, wanted to kill him which he did not do out of admiration for his learning.

It goes without saying that a man like Tōshōgū because of his being [gifted with] talents and virtue that surpassed all ages, soon recognized the value of scholarly men. That he—even before the swords were sheathed—propagated education throughout the country was only natural. But men of a country at war [1]) have experienced all kinds of hardships, have become acquainted with the natural features of several provinces, have disciplined their minds, and have become familiar with human psychology, so that they will be experts in political economy, even if their scholarly attainments are superficial. In the same way, men that have been born in [times of] long-continued peace [2]) lead an easy life,—not having crossed the borders of their provinces—they are stubborn and short-sighted, their ears do not hear, their eyes do not see,—having studied books—they do not understand things, so that they—merely thinking that conditions will always remain the same—will continue [their happy-go-lucky life] without understanding the decay of customs and the collapse of political affairs. Is not this a dangerous thing?

The carpenter uses a foot-measure when building [our] room, the physician uses therapeutics when curing [our] diseases. Why should there not be a method for a *samurai* in governing himself and in governing others?

The study and application of literary and military arts—having made the Way of the Sages one's starting-point—is, indeed, the eternal Way [to be followed].

I myself composed and completed this book.

Azusa-yumi [3])	Even if one cites
Mukashi wo hiku mo	[Examples from] antiquity,
Mononofu no	These only tell [us] that
Michi wa hitoe ni	The Way of the Warrior
Takekare to nomi	Has consisted in naught but valour.

[1]) In particular this statement refers to the *Sengoku-jidai* (125), the Period of the Warring Provinces (1490—1600), when Japan was devastated by civil wars.

[2]) *Viz.* times like those of the *Tokugawa Shōgunate* (1603—1868).

[3]) This word has not been translated. It is a *makura-kotoba* (pillow-word) used with *hiku* (to draw); a literal translation of the first two lines would be "even if one draws antiquity [which reminds one of drawing] a bow of catalpa-wood".

Isonokami	Although the way of the field of *Furu*
Furuno no michi wa	In *Isonokami* [1])
Tōkeredo	Is far away,
Fuminarashite yo	Tread it level
Itoma ariseba	Whenever you can ! [2])

In the ninth month (*nagazuki*) of the Year of the Cock of the *Tempō*-era (= 1837).
Sketched by Saitō Masanori from *Anotsu* (126) [3]).

[1]) *Furu* lies in *Isonokami* in the district of *Yamabe* in the province of *Yamato*. Once there existed a Shinto shrine named *Furu no yashiro* at that place (cf. K. Florenz, Wörterbuch zur altjapanischen Liedersammlung Kokinshū, Hamburg 1925, sub *Isonokami*). There is a play upon words here, as *furu* may mean 'old, ancient'.

[2]) Lit. when there would be leisure. The meaning of the poem is : although the valiant deeds and benevolent acts of the men of *Yamato* (old Japan) have been accomplished long ago, one should study them at every opportunity.

[3]) *Anotsu* is an ancient name of the town of *Tsu*.

(A)

1. 武士道
2. 新渡戸稲造
3. 徳川時代
4. 士道
5. 武教小學
6. 山鹿素行
7. 小山松吉
8. 武訓
9. 貝原益軒
10. 葉隠
11. 山本常朝
12. 鍋嶋
13. 肥前
14. 岩堂保
15. 古學派
16. 禪
17. 河野省三
18. 國民道徳史論
19. 士道要論
20. 齋藤拙堂
21. 士道
22. 朱子學派
23. 正謙
24. 有冬
25. 徳藏
26. 鐵研
27. 拙翁
28. 文靖先生
29. 藤堂大名
30. 津
31. 伊勢
32. 江戸
33. 昌平黌
34. 林
35. 古賀精里
36. 魯西亞外記
37. 原士
38. 士風
39. 士氣
40. 士節
41. 士心
42. 日本教育文庫訓誡篇中
43. 道
44. 追腹
45. 孟子
46. 不義の義
47. 非義之義
48. 東照宮
49. 徳川家康
50. 室町
51. 細川賴之
52. 足利義詮
53. 足利義滿
54. 執事
55. 今川貞世
56. 鎮西探題
57. 九州
58. 楠正成
59. 後醍醐

東京 文房堂製

天皇 60.
備後三郎 61.
兒嶋高徳 62.
南北朝時代 63.
天莫空勾踐、
時非無范蠡 64.
正行 65.
大楠 66.
小楠 67.
中納言 68.
藤原藤房 69.
准后 70.
准三后宮 71.
北畠顯能 72.
親房 73.
神皇正統記 74.
武田信玄 75.
上杉謙信 76.
實學 77.
前田利家 78
加賀 79.
主計頭 80.
加藤清正 81.
小西行長 82.
豐臣秀吉 83.
烈祖成績 84.
安積覽 案覽 85.
武家百箇條 86.
武家諸法度 87.
公家諸法度 88.
大鵬鷄 89.
仁徳天皇 90.
葛道の稚郎子 91.
王仁 92.
百濟 93.
天智 94.
藤原鎌足 95.
中臣 96.
曾我 97.
菅原道真 98.
隋 99
唐 100.
韓非子 101.
楚 102.
鄭 103.
遣唐使 104.
譽多 105.
聖 106.
應神天皇 107.
泰伯 108.
伯夷 109.
論語 110.
新井白石 111.
關東 112.
有徳 113.
徳川吉宗 114.
米將軍 115.
高祖 116.
漢 117.
陸賈

東京 文房堂製

(C)

118. 叔孫通
119. 右府
120. 右大臣
121. 織田信長
122. 足利義昭
123. 畫贊
124. 稻葉一徹
125. 戰國時代
126. 安濃津

東京 文房堂製

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE PAINTING

BY C. C. KRIEGER,

Several years before the dictator *Oda Nobunaga,* maybe less by conviction than for political reasons, became the patron of the Christian proselytism, the arrival of Portuguese navigators and adventurers caused echos of Western civilization to be heard in the Southern harbours of Japan. These echos, though less intense than the sound of atom bombs hurled also at southern harbours about four centuries later, were no less important from a historical point of view. The sound of the atom bombs meant the termination of the tense expectation of the whole of the Japanese nation, engendered by a doctrine preached by irresponsible leaders, that the descendants of the goddess Amaterasu were bound to fulfil a mission, not only to their own nation, but to all Asia and even to the whole world. They brought the Japanese to a halt and changed most tragically and revolutionarily the course of history as outlined by their leaders. The echos of the 16th century, brought about by the fire arms which then were used for the first time enabled Japan to regulate her own destiny and to avoid the interference of outsiders.

The first Portuguese adventurers Fernao Mendes Pinto, Diego Zeimoto and Christophore Borelli, whose ship drifted in a gale, landed in about 1542 from a Chinese pirateship on the island of Tanegashima. It was not their tawny faces with their hooked noses, and their long black beards, nor was it the strange stories they could tell, that took the fancy of the Japanese, but what keenly interested them were the objects which they produced. Among them there was something "straight, heavy and hollow. One end was closed and near it was a small hole, in which some mysterious powder had to be ignited. At the other end a round piece of lead was inserted. As soon as the powder had been ignited the lead escaped and hit anything in its path. With the firing a

flame was observed resembling lightning, and a noise was heard as of thunder, so that the spectators covered their ears with their hands." The fire-arms which were thus introduced to the Japanese and which long afterwards were called *Tanegashima*, were very soon manufactured in Japan and employed. They were the cause of the revival of the dream of *Hideyoshi*, (successor of *Nobunaga*), to conquer Korea, which originated a dream with Empress *Jingō*. Although the new arms played an important part in the internal difficulties of the shōgunate, this dream ended in disillusion. Although the fire-arms made no revolutionary changes in the international position of Japan, they considerably increased her ability to defend the archipelago against any aggression from the Western nations. They enabled Japan to develop peacefully during a period of two and a half centuries and to arm herself against a cultural blow from the West which came in the middle of the 19th century.

At first they were treated with great consideration by Oda Nobunaga and in many ways supported in order to spite the Buddhistic priests. But later, through fear of their political and military power, the *Namban*, or "southern barbarians", and later the Spaniards were suppressed and driven out of the country by the first Tokugawa-shōguns, who feared the ever increasing numbers of Christians and Christian landlords. In 1638, at a moment when the widest horizon opened up to Japan and she was about to be shown the experimental methods of scientific research and to become acquainted with Copernicus' theories regarding the Universe, Harvey's circulation of the blood and the original ideas about electricity introduced by Gilbert, the door was closed to all western influence (*sakoku*). During the Portuguese penetration Japan only welcomed inventions within the sphere of science, such as shipbuilding, strategy, the art of fortification and navigation. She was unwilling and unprepared to accept the great blessings which Europe could have offered. Nevertheless, behind the mask of indifference there grew during 217 years a strong and independent race, capable and prepared to meet any aggression. The communications with the West were, however, not broken. Driven by curiosity, one of the most marked features of the Japanese, and led by an intuition, that it might be of the highest importance to keep pace with the developments in political and cultural events among the western

peoples, the shōgun *Iemitsu* made some concessions and allowed the Dutch to stay on the island of *Deshima*, so that Japan could benefit by all that the Kōmō (Caroty chaps) had to offer in spiritual and material matters.

As a result of the ever increasing reactionary politics of the Tokugawa shōguns, the efforts of Lusitania's traders and missionaries to bring Western civilization to Japan failed. However the cultural influence of the West during the so-called *Kuristan*-century (1542—1640) reached further than this short era of Japanese history would suggest, as in all classes of the Japanese community and throughout her entire civilization, though there was no need of a speculative philosophic system, there was felt a strong desire for Western knowledge. Japanese aspirations reached much further than the desire for potatoes and tobacco (introduced at about 1600); they showed themselves keenly interested in clocks, globes, charts, telescopes, musical instruments, medicines and botany, and one need not be surprised to find that the art of painting, in a race whose art in general and the art of painting in particular had reached such a high pitch, should in its products, style and methods share in this interest.

The Western art of painting made itself felt in two ways and after a closer stndy of that influence we must not loose sight of the fact that the Western art of painting formed a subject of study, not only from a point of view of technical execution and style but that the motives and subjects borrowed from the Western art also received the greatest interest.

Already during the *Kuristan*-century, the era between the arrival of the Portuguese and the *Shimabara*-revolt, the Western art of painting was much practised by followers of the Christian religion, who were instructed by artists among the Portuguese missionaries. The Portuguese themselves with all that surrounded them and with what they brought from Europe, made a welcome object for study, while their method of working among other things was copied in the already existing art of wallpainting, which was encouraged by the Portuguese. The artists of the Christian seminary of *Ari-e* in *Hizen*, *Arima* and other monasteries in *Kyūshū* were especially famous both for their Western European style painting masters as well as for their pupils. The wallpaintings which adorned the Christian churches, were much praised by visitors who understood the European frescos. It goes without

saying that these objects were exclusively of religious inspiration. It also stands to reason that the interests of the Japanese artists as a result of the anti-christian edicts and the expulsion of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, turned its back on European art, although still an odd artist here and there kept up the practise of the Iberian art, as f.i. *Emosaku Yamada*, a Christian leader of the *Shimabara*-revolt, who however later on was allowed to practise his art under the personal protection of the *Bakufu*. He belonged to a circle of artists who exercised a completely European style of painting. Canvases of his school have been found in the seminary of *Ari-e* in *Hizen* and *Azuchi* near *Kyōto*. It included many good artists in oilcolours of whom the names, on account of the persecution of the Christians, have been lost. Among the remaining canvases in Japan we count among others the Fifteen mysteries of the Holy Virgin and the portrait of Franciscus Xavier. In the year 1596 a few copper engravings were made in the monastery *Ari-e*.

The creations of this school differ completely from the canvases of Japanese masters on the so-called *Namban byōbu* (Portuguese screens) made in *Kyōto* and *Sakai*, and belonging to the collection *Ikenaga* at *Osaka*. They have been painted in purely Japanese style by masters belonging to the *Kanō*-school, and such expressive colours have been used as lapis lazuli, malachite, gold leaf etc. that the representations remind us of "copies of tapestry" [1]). They show the welcome given to Portuguese caracks in a harbour of southern Japan, or in more instance give an insight into mercantile life. Although the houses on such *Namban*-screens have been painted in a somewhat fantastical way, according to Chinese style, the apparel of the Europeans, their ships, animals, etc. have been minutely represented. One of the outstanding features of these six-boarded screens is, that a Christian church is always pictured in it. Only one of the aforenamed screens has been signed: *Kanō Naizen*. The British Museum also possesses one such screen, representing the welcoming of a Portuguese ship by Jesuit priests, while the *Kinjo hitsuron* from *Otsuki Bansui* declares that *Hasekura* and *Tsunenaga*, envoys of *Date Masemune, daimyō* of *Sendai*, who travelled to Rome via Mexico and Spain in 1613, carried among other things a *Namban-byōbu* as a present to the Pope. After an absence of eight years they returned to

[1]) Japan. A Short Cultural History p. 504 by G. B. Sansom.

Japan, bringing portraits of Pope Paolo V and of themselves. These oil-colours are preserved up to this day by the *Date*-family.

After the death of *Emosaku* the oilcolours disappeared, to which contributed the prohibition to export Japanese drawings or to import western representations, a prohibition which touched the Christian religion only in the slightest degree. The first revival of the interest in Western art may be noticed during the reign of the more enlightened shōgun *Tokugawa Yoshimune* (1677—1751), who came to the throne in 1716. To this farseeing shōgun we owe it that Western science was again tolerated, this time in collaboration with the Dutch at *Deshima.*

The *Yogaku* or Western science as it was practised by the Portuguese found a successor in the *Rangaku* or Dutch science, which was to be brought to perfection by an illustrious circle of scientists, the *Rangaku-sha.* Through the persuasion of the court-astronomer *Jōuemon Nakane,* who had been commissioned by Yoshimune to revise the calendar, in 1720 he lifted the so-called "ban on books" —which had been issued in 1630—only on condition however, that the imported literature should not contain any heresy. By the lifting of the ban only works on science, translated by missionaries into Chinese and imported from China by the intervention of Chinese settlers in Nagasaki, were admitted. Very soon however a direct infiltration of Dutch literature was started via *Deshima.* At first the books, which belonged to the many unknown objects imported by the Dutch, were entrusted to official interpreters on the island of *Deshima,* but gradually they reached the scientists of different departments, who only with the assistance of an interpreter, could take in their contents. The rage for Western civilization became so great however, that several scientists began to apply themselves to the study of the Dutch language, in order to enable them to become acquainted with the contents of the Dutch scientific works. Thanks to these scientists, who kindled the flame of Western civilization, and to the tenacious streak in the national character, Japan escaped the fate of Korea and Manchuria, whose national spirit became fossilized and torn to pieces by Chinese philosophy and literature, by Chinese methods, and in short by Chinese spiritual and moral domination.

A prominent place among the *Rangaku-sha* was taken up in about 1770 by the scientists *Ishikawa Genshō, Sugita Gempaku, Katsu-*

rawaga Hoshū en *Nakagawa Jūnan*, who after having studied the Dutch language for several years, were able to give a translation of Kulmus' "*Tafel anatomia*" entitled "*Oranda naikei zusetsu*" (Illustrated description of the interior of the human body, as described by the Dutch) of which the text was revised in 1774 and published with the consent of the *shōgun Ieharu*, entitled "*Kaitai shinsho* (New book on anatomy)".

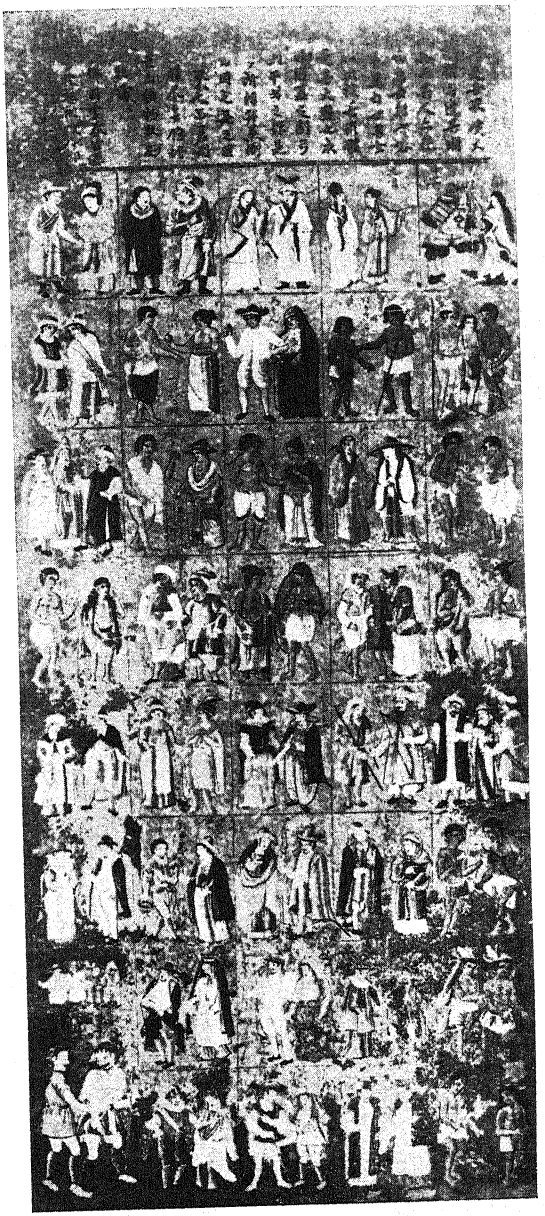
The *Rangaku koto hajime* (The beginning of Western civilization) gives a description of the tenacious perseverance of the above mentioned scientists in the translation of the "Tafel Anatomia" and the way in which they achieved it. "They decided to reflect together on the meaning of the Dutch words and sentences in order to understand them better. And thus they started their task. The difficulties were thus, that in springdays they sat together till dusk, staring at the text without even understanding sentences of only a few words. A small dictionary, provided by *Ryōtaku* was their only means of assistance. That which they did not understand was marked with a cross or with an enclosure. They called this *Kutsuwa jūmonji* [1]). Some days they met six or seven times. After one year the work had made great strides and they had obtained a good knowledge of the Dutch language. Towards the end they translated as much as ten sentences a day." It was not however in the department of medical science only that the *Rangaku-sha* moved, they also practised mathematics, botany, astronomy, strategy, geography and cartography, and also the *Rangaku* adapted the Dutch art of painting.

Since the middle of the 17th century an art of painting had developed, which found its admirers especially among the lower classes of feudal Japan, who, not being able to purchase the costly aristocratic products of the Tosa- or Kanō-school rigidly bound by tradition, began to take a fancy of representations of daily life. They became interested in an art which presented a true picture of morals and customs among the people of days bygone and of the present and even showed the fashion of the day and of the year, an art which had been given the name of *Ukiyo-e*, the art of painting real life, of all phenomena in nature, history, religion and especially of the social and home life of the people. And to this

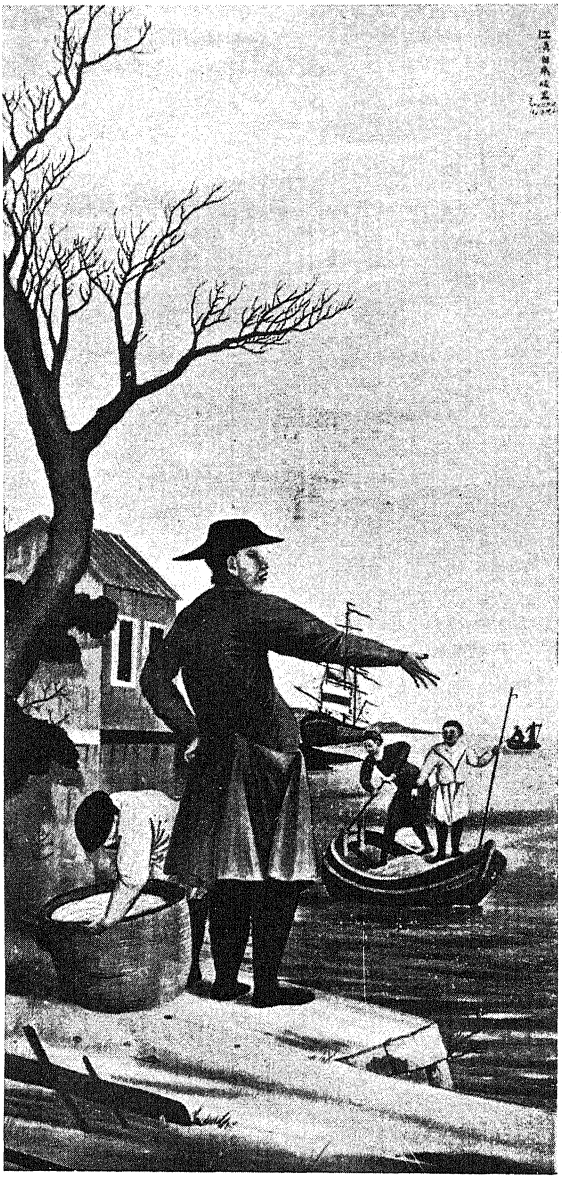
[1]) *Kutsuwa*, the iron plates of the bit on each side of the mouth of the horse to which the reins are fastened, in the shape of a circle with a cross in the centre (Dainihon jiten gensen, p. 1125).

kaleidoscope of life belonged also the Dutch fashions, which entered Japan via *Deshima* in the middle of the 17th century. The Portuguese priests and their churches were to make place for Dutchmen and Dutch ships. In the middle of the 18th century appeared in the streets of *Edo* business-signs for shops with inscriptions such as "European Make", "Just bought at Nagasaki" or "Just received from Holland" with which the shops recommended wares originating from the Netherlands.

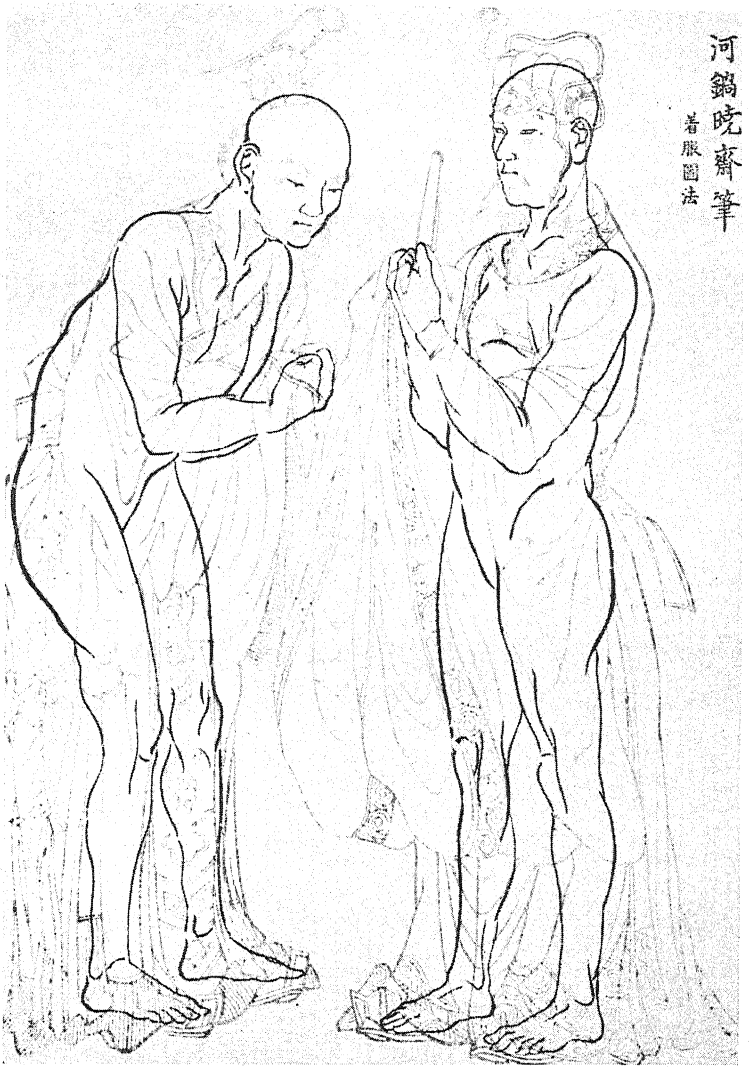
As for the scholar the study of the Dutch language meant the beginning of the blessings of modern civilization. Thus was the representation of the *Kōmō* and of everything concerning them, a compensation to the curiosity and inquisitiveness of the lower classes, and they also became a satisfying object to the *Ukiyo-e* masters, who as a rule had originated from these classes. Later on the exotic landscape also became a favourite theme of the *Nagasaki* artists. One important difference marks the exotic art. of the *Kuristan*-century. During this period there was a constant contact with artists among the Portuguese missionaries, who acted as instructors to the Japanese pupils. During the 17th and 18th century these artists found no masters among the Dutch at *Deshima*, so that they were obliged to learn theory and style from Dutch books, and from Dutch copies. As early as the fourth year of Yoshimune's reign an illustrated work was published, entitled *Yonjūmo kokujimbutsu Zusetsu* (Illustrated Description of the Peoples of 42 Countries), compiled by *Nishikawa Jōken*. It was an enlarged edition of a Nagasaki publication of 1647 entitled *Bankoku fūzu* (Illustrated Description of many Peoples). In the family-archives of the author of *Shinnen Yogaku nempyō* (Revised chronological Tables of the Yōgaku), *Otsuki Shūji*, was found an *emakimono*, entitled *Yonjūni koku jimbutsu zusetsu* which has been marked: "The copy of this drawing composed by *Bairen Kyūrin* (g.e. *Nishikawa Jōken*) is a work of the Kōmō. It originated from China. Among the 41 drawings there is a *Chōjin*, g.e. a Patagonian. A Japanese added to these drawings a Chinese from the *Ming*-period and one from the *Tsin*-period and thus 42 nations had been sketched (according to Boxer in "Jan Compagnie in Japan" — a man and a woman of each country). The drawings are exactly like those of the edition of 1647. The Dutchman however wears a 1680 apparel and has presumably been drawn from life. If this theme, which reached Japan by



Yon jū ni koku jimbutsu zusetsu. Illustrated Description of the Peoples of 42 Countries. Collection Ikenaga, Osaka.



Shiba Kōkan. Dutchman at Deshima Surveying the Bay of Nagasaki. Coll. Ikenaga, Osaka.



Chakufuku zuhō. Method of Drawing of Clothing. Kawanabe Kyōsai.

an indirect route, was one of the first examples following the *Kuristan*-century, other examples were soon to follow. In 1729 some Dutch paintings were bought by *Yoshimune* and in 1733 two, belonging to the so-called "great present", were disqualified and remained hanging in the settlement. Henceforth paintings and drawings were regularly imported, on one occasion a hundred of them. An etching by Visscher after a painting of Bolsward Countryfair has been preserved as a very precious document. Everyone of these pieces has served as a copy, both from a technical point of view and from the point of view of its representation. But the Dutch themselves, as well as their surroundings on the island of Deshima, provided the best copies, and their ships played a prominent part.

We can divide the artists, who applied themselves to depicting Dutch subjects or the painting according to Dutch methods, into two schools: first the *Nagasaki*-school and secondly that of *Edo*. To the *Nagasaki*-school belonged a particular group, the artists who preferred to apply themselves to the making of *Nagasaki-e*, those are the *Nagasaki*-printed and edited woodcuts representing Dutchmen, Chinese and afterwards Russians, Americans, English, French and Prussians, as well as the animals and objects they had brought with them, such as elephants, ostriches, etc. A very able artist of the *Nagasaki*-school was *Kita Genki*, who preferred to paint priests of the *Obaku*-sect. His portraits are more in Chinese than in European style. Yet one discovers in his works traces of European ways of shading and to a certain degree the application of European colours. He worked in the same era as *Ikushun Saburōza* and his disciple *Nagawa Kyūu*, of whom only the names are known, since their works have disappeared (*Meireki*-period, 1655—1657). In the year 1645 a Chinese priest entered Japan. He was a famous artist and from his school came two famous Japanese artists, *Watanabe Shūseki* and *Kawamura Jakushi*. There is a great similarity between the works of *Watanabe* and those of *Shuseki* and *Kita Genki*. They both painted among other things the portrait of *Ingen*, the celebrated highpriest of the *Obaku*-sect. *Araki Genkei* too († 1799) has left little work behind. One of his creations, a kakemono, representing the fore part of the deck of a Dutch ship with a few sailors, is among the collection *Ikenaga*. His adopted son *Genyū* and the artists *Yōgen* and *Ishizaki Yūshi* were among his disciples. There is only

one work by Genyū known : "The playing of a set of go in a pavilion by the waterside". *Araki Yōgen* was the only one who preferred to use oils. The greater part of the paintings of the *Nagasaki* school was executed according to Japanese methods, using Japanese brushes and paints, but more or less in European style. The only ones who produced serious work in a true European style were *Araki Yōgen* and *Wakasugi Jōhachi.*

One of the artists, whose works were known in Holland, was *Kawara Keiga.* It was he, who made several drawings for the monumental work of Von Siebold "Nippon" and especially for the Flora Japonica and the Fauna Japonica. In addition he drew a portrait of Doeff, and he was the first Japanese artist, who had the opportunity to paint a European woman from life. She was the wife of Chief Jan Cock Blomhoff, Mrs. Titia Bergsma. She had accompanied her husband to Japan and was forced to part from him and to leave for Holland by a returning ship. *Keiga* has painted several groups of the family Blomhoff, which have been preserved for later generations. Another of his productions of which some are known—one can be found in the Netherlands—, is the Great Party in the Chamber of the Chief of *Deshima.* On one of these canvases is found an inscription in poor Dutch, which reads : „Groote Partij in de Kamer van het Opperhoofd zijn te Deshima". All these paintings are hybrid in style. In a pleasingly easy way the apparel of the figures has been represented, and among these usually are found the Javanese housestaff. In a masterly way the features and the shape of the figures has been expressed. In one of the canvases, representing the family Cock Blomhoff, in the possession of the Imperial University at Tōkyō, one reads this inscription "De Oprechte aftekening van het Opperhoofd Cock Blomhoff, zijn Vrouw en Kind, die in Ao. 1818 hier aangekomen zijn".

We owe a debt of gratitude to Caron, Kaempfer, Thunberg, Titsing, Doeff, von Siebold and others for descriptions of European impressions of the life of the Japanese, during the era from about 1650—1850. About the impressions, which Europeans made on the Japanese during that period, we were only informed during the last decennaries by Feenstra Kuiper's "Japan en de Buitenwereld in de 18e eeuw" and by Boxer's "Jan Compagnie in Japan 1600—1817". In Japan these impressions were not only described in different works, but they also took shape in drawings of the

artists living in *Nagasaki*. The drawings or wood-cuts made by them were called *Nagasaki-e*.

In these prints we see the Dutch depicted with all their good and not so good qualities and habits. Little is known about the authors, as their works were seldom initialled. They show us the Dutch leaving their ships, moving through the streets of *Nagasaki*, in their homes on the island *Deshima* Full justice was done to their ships, their charts, their instruments and also their domestic animals and neither were animals, which they imported on order, forgotten. The way in which the man in the street reacted to the existence and doings of the Kōmō shows very clearly the *Japanese* sense of humour. We cannot tarry here much longer, but will pay greater attention to the work done by *Edo* artists under Western influence and the changes caused by it in their technique. In order to form a better idea of the influence, which Western art exercised on that of Japan, it is essential to understand the conventions by which the art of painting in the Far East has been tied throughout the ages. Painting in China as well as in Japan is much tied up with calligraphy. In painting as well as in writing a brush was used and, to make a beautiful handwriting an absolute command of the brush, such as no European artist ever will accomplish was necessary. The Japanese artist does not work with light and shade as does the European artist, but suggests the fundamental shape by the way in which he brings the unbroken line on to the canvas or paper. Knowing that every stroke of the brush leaves behind an ineffaceable impression, the line produced by the stroke of the brush must reproduce all impressions demanded by the subject ; outstanding and concise, broad and vibrating, light and dark. The artist must be able to run the line from a thick mass to a mere hair's breadth, from the sharp angled to the streamlined without a break. His lines show a rhythm, which has never been accomplished in European art. Light and shade in all realistic lines were absolutely unknown in this art, and chiaroscuro was not applied. The main point was accuracy of line, while excessive background and all exaggeration of detail was avoided. The main universally accepted principle in the theories of aesthetics of the Far East is rhythm, a theory based on the principle of *tao*. This theory has been maintained throughout the centuries. An imitation of nature or "true to nature" which satisfies Western art, is not appreciated by the orientals. To the

first artists in whose work we notice European influence, belongs *Okamura Masanobu* (1690—1768). One recognizes his Western style especially in his trees and verdure. After him *Ukiyo-e* masters followed his style (clearly this tendency was demonstrated in the work by *Toyoharu*). The perspective applied to it is still in Japanese style, but can clearly be distinguished. Landscapes in particular were suitable for that purpose. From his studio several celebrated wood-cut masters arose, e.g. Toyokuni, Hokusai, and Hiroshige. The last two especially have kept up a kind of tradition of exotic painting in Japan.

When the *Rangakusha* also started to interest themselves in this art, the possibility arose of theoretic contemplations. *Shiba Kōkan* is usually named as founder of the Western methods of painting. Yet he does not seem to have been the pioneer in this sphere and the *daimyō Satake Shōzan* and his vassal *Odano Naotake* should rather be mentioned as such. Very likely they owe their knowledge of Western theories of painting to *Hiraga Gennai*, one of the most skilled *Rangakusha*, who had mainly applied himself to nature-study, but who also moved in other spheres.

When he was 33 years old, *Hiraga Gennai* made up his mind to devote himself to science and begged his master the daimyō *Yoriyasu Matsudaira* to consent. The latter granted his request on condition, that he would not serve another master. And thus *Hiraga Gennai* became a *rōnin*. Later on he exercised great influence on *Tanuma Mototsugu*, who throughout the nominal reign of the shōgun *Ieharu* was in fact the man in power. He followed the advice of *Gennai* to import as many Dutch instruments as possible, such as microscopes, seismographs, barometers, cameras, hydrometers, etc. In the year 1773 he was charged with the inspection of the mines in the domain of the lord *Satake* of the *Akita*-clan, and it was there that he met *Odano Busuke Naotake*, vassal of the clan. During his sojourn in *Akita*, *Gennai* taught *Odano Busuke* the theory of the Dutch art of painting, which fascinated him to such an extent, that he accompanied *Gennai* to *Edo*, where he remained for six years. After his return to *Akita* he appeared as instructor of his lord. A widespread study has been dedicated to these three artists by *Hirafuku Hyakusai* in *Nihon Yoga shōkō* (The Dawn of the Western Art of Painting). *Satake Shōzan* has left a manuscript on the art of painting, in which he criticizes the old methods and recommends the new Western technique, in particular per-

spective, shadow, chiaroscuro, and depth. In it he enumerates 25 colours among which are indigo, Prussian blue, etc., and he also mentions gum-arabic. In this manuscript several drawings have been included, among which there are projections of a cone, a winding staircase, etc, as well as drawings in explanation of perspective. This manuscript shows that during this period no oilpaints were imported and that colours were mixed with ricinusoil. *Sugita Gempaku*, one of the authors of the afore mentioned *Kaitai Shinsho*, who desired a frontispiece for the book, authorized *Naotake* to make it. He revised the frontispiece in the Tafel anatomia, a pen-sketch, which he engraved in wood. A copy of this was taken up in the work of *Hirafuku*.

Although these three artists, according to *Hirafuku*, were the pioneers of Western art in Japan, *Shiba Kōkan* an artist who differed from them in age by 20 years is as a rule looked upon as its founder. He was a versatile *Rangakusha*, who besides the study of astronomy, history and geography, applied himself to the art of painting and etching. In the *Shinsen Yogaku Nempyō* there is under the third year *Bunka* (1806), an invitation, printed by Shiba Kōkan, which gives us an insight in the world of art at Edo. The translation of it reads: "I learned to paint when only a small boy. In the years of early manhood I applied myself to Western art. I was however unable to enter deeply into the study, because I could find no masters. I had to make use of Dutch books (Isaac Titsingh presented him with a copy of De Lairesse's Groot Schilderboek) and put questions to Dutchmen at *Nagasaki*. And so I obtained the knowledge of the Dutch methods of painting. I shall be 60 years of age this year and my strength is declining. I therefore resign my position to my successor *Konyaku* and will retire. But first on the 8th of April I wish to give a banquet in the *Mompiro*-restaurant at *Edo*. Please remember the date and favour me with your presence. On that day I will present you with two canvases from my own brush of Japanese and Dutch landscapes, painted in European style, drawings, etchings and copper-engravings, all made by myself. You may take your choice." The contents of this invitation not only throw light on the life of the *Rangaku*-artists at *Edo*, but offer at the same time an insight into the difficulties which confronted them, as they had no masters and had to take refuge either in Dutch books on the art of painting, or in information given to them

by Dutchmen from Deshima. In that respect their predecessors from the *Kuristan*-century had been more fortunate, and had not the career of the Catholic missionaries in Japan come to an unexpected end, the chances of the Western art of painting would have been considerably greater. Nevertheless this trio, *Hiraga Gennai*, *Odano Naotake* and *Satake Shōzan*, as well as *Shiba Kōkan* and other *Rangaku*-artists left to the younger generation interesting works, and in their turn they exercized a great influence on several *Ukiyo-e* artists, such as *Bunchō*, *Hiroshige*, *Kwazan*, *Tanyū Kanō*, *Hokusai* and *Kyōsai*. The masterly use of European methods in the work of the great landscape painter *Hiroshige* has been utilized in later years by several European masters.

The Restoration of 1868 introduced a third era of Western influence in the art of painting in Japan. European civilization began to crowd into the country in full force. Several Japanese artists as *Kawamura Kiyō-o* and *Kunizawa Shinkurō* left for Europe and America to apply themselves to the art of painting, and vise-versa European artists and art critics set out to make the acquaintance of their Japanese colleagues in art. Antonio Fontanesi, Ragusa and San Giovanni were appointed as masters at the school of arts, erected in Tōkyō in 1876. Also an American Ernest Fenollosa set out for the „Land of the Rising Sun", where he made a thorough examination of its art. In the year 1895 two Japanese artists, who had been trained in Paris by Raphael Collin, returned to Japan, and thus French art was introduced into Japan, where it experienced a sudden popularity, while on the other side of the globe one realised that a paradise of art was hidden in Japan. Men like Guimet, de Goncourt, who found a new era in *Harunobu*, and like Cernuschi and Regamey set sail for that paradise, in about the same year that Monet hung his "Impression, Soleil levant" in the hall of "la Société" on the Boulevard des Capucines. And vice-versa, in the desire to get to know the European, and more in particular the French art, several Japanese shaped their course to the West, there to become acquainted with the circle of friends comprising Claude Monet, Sisley, Renoir and Bazille and to be present at their gatherings when Monet collected the realistic lovers of art around him, including Pisarro and Zola. Thus they sought new ways to revive the decadent art of painting in Japan following Hokusai's stylistic concentrations and Hiroshige's impressionistic triumphs. Getting into touch with one of the

best artists of that period, *Kyōsai*, pupil of *Hokusai*, Guimet and Regamey wrote between them an interesting sketch, called "Promenades japonaises". This work contains a striking profile of the artist, which can not boast however beauty. *Kyōsai* at once took revenge and presented the French colleagues with a maybe less academic, but certainly a more witty portrait. As a souvenir Regamey made him a present of a copy of the illustrations of Fau's "Anatomie artistique" of which the artist made a serious study. Although *Kyōsai* had a great admiration for the methods of the European art of painting, he mingled them seldom with his own work, except in burlesques of anatomy and clothing. Of this we find several examples in *Kyōsai gwaden*. Most of *Kyōsai*'s works remained of a characteristically national style. Without losing sight of the essential foundations of the national art of painting, he tried to lead this art into a new direction. His contemporary *Watanabe Seitei* also, while on his sojourn in Europe visited our country, where, at the international exhibition in Amsterdam in 1880, he was awarded the gold medal.

Josuah Condor, Professor of the Imperial University in Tōkyō, who for some years was Kyōsai's pupil, writes concerning this in his "Paintings and Studies by *Kawanabe Kyōsai*": "He regarded with profound respect the scientific knowledge of anatomical forms, perspective and sciography, revealed to him in foreign works, and the more realistic developments of painting as unfolded in the West. To his imagination there always existed a wealth of art beyond the reach of the lights into which he was born, and within whose radius his own opportunities compelled him to work."

It is very difficult to form an opinion of the present state of European painting in Japan, since the art of a nation moves in close connection with reforms in the life of the people. Not only is the transformation in the life of the Japanese since the contact with the West, very extensive, but life there is governed by two sorts of opinions, the national and the Western. The whole status of life is composed of different elements and no proof is needed, that the visual world, which passes the eye of the artist, makes it difficult for him to express his ideas on it. It is therefore small wonder that the national style is very complicated and that most masters try to paint according both to national as well as to European style. Classic subjects are dealt with, without

giving them a new interpretation, European subjects are handled without sufficient technical skill. And yet competent critics consider that in the kaleidoscopic background of the extremely complicated life in Japan, a modern national style as well as a Western style with a strong national undercurrent are heading for a good future. The yearly exhibitions at *Tōkyō* of the *Teikoku Bijutsu-in* and the *Nihon Bijutsu-in* and of scores of other organisations are of great encouragement in this respect.